

# THE ARENA

VOLUME XXIII.

JANUARY TO JUNE, 1900

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Edited by

JOHN EMERY MCLEAN.

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- II. The Barbarism of Civilization . . . . . CAROLINE H. PEMBERTON
- III. Lynch Law in America . . . . . IDA B. WELLS-BARNETT
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- IV. Co-operative Benefits Through Taxation . . . . . RUDOLF WALD

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- REFORM OR REVOLUTION? . . . . . JOHN HUDSPETH

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## NOTE.

THE ARENA begins its Twenty-third Volume with this issue. Its return to "first principles" in the change of policy outlined in our October number has had almost the unanimous indorsement of our readers. Commendatory letters in large numbers have been received from former subscribers who have recently renewed their allegiance to the magazine, and new patrons are being secured at a rate that signifies a popular recognition of the need of such an intellectual forum as THE ARENA has now become. Its independent and impartial attitude on public questions is appreciated by intelligent minds everywhere, and its value as an educational factor is becoming more and more widely conceded and emphasized by candid critics. THE ARENA is not an "organ;" it is a reflector and molder of advanced opinion. It aims at the promotion of human welfare through a cultivation of Truth in its every aspect. It does not strive for an impossible altruism, nor yet for a selfish and arrogant individualism, but rather for a just and logical *mutualism* that shall engender a real brotherhood of man. Frequently less wisdom is derived from a "multitude of counselors" than when "two or three are gathered together" as representatives of opposite points of view. This idea underlies THE ARENA Symposium—its most popular feature. "The newspaper agitates; the periodical educates." The newspaper records events; the magazine interprets them. Such is the mission of THE ARENA; and, while much of its subject-matter is of international interest and importance, it is primarily dedicated to the service of the American people.

J. E. M.

# THE ARENA.

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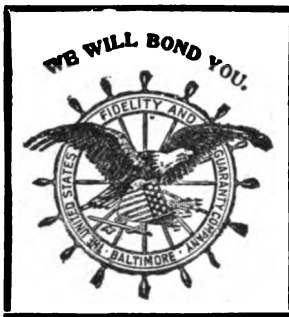
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# THE ARENA.

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Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*

—HEINE.

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# The ARENA

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VOL. XXIII.

JANUARY, 1900.

No. 1.

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## THE WHITE MAN'S PROBLEM.

### I. WHY WE DO NOT WANT THE PHILIPPINES.

OPPOSITION to necessary war measures, while the war is being waged, is not only unpopular but unpatriotic. We are a sensitive people where national honor is concerned, and we would naturally consider the withdrawal of our troops from the Philippines under present conditions as a tacit and as well an unwise confession of failure. The war spirit of the citizens of the Republic having been once aroused by the death of their comrades in arms, it is useless to combat it; and I believe that any citizen of the Union should be willing to sacrifice his life, if necessary, in order to bring about an honorable peace.

As I have not the trustworthy data of which the Administration is doubtless possessed, many of my impressions are perhaps erroneous. If to have a modest opinion contrary to that of the Administration concerning the Philippines is to be an anti-imperialist—if to see no good reason for adding the Philippines to our possessions is to be an anti-expansionist—then I presume I am both of these; but I imagine my opinion

is of more importance to myself than to any one else. With all the facts before him, the President probably has cogent reasons for conquering and retaining the Philippines. For my own part, however, I cannot see why we should add several millions of negroes to our population when we already have eight millions of negroes in the United States. The problem of how best to govern *these* and promote their welfare we have not yet solved.

My most serious objection to making the Philippines American territory is because three-fourths of the population is made up of negroes. I understand that the people form a sort of human mosaic, representing the mixture of a number of tribes, nationalities, and races. Even the different native races are an admixture of many grades of Indians and blacks. Added to these are hundreds of thousands of half-castes between the various native types and the Spaniards; and so numerous are these blends that even natives themselves can hardly identify a particular type. You may call them Christianized Malays, if you will, but pure blood of any sort is said to be rare. It is therefore impossible to classify these people in tribes and races. The classification for convenience must be—so many whites and so many blacks. It is said that the half-breeds are more ambitious, more intelligent, and more energetic than the natives. This may be so; but that does not make the half-breed the stronger, though perhaps he may be mentally the abler man. There is no stronger man, constitutionally, than the full-blooded black; while the mulatto is generally constitutionally weak.

The question is, What are we going to do with these additional millions of negroes? Civilize them? You might bring all the processes of civilization to bear upon the negro, and you may educate him; but, except in isolated cases, you cannot make him thrifty. After the negro has acquired knowledge, he usually does not know how best to apply it; and advocates of the higher education of the race have been in many cases grievously disappointed in the outcome of their best efforts, though certainly among the race there are striking exceptions

that only prove the rule. The sympathies of the Southern people have always been with their former slaves; but the influence of pernicious books and low white associates, a very partial education, and no self-control have changed a kind and simple-hearted people in some cases into a semi-savage and predatory class.

Not long ago, in Mississippi, some negroes entered the dwelling of a white farmer who had gone to a neighboring town. Finding his family unprotected, they tied his affrighted wife and children to a table, and after saturating their clothing with kerosene and looting the house they set fire to it. The farmer returned to find his home in ashes and his wife and children dead. One of the negroes who perpetrated that outrage was, I believe, as well educated as the average of negroes are—as were, perhaps, all of those concerned in the outrage. Such things did not happen throughout the length and breadth of our country until after they were emancipated from the authority of the whites.

As white people generally entertain an insurmountable aversion to mingling their blood with the negro race—a prejudice they will never overcome—and as the negro race multiplies faster in proportion than the whites, there must come a time when these conditions will tax to the utmost the powers of our lawgivers to form a homogeneous people. To white persons, the idea of social equality is repugnant—and it is quite so to the most respectable full-blooded negroes. While political rights may be conceded, social equality can probably never be established. Nevertheless, every Southerner has had faithful and affectionate friends among them; and the people of the South can never forget or cease to render them thanks for their noble and honorable conduct when the white men left them in charge of their families while they were in the army, and the women and children had no other bread-winners or protectors. They acquitted themselves well, and their generosity will never be forgotten; but the exchange of kind offices for generations had prepared American negroes for this trust. How would it have been with aliens? However, have we not already sacrificed

enough blood and enough money for the negro race? The cause of the American negro has incidentally made thousands of widows and orphans: is it wise to extend the fight beyond our own country for a very problematic hope of success?

When the revolt in the Philippines shall have been suppressed, we will have on our hands a very large population of negroes, or half-breeds, who are more ignorant and more degraded than those in our Southern States. Of course, this remark does not apply to the educated and refined class of the Filipinos, of whom there are quite a number—even those of mixed blood. What are we to do with this mighty negro population, who do not speak our language and come to us in enforced citizenship and full of smoldering discontent? In a tropical climate the negroes do not and cannot work as they do in a more inhospitable one; indeed, the whites experience the same enfeebling influence. Nature in the Philippines is so generous that a black man, by working a very small part of the year, can earn enough to keep him in idleness all the rest of it; and what he will do in this period of leisure one may guess from a glance at their course in the semitropical climate of the extreme Southern States. The situation, then, will amount to this: The black man will not work if he can avoid it, and the white man cannot work long in that climate. The two races will, therefore, necessarily have much time on their hands in which serious contests must arise.

I see only one solution to the problem. Give the Filipinos the right to govern themselves under certain restrictions, commercial and otherwise, and refuse to burden the United States with fresh millions of foreign negroes whose standards are different and whose language is alien—at least until we have solved the race problem here at home.

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*New York.*

## II. THE BARBARISM OF CIVILIZATION.

THE newspapers record 1,285 cases of lynching in the United States from 1891 to 1897 inclusive. According to the statistics given by the Richmond *Planet*, 166 persons were lynched from January 5, 1898, to April 24, 1899; and of these 157 were colored. Only fifteen of these slain negroes were charged with that unmentionable crime which is supposed by its frequent commission to have wrought the whites of the South to a pitch of moral frenzy. In fact, only twenty-five per cent. of all the negroes lynched during the last two years have been charged with this crime—ignoring the fact that the guilt of those accused still remains legally unproved. The principles underlying our common law provide that a man is held to be innocent until proved guilty; but the principles of lynch law are exactly the reverse. The mere possibility that a victim might have proved his innocence if he had lived would brand his judges as murderers. Being already dead, he can have no further interest in the question, while the interest of his accusers in his guilt is increased a hundredfold. To justify themselves they must assume what they did not take steps to prove; and as dead men cannot be tried, there is little likelihood of their verdict being reversed. It is to be observed that all victims of lynch law are reported to the press of the country as if their guilt were established beyond the shadow of a doubt. There are no "alleged criminals" among them. As soon as caught they are known to be guilty; when slain they become forthwith human monsters.

Northern opinion, unquestionably, is confused and unnerved by the persistency with which the best white men and women of the South plead that the general depravity of the negro is the cause of the lawlessness of the white man. In weighing this plea, however, we must not forget that the Southern slaveholder justified slavery exactly on this basis. He pleaded as eloquently as his sons and daughters are now pleading that the negro was a brute, and could never rise to man's estate.

Slavery was excusable because the slave was too degraded and vicious to be permitted to take care of himself. He needed a master to keep him in the position of a beast of burden, which God had ordained he should be.

It is no exaggeration to say that the slave-holding class believed in their doctrine of the total depravity of the negro, much as the Calvinist believes in the doctrine of the total depravity of man. It was a dogma—an article of faith—to be accepted, like all other articles of faith, without question and in spite of every evidence to the contrary. I think I do not overstate the point of view of our fellow-countryman of the South to-day when I add that this dogma is still the basis of much of his argument on the subject.

Not long ago, on the through car of the Southern Railroad, I conversed with a Southern woman on the subject of the negro. She spoke so affectionately of the old ex-slaves who were still living on her family estate, "in the same old cabins they had lived in before the war," that I ventured to ask her opinion of Booker T. Washington's Industrial School in Alabama. I asked if she did not think him a fine man. She answered me with an air of gentle dignity that she had "no doubt he might be an excellent negro." When I pursued the subject further, and inquired into the general opinion of his work in the neighborhood where she lived, her reply was delivered with an air of shrinking reserve as if I had been guilty of questioning her faith in the Trinity. She said that the subject was one that was never discussed—it did not interest the people at all; and from that moment it became necessary to talk about something else. No doubt if this lady had lived in the vicinity of the Industrial School she would soon have become reconciled to its existence and to the merits of its founder, as other white people living near it have done. She might even have become proud of it, as are many of the best white people in the State to-day; but, living as she did in another State, she was unaware of its usefulness to her own class, and it was amusingly evident that the idea of negro manhood and worth which the spectacle of Mr. Washington and his work presented was as terrifying

to her cherished dogma of negro depravity as modern destructive criticism is to a saintly nun in a convent.

It would seem that this dogma does not interfere, however, with the placing of negroes in positions of trust whenever it suits their masters or employers to give them such responsibility. All over the South intelligent negroes are faithfully performing duties that one would suppose in a land of universal faith in negro depravity would fall to white men. It is not unusual, for instance, to find negro superintendents in charge of the large cotton plantations, while the land-owners are absent three-fourths of the year. On their faithfulness and ability to manage the cotton crop of course depends the income of the planter and his family. When I stayed over night once at a hotel in a Southern city, the white clerk wrote down my name and immediately turned me over to a colored porter who carried the keys of the bed-rooms, which he opened for my inspection. He discussed with me the choice of rooms, arranged for my meals, attended to all my wants, and to all appearances he shouldered the lion's share of responsibility for the management of the house—yet he was only the porter, with a porter's wages. But his trustworthiness afforded no argument that could be used in a discussion of the race problem. The average Southerner will defend a dogma with his lips while denying it in many acts of his life. He must always justify his historic past—for this is human nature. Put yourself in his place, O reader, and imagine how you would feel if a "lost cause," for which you and yours had fought, bled, and died only thirty-five years ago, still existed before your eyes in the immediate presence of eight millions of beings whose parents and grandparents you had bought and sold like cattle, and over whom you still exercised the control that the owners of the soil possess over the ignorant tillers.

The statistics of Southern prisons are frequently used as an apology for lynching. They undoubtedly show an alarming increase in the number of negro criminals. For much of this increase the convict lease-system is directly responsible, as it herds together young girls and boys, men and women, in



frightful degradation and suffering, their labor being used by irresponsible speculators to increase the revenues of the State. To make matters worse, as Professor DuBois of the Atlanta University states in the *Independent*, the Southern courts are inclined to treat the crimes of whites so leniently that "red-handed murderers walk scot free;" while the crimes and misdemeanors of negroes are dealt with so severely that "the lesson of punishment is lost through pity for the punished." In illustration of this, Professor DuBois quotes from the *Atlanta Constitution* of January 22, 1899:

"Egbert Jackson (colored), aged thirteen, was given a sentence of \$50 or ten months in the chain-gang for larceny from the house. . . . The most affecting scene of all was the sentence of Joe Redding, a white man, for the killing of his brother, John Redding. The judge, a most tender-hearted man, heard the prayers, saw the tears, and tempered justice with moderation, and gave the modern Cain two years in the penitentiary."

Of course, little Jackson could pay no such fine, and he went to the chain-gang.

In relation to the crime of assault, a Southern white woman in a letter to the *Independent* asserts that the "negro brute [by which she means the victim of a lynching mob] is nearly always a mulatto, or having at least enough white blood in him to replace native humility and cowardice with Caucasian audacity." She describes the immorality of colored women and the increase of illegitimate offspring among them, and observes: "Their social customs do not condemn this crime by even the mildest form of ostracism. Their churches condone it. . . . These facts are the rule and not the exception among negroes. This is the genesis of the brute"—for whose torture and murder she pleads excuse.

It is necessary, however, to look a little deeper into the social conditions to which this lady refers. It is estimated that there are not fewer than one million and a half negroes of mixed blood in this country—in a colored population of eight millions. By the side of these figures is to be placed the fact that in every

Southern State, from Maryland to Texas, marriage between the races is forbidden by law. Yet you cannot enter any colored school in the South without meeting with overwhelming evidence that the two races are mixing and are creating a third race, which is neither negro nor white. Nothing is more astonishing than the fairness of some of these so-called negro children: some are blue-eyed, brown-haired Anglo-Saxons in appearance; yet by association, by environment, and by law they are negroes.

The picture of a young, refined, highly educated and apparently white woman, standing on the platform of a colored school in which she was engaged as teacher (only colored persons teach colored children in Southern public schools), is one of my most vivid recollections of the South. "*My people*" was the phrase by which, in the tenderest accents, she designated the race to which I thought she did not belong, but which she was devotedly trying to uplift; for by every law of external evidence her people were my people, and we were sisters of one race. Our white logic seems very poor—our arithmetic very imperfect—when a few drops of African blood outweigh in our scales of justice the overwhelming evidence of an Anglo-Saxon inheritance. It does not seem to the impartial observer that we are rendering unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, according to our own standard of our own superiority. Yet, perhaps, in the service and in the household of this dusky race, our white sister may have found the chivalrous protection the people of her own blood had denied her. Let us hope that those black hands have surrounded her with the tenderness due to a daughter of misfortune, who, for no fault of her own, is disowned by her kinsmen and cast out of her own house.

But, with all these evidences of race mixture constantly before their eyes, this is what the people of South Carolina did about five years ago: When Senator Tillman was Governor of the State he called a convention to have the Constitution amended. It was then decided that it was criminal for a white man to marry a colored woman having more than one-eighth of negro blood. This was voted for by all except two

or three colored men in the convention. A negro named Smalls then arose and offered a resolution to the effect that it should be declared criminal and punishable for white men to *live in an unmarried state* with colored women. This was voted down by the same majority that had voted for the other resolution! The acts of that convention have since become by vote of the people the law of the State.

To forbid marriage and not to forbid illegal unions is simply to invite, and to perpetuate, race hatred and social complications of all kinds. The offspring of such unions are sure to be dissatisfied with their lot; they are likely occasionally to seek for themselves unions (legal or otherwise) with members of that race to which they are bound by ties of blood. One seldom hears of colored men uniting themselves openly with white women of even the poorest class in the South. To do so would be a conspiracy against "the honor of white womanhood," the discovery of which means death to the negro. Yet such cases occur. But no punishment is visited on the white man that seeks a similar union with a negro woman.

The phrase we hear so often from the South, "the protection of white womanhood," is a one-sided argument, and has been used unfairly to justify the slaughter of innocent negroes; for, if it were solely a matter of protecting white women on lonely farms, the question could easily be settled. Our fellow-countrymen of the South admit that ninety-five per cent. of the negroes—to use the words of one of their own editors—"are as respectful toward white women as any people on earth." This ninety-five per cent., a large proportion of whom live on the plantations, could certainly be trusted to protect white women from the five per cent. of negro criminals, just as they protected them from white and black marauders during the civil war—when all the able-bodied white men of the South were on the battle-field.

In the heart of the Black Belt of the South there is a little school for colored children conducted by two white women and a white clergyman from the North. It is surrounded by a population of ignorant, black field hands, whose sons and

daughters attend the school. It frequently happens that the white clergyman is absent for weeks and even months at a time, and the white women have no other protection than that afforded by their black students and one or two black male teachers. I do not think it ever occurs to these women (and it certainly never occurred to me while I was there) to wish for a more devoted band of defenders than those young blacks. I was told that when the teachers go out to take a walk the young blacks often follow them at a respectful distance armed with sticks and stones. I do not know against whom they expect to defend the women—whether against members of another race or against their own. But I see no reason why Southern white women may not find similar protection among respectable blacks in their employment or neighborhood.

Two suggestions are made to remedy this reign of lawlessness and terror. One is to remove the negroes from the South and scatter them over the Union, or colonize them in the West or in some distant country. A writer in the April *ARENA* suggests that the Southern planter could well afford to pay the railroad fares of negroes to the North or West, for the sake of getting rid of them. But to “get rid” of the negro has always been the very last thing that the Southern planter wants to do. The commercial and agricultural interests of the South are built on negro labor. The whole South stands as a unit in favor of keeping the negro just where he is. Emigration, far from being encouraged, is practically prohibited. In South Carolina and in several other States a law exists forbidding emigration agents to enter the State for the purpose of inducing negroes to leave the plantations.

Eight years ago a colonization society made arrangements to transport twenty-five or thirty negroes with their families from South Carolina to Liberia. A number of field hands were persuaded to accept the inducements offered and were provided with means for leaving the South; but, when the time came for their departure, they were mobbed by white men and forbidden to carry out their undertaking. They got away, finally, by pretending to give up the scheme, while they carried out their plans in secret.

No one familiar with the terms by which the negroes work these plantations can be surprised that the emigration of the negro is discouraged in the South. The field hands on the cotton plantation are supposed to be tenants; they make leases as do other tenants for portions of land—generally about twenty-five to forty acres. They plant cotton by the landlord's order. No garden products or grain are to be raised except what may be planted in a tiny staked-off garden, which the "tenant" cultivates after sundown or by moonlight—exactly as he did during slavery. But, of course, the poor peasant has to eat in order to live, and the terms of his lease provide that every mouthful eaten, as well as every article of clothing worn by himself and his family, shall go to fill the pockets of his landlord or a "syndicate" composed of his landlord and the storekeeper. The landlord advances from time to time food and clothing, which the "tenant" accepts as a loan, binding himself to pay an enormous rate of interest thereon, varying from fifteen to fifty per cent.; the interest on the whole, as well as the principal, being often charged against him from the beginning of the year, though he may not receive a large part of the loan until months later. When fall comes the unfortunate "tenant" is apt to discover that he has eaten up his entire share of the mythical profits, and sometimes more than his share, in which case he begins a new lease on the basis of a debt that now runs at compound interest—or he may be ejected. This system prevails with variations in all parts of the South. It is a substitute for slavery, inasmuch as it practically deprives the black peasant of the legitimate fruits of his toil.

A young colored woman, who has started a small private school in the midst of a cotton-growing district in the South, relates that a colored man brought his daughter to the school, begging to have her taught arithmetic, so that she could keep his accounts—as he paid a white man ten dollars every year to keep his books. It will thus be seen that the negro problem is also a labor problem. It is not to be solved off-hand by an exodus of the negro population. The white planter, the white

storekeeper, and the white man that makes ten dollars a year by "keeping the negro's books," would all expect to have something to say in the matter.

The other remedy most frequently suggested is that of education for the negro. But education will not solve the problem, unless it include also the education of the poor white man. The statistics that I have seen on the illiteracy of both whites and negroes in the Southern States are appalling. The public school system is inadequate to meet the needs of either race in the rural districts. The school appropriation for such districts provides only for three months of school in many States; it seldom supplies for the blacks either text-books or school-houses. Most of the colored schools are held in the churches built by the colored people—which introduces an unwise sectarian feature.

The most discouraging element in the situation is the indifference of the better class of whites to the whole subject of education for the masses, whether black or white. Public opinion, far from demanding more schools for the negro, is constantly at work concocting schemes for placing the whole burden of negro education on the negroes themselves. A bill introduced last spring in the Alabama Legislature would give all school taxes paid by white men to the support of white schools, and all paid by colored men to the support of colored schools. Similar bills have been introduced in other Southern States, but not yet adopted. If they succeed in getting through, it would mean practically that the State refuses education to the negro; for there are not enough taxes paid by colored people to pay the whole cost of a separate public school system.

A Democratic candidate for Governor of Mississippi conducted last summer a popular campaign by advocating the withdrawal of all public support from the colored schools of the State. He argued that education was of no benefit to the colored people, as it simply unfitted them for the state of peonage in which it was desirable they should be held. In one of his speeches he took pains to explain that he did not except even Booker T. Washington's system of industrial education

for the negro. The States that have already disfranchised the negro, by a system that excludes the illiterate black and admits the illiterate white man, have little reason to improve the facilities for negro education. For the whole object of such legislation is the suppression of the negro vote. The contempt with which negro education is regarded in Mississippi—the first State to adopt constitutional barriers to the negro's rights as a citizen—proves that disfranchisement is of distinct disadvantage to the negro where it has been longest tried.

The solution of this dark problem rests with the whole nation, not with any one section of the country. Brought down to its last analysis, the negro problem is simply the white man's problem of how to secure justice for those of his fellows who are environed and set apart by race prejudice, ignorance, poverty, misrepresentation, and unequal opportunity. For the problem is not confined to the South. Race prejudice is active in the North, where it takes the form of industrial exclusion of the negro. In all our Northern cities it is the bitter cry of the race that it is required to make bricks without straw; that its members are expected to live on the same moral plane as the white man, while denied the white man's opportunity to improve his condition by his skill and industry.

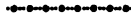
Only a cursory glance at our commercial, manufacturing, and mercantile establishments is needed to show how widespread in the North is this spirit of racial exclusion. Colored men and women who have fitted themselves to work at a special trade or occupation (outside of domestic lines or the lowest grades of unskilled labor) are persistently refused even a trial of their abilities by white employers. This is not due solely to the pressure of labor unions—indeed, the Knights of Labor now admit the negro to fellowship—for the same result obtains in lines of employment not yet organized for the protection of labor.

Our spirit of industrial exclusion is simply the lingering echo of the slave-holder's argument, which proved that the slave was unfitted for education by withholding the spelling-book from his reach. Unspeakably dear to the soul of the

white man—even in the North—is his theory of racial superiority. The quickest and easiest way to maintain it is to cry out: "*The lists are closed*"—when the black man comes up to enter his name for the race. I firmly believe, however, that the negro need not despair of a higher sense of justice prevailing in the long run. The attitude of the white American is largely instinctive and unconscious. I hope and believe that he does not wish to win any race by unfair means; he will not do so when the injustice of his methods is clearly pointed out. To believe otherwise would indeed be to lose faith in ourselves and our high destiny forever.

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### III. LYNCH LAW IN AMERICA.

OUR country's national crime is *lynching*. It is not the creature of an hour, the sudden outburst of uncontrolled fury, or the unspeakable brutality of an insane mob. It represents the cool, calculating deliberation of intelligent people who openly avow that there is an "unwritten law" that justifies them in putting human beings to death without complaint under oath, without trial by jury, without opportunity to make defense, and without right of appeal. The "unwritten law" first found excuse with the rough, rugged, and determined man who left the civilized centers of eastern States to seek for quick returns in the gold-fields of the far West. Following in uncertain pursuit of continually eluding fortune, they dared the savagery of the Indians, the hardships of mountain travel, and the constant terror of border State outlaws. Naturally, they felt slight toleration for traitors in their own ranks. It was enough to fight the enemies from without; woe to the foe within! Far removed from and entirely without protection of the courts of civilized life, these fortune-seekers made laws to meet their varying emergencies. The thief who stole a horse, the bully who "jumped" a claim, was a common enemy. If



caught he was promptly tried, and if found guilty was hanged to the tree under which the court convened.

Those were busy days of busy men. They had no time to give the prisoner a bill of exception or stay of execution. The only way a man had to secure a stay of execution was to behave himself. Judge Lynch was original in methods but exceedingly effective in procedure. He made the charge, impaneled the jurors, and directed the execution. When the court adjourned, the prisoner was dead. Thus lynch law held sway in the far West until civilization spread into the Territories and the orderly processes of law took its place. The emergency no longer existing, lynching gradually disappeared from the West.

But the spirit of mob procedure seemed to have fastened itself upon the lawless classes, and the grim process that at first was invoked to declare justice was made the excuse to wreak vengeance and cover crime. It next appeared in the South, where centuries of Anglo-Saxon civilization had made effective all the safeguards of court procedure. No emergency called for lynch law. It asserted its sway in defiance of law and in favor of anarchy. There it has flourished ever since, marking the thirty years of its existence with the inhuman butchery of more than ten thousand men, women, and children by shooting, drowning, hanging, and burning them alive. Not only this, but so potent is the force of example that the lynching mania has spread throughout the North and middle West. It is now no uncommon thing to read of lynchings north of Mason and Dixon's line, and those most responsible for this fashion gleefully point to these instances and assert that the North is no better than the South.

This is the work of the "unwritten law" about which so much is said, and in whose behest butchery is made a pastime and national savagery condoned. The first statute of this "unwritten law" was written in the blood of thousands of brave men who thought that a government that was good enough to create a citizenship was strong enough to protect it. Under the authority of a national law that gave every citizen the right

to vote, the newly-made citizens chose to exercise their suffrage. But the reign of the national law was short-lived and illusionary. Hardly had the sentences dried upon the statute-books before one Southern State after another raised the cry against "negro domination" and proclaimed there was an "unwritten law" that justified any means to resist it.

The method then inaugurated was the outrages by the "red-shirt" bands of Louisiana, South Carolina, and other Southern States, which were succeeded by the Ku-Klux Klans. These advocates of the "unwritten law" boldly avowed their purpose to intimidate, suppress, and nullify the negro's right to vote. In support of its plans the Ku-Klux Klans, the "red-shirt" and similar organizations proceeded to beat, exile, and kill negroes until the purpose of their organization was accomplished and the supremacy of the "unwritten law" was effected. Thus lynchings began in the South, rapidly spreading into the various States until the national law was nullified and the reign of the "unwritten law" was supreme. Men were taken from their homes by "red-shirt" bands and stripped, beaten, and exiled; others were assassinated when their political prominence made them obnoxious to their political opponents; while the Ku-Klux barbarism of election days, reveling in the butchery of thousands of colored voters, furnished records in Congressional investigations that are a disgrace to civilization.

The alleged menace of universal suffrage having been avoided by the absolute suppression of the negro vote, the spirit of mob murder should have been satisfied and the butchery of negroes should have ceased. But men, women, and children were the victims of murder by individuals and murder by mobs, just as they had been when killed at the demands of the "unwritten law" to prevent "negro domination." Negroes were killed for disputing over terms of contracts with their employers. If a few barns were burned some colored man was killed to stop it. If a colored man resented the imposition of a white man and the two came to blows, the colored man had to die, either at the hands of the white man then and there or later at the hands of a mob that speedily gathered. If he

showed a spirit of courageous manhood he was hanged for his pains, and the killing was justified by the declaration that he was a "saucy nigger." Colored women have been murdered because they refused to tell the mobs where relatives could be found for "lynching bees." Boys of fourteen years have been lynched by white representatives of American civilization. In fact, for all kinds of offenses—and for no offenses—from murders to misdemeanors, men and women are put to death without judge or jury; so that, although the political excuse was no longer necessary, the wholesale murder of human beings went on just the same. A new name was given to the killings and a new excuse was invented for so doing.

Again the aid of the "unwritten law" is invoked, and again it comes to the rescue. During the last ten years a new statute has been added to the "unwritten law." This statute proclaims that for certain crimes or alleged crimes no negro shall be allowed a trial; that no white woman shall be compelled to charge an assault under oath or to submit any such charge to the investigation of a court of law. The result is that many men have been put to death whose innocence was afterward established; and to-day, under this reign of the "unwritten law," no colored man, no matter what his reputation, is safe from lynching if a white woman, no matter what her standing or motive, cares to charge him with insult or assault.

It is considered a sufficient excuse and reasonable justification to put a prisoner to death under this "unwritten law" for the frequently repeated charge that these lynching horrors are necessary to prevent crimes against women. The sentiment of the country has been appealed to, in describing the isolated condition of white families in thickly populated negro districts; and the charge is made that these homes are in as great danger as if they were surrounded by wild beasts. And the world has accepted this theory without let or hindrance. In many cases there has been open expression that the fate meted out to the victim was only what he deserved. In many other instances there has been a silence that says more forcibly than words can proclaim it that it is right and proper that a human

being should be seized by a mob and burned to death upon the unsworn and the uncorroborated charge of his accuser. No matter that our laws presume every man innocent until he is proved guilty; no matter that it leaves a certain class of individuals completely at the mercy of another class; no matter that it encourages those criminally disposed to blacken their faces and commit any crime in the calendar so long as they can throw suspicion on some negro, as is frequently done, and then lead a mob to take his life; no matter that mobs make a farce of the law and a mockery of justice; no matter that hundreds of boys are being hardened in crime and schooled in vice by the repetition of such scenes before their eyes—if a white woman declares herself insulted or assaulted, some life must pay the penalty, with all the horrors of the Spanish Inquisition and all the barbarism of the Middle Ages. The world looks on and says it is well.

Not only are two hundred men and women put to death annually, on the average, in this country by mobs, but these lives are taken with the greatest publicity. In many instances the leading citizens aid and abet by their presence when they do not participate, and the leading journals inflame the public mind to the lynching point with scare-head articles and offers of rewards. Whenever a burning is advertised to take place, the railroads run excursions, photographs are taken, and the same jubilee is indulged in that characterized the public hangings of one hundred years ago. There is, however, this difference: in those old days the multitude that stood by was permitted only to gully or jeer. The nineteenth century lynching mob cuts off ears, toes, and fingers, strips off flesh, and distributes portions of the body as souvenirs among the crowd. If the leaders of the mob are so minded, coal-oil is poured over the body and the victim is then roasted to death. This has been done in Texarkana and Paris, Tex., in Bardswell, Ky., and in Newman, Ga. In Paris the officers of the law delivered the prisoner to the mob. The mayor gave the school children a holiday and the railroads ran excursion trains so that the people might see a human being burned to death. In Texarkana, the

year before, men and boys amused themselves by cutting off strips of flesh and thrusting knives into their helpless victim. At Newman, Ga., of the present year, the mob tried every conceivable torture to compel the victim to cry out and confess, before they set fire to the faggots that burned him. But their trouble was all in vain—he never uttered a cry, and they could not make him confess.

This condition of affairs were brutal enough and horrible enough if it were true that lynchings occurred only because of the commission of crimes against women—as is constantly declared by ministers, editors, lawyers, teachers, statesmen, and even by women themselves. It has been to the interest of those who did the lynching to blacken the good name of the helpless and defenseless victims of their hate. For this reason they publish at every possible opportunity this excuse for lynching, hoping thereby not only to palliate their own crime but at the same time to prove the negro a moral monster and unworthy of the respect and sympathy of the civilized world. But this alleged reason adds to the deliberate injustice of the mob's work. Instead of lynchings being caused by assaults upon women, the statistics show that not one-third of the victims of lynchings are even charged with such crimes. The *Chicago Tribune*, which publishes annually lynching statistics, is authority for the following:

In 1892, when lynching reached high-water mark, there were 241 persons lynched. The entire number is divided among the following States:

Alabama .....	22	Montana .....	4
Arkansas .....	25	New York.....	1
California .....	3	North Carolina.....	5
Florida .....	11	North Dakota.....	1
Georgia .....	17	Ohio .....	3
Idaho .....	8	South Carolina.....	5
Illinois .....	1	Tennessee .....	28
Kansas .....	3	Texas .....	15
Kentucky .....	9	Virginia .....	7
Louisiana .....	29	West Virginia.....	5
Maryland .....	1	Wyoming .....	9
Mississippi .....	16	Arizona Ter.....	3
Missouri .....	6	Oklahoma .....	2

Of this number, 160 were of negro descent. Four of them were lynched in New York, Ohio, and Kansas; the remainder were murdered in the South. Five of this number were females. The charges for which they were lynched cover a wide range. They are as follows:

Rape .....	46	Attempted rape.....	11
Murder .....	58	Suspected robbery.....	4
Rioting .....	3	Larceny .....	1
Race prejudice.....	6	Self-defense .....	1
No cause given.....	4	Insulting women.....	2
Incendiarism .....	6	Desperadoes .....	6
Robbery .....	6	Fraud .....	1
Assault and battery.....	1	Attempted murder.....	2
No offense stated, boy and girl..... 2			

In the case of the boy and girl above referred to, their father, named Hastings, was accused of the murder of a white man. His fourteen-year-old daughter and sixteen-year-old son were hanged and their bodies filled with bullets; then the father was also lynched. This occurred in November, 1892, at Jonesville, La.

Indeed, the record for the last twenty years shows exactly the same or a smaller proportion who have been charged with this horrible crime. Quite a number of the one-third alleged cases of assault that have been personally investigated by the writer have shown that there was no foundation in fact for the charges; yet the claim is not made that there were no real culprits among them. The negro has been too long associated with the white man not to have copied his vices as well as his virtues. But the negro resents and utterly repudiates the effort to blacken his good name by asserting that assaults upon women are peculiar to his race. The negro has suffered far more from the commission of this crime against the women of his race by white men than the white race has ever suffered through *his* crimes. Very scant notice is taken of the matter when this is the condition of affairs. What becomes a crime deserving capital punishment when the tables are turned is a matter of small moment when the negro woman is the accusing party.

But since the world has accepted this false and unjust statement, and the burden of proof has been placed upon the negro to vindicate his race, he is taking steps to do so. The Anti-Lynching Bureau of the National Afro-American Council is arranging to have every lynching investigated and publish the facts to the world, as has been done in the case of Sam Hose, who was burned alive last April at Newman, Ga. The detective's report showed that Hose killed Cranford, his employer, in self-defense, and that, while a mob was organizing to hunt Hose to punish him for killing a white man, not till twenty-four hours after the murder was the charge of rape, embellished with psychological and physical impossibilities, circulated. That gave an impetus to the hunt, and the *Atlanta Constitution's* reward of \$500 keyed the mob to the necessary burning and roasting pitch. Of five hundred newspaper clippings of that horrible affair, nine-tenths of them assumed Hose's guilt—simply because his murderers said so, and because it is the fashion to believe the negro peculiarly addicted to this species of crime. All the negro asks is justice—a fair and impartial trial in the courts of the country. That given, he will abide the result.

But this question affects the entire American nation, and from several points of view: First, on the ground of consistency. Our watchword has been "the land of the free and the home of the brave." Brave men do not gather by thousands to torture and murder a single individual, so gagged and bound he cannot make even feeble resistance or defense. Neither do brave men or women stand by and see such things done without compunction of conscience, nor read of them without protest. Our nation has been active and outspoken in its endeavors to right the wrongs of the Armenian Christian, the Russian Jew, the Irish Home Ruler, the native women of India, the Siberian exile, and the Cuban patriot. Surely it should be the nation's duty to correct its own evils!

Second, on the ground of economy. To those who fail to be convinced from any other point of view touching this momentous question, a consideration of the economic phase

might not be amiss. It is generally known that mobs in Louisiana, Colorado, Wyoming, and other States have lynched subjects of other countries. When their different governments demanded satisfaction, our country was forced to confess her inability to protect said subjects in the several States because of our State-rights doctrines, or in turn demand punishment of the lynchers. This confession, while humiliating in the extreme, was not satisfactory; and, while the United States cannot protect, she can pay. This she has done, and it is certain will have to do again in the case of the recent lynching of Italians in Louisiana. The United States already has paid in indemnities for lynching nearly a half million dollars, as follows:

Paid China for Rock Springs (Wyo.) massacre..	\$147,748.74
Paid China for outrages on Pacific Coast.....	276,619.75
Paid Italy for massacre of Italian prisoners at New Orleans.....	24,330.90
Paid Italy for lynchings at Walsenburg, Col.....	10,000.00
Paid Great Britain for outrages on James Bain and Frederick Dawson.....	2,800.00

Third, for the honor of Anglo-Saxon civilization. No scoffer at our boasted American civilization could say anything more harsh of it than does the American white man himself who says he is unable to protect the honor of his women without resort to such brutal, inhuman, and degrading exhibitions as characterize "lynching bees." The cannibals of the South Sea Islands roast human beings alive to satisfy hunger. The red Indian of the Western plains tied his prisoner to the stake, tortured him, and danced in fiendish glee while his victim writhed in the flames. His savage, untutored mind suggested no better way than that of wreaking vengeance upon those who had wronged him. These people knew nothing about Christianity and did not profess to follow its teachings; but such primary laws as they had they lived up to. No nation, savage or civilized, save only the United States of America, has confessed its inability to protect its women save by hanging, shooting, and burning alleged offenders.



Finally, for love of country. No American travels abroad without blushing for shame for his country on this subject. And whatever the excuse that passes current in the United States, it avails nothing abroad. With all the powers of government in control; with all laws made by white men, administered by white judges, jurors, prosecuting attorneys, and sheriffs; with every office of the executive department filled by white men—no excuse can be offered for exchanging the orderly administration of justice for barbarous lynchings and “unwritten laws.” Our country should be placed speedily above the plane of confessing herself a failure at self-government. This cannot be until Americans of every section, of broadest patriotism and best and wisest citizenship, not only see the defect in our country’s armor but take the necessary steps to remedy it. Although lynchings have steadily increased in number and barbarity during the last twenty years, there has been no single effort put forth by the many moral and philanthropic forces of the country to put a stop to this wholesale slaughter. Indeed, the silence and seeming condonation grow more marked as the years go by.

A few months ago the conscience of this country was shocked because, after a two-weeks trial, a French judicial tribunal pronounced Captain Dreyfus guilty. And yet, in our own land and under our own flag, the writer can give day and detail of one thousand men, women, and children who during the last six years were put to death without trial before any tribunal on earth. Humiliating indeed, but altogether unanswerable, was the reply of the French press to our protest: “Stop your lynchings at home before you send your protests abroad.”

IDA B. WELLS-BARNETT.

*Chicago.*



#### IV. NEGRO EDUCATION.

THE dawn of chemistry and physiology was accompanied by two ideas that influenced scientific thought for centuries. These were the philosopher’s stone and the elixir of life—two

mythical bodies that were to banish poverty, disease, and death and make life an existence of ceaseless delight, free from pain or care. To attain this end, the ban of Church and State was braved; fatigue, sorrow, and want were cheerfully borne, and the hope deferred that maketh the heart sick became the lot of many tireless workers. The goal was not and never can be gained; but, in seeking it, the foundations of modern science were laid and many fallacies destroyed, among them the ones that had occasioned the futile researches themselves.

As the world grew wiser the search for universal specifics for physical ills was abandoned, but a new generation of alchemists arose who sought remedies for the ills of the body politic. The expansion of human intelligence at the Renaissance caused the feudal system to be outgrown. The tyranny of Church and State became intolerable, and the people chafed under a government that oppressed but did not govern. The alchemists of statecraft suggested specifics, but each in turn proved useless. The doctrine of passive obedience fell with Charles I.; the dogma of "divine right" was answered by the "Contrat Social" and the guillotine; and, urged by these experiences, the political empirics were forced to adopt another line. From fearing the people they came to worship them. The voice of the people was declared the voice of God, and the road to Paradise lay through universal suffrage; but the horrible excesses of the revolutionary era in France showed that the tyranny of a mob was more to be feared than that of a monarch, as it could not be "tempered by assassination." The opponents of democratic rule pointed to these mad outbursts as necessary consequences of popular government; but its advocates claimed that the remedy lay, not in autocracy, but in popular enlightenment, and from this claim grew the next national specific—universal education.

In theory an educated electorate is the solution of many problems and the cure for many political disorders, but the application of this remedy involves other problems as complex and as difficult as those it is to solve. The kind of education to be given the masses is as yet an unanswered question, though

theorists and partizans of the different schools insist on those kinds of which they are advocates. The adherents of academic culture maintain that enlightenment is to come only through books; that Latin, Greek, and the other factors of the typical classical training are the elements from which wisdom will spring; and that a proletariat skilled in Sophocles will legislate wisely on the problems of to-day. It is true that the classics accomplished much during the close of the Middle Ages, when they earned and deserved the name of the "humanities;" but, like many other things that have served a good purpose, they became a drag on intellectual progress when the time for them had passed. At present the education given is so generally based on the academic idea that as yet no other is sufficiently widespread to be a considerable factor.

The dogma of universal suffrage as a cure for all evils never received so wide and foolhardy an application as when the privileges of citizenship were bestowed on the freedmen immediately after the civil war. It is hard to conceive a spirit of partizanship so bitter as to be willing to intrust to manumitted slaves the management of public affairs of the gravest character and most delicate nature, and to proclaim to the world that knowledge, intelligence, and even civilization are not necessary for the duties of American citizenship. The many centuries during which the English-speaking race had been rising to the stage at which it was capable of self-government were declared unnecessary, and the teachings of Nature in the slow evolution of forms fitted to high functions were pushed aside in favor of the ignorant assertions of narrow bigots. When the folly and recklessness of such an action had been appreciated, the unsatisfactory pound of cure was undertaken; and now, after thirty years, the results may be summarized.

The United States has attempted to educate, according to our standards, the Indian and the negro; and it cannot be said that brilliant success has attended the efforts put forth. A system of mental training that may be eminently suited to an intelligence fitted to receive it by the heritage of generations of culture is not necessarily the best to apply to a barbarian, "half

devil and half child." Among the negroes the instruction given in the schools is generally regarded as a thing apart from the affairs of every-day life, and is thrown aside when school is out. It is practically the universal experience that even the English language is rarely learned so as to be used with approximate purity of pronunciation or syntax. The precise meanings of words are not grasped, and the mistakes made by many "educated" negroes would be laughable were they not pitiable, and the symptoms of so grave a condition. Indeed, precision of thought and action seems impossible for the bulk of the race, and for this reason they have not succeeded as skilled laborers. For field work the negro is excellent; for house service he cannot be surpassed; but, when anything that demands nicety of touch is attempted, failure follows almost invariably. Experience has shown that few of the race can pass the limits of the simplest skill.

The reason for this is easily seen in the history of the race. In antebellum days the negro had no cares. Food and clothing were furnished, and he took no heed for the morrow. Should he be ill or injured, he received a physician's attention at once and at no expense to himself. In old age he was supported in comfort and even dignity. But freedom changed all this. The necessity of earning a livelihood for himself and family became a heavy burden; for to him money had no definite value, and he was incapable of appreciating it. Added to this, he became the prey of self-seeking politicians who sought to estrange him from those among whom he must live, and who inflamed his imagination with false ideas of the purposes of the Federal government. He lost the habit of labor and looked on toil as degrading. Losing the healthful stimulus of daily work and unable to understand the duties of citizenship or the functions of a government, his mind became bewildered and license replaced liberty. The police courts and jails became additional troubles whose utility he failed to see. The slow rise of the feudal serf from a chattel to a freeman and the gradual adaptation to new responsibilities were denied to him, and he was as unfitted to his surroundings as was Pocahontas to the Court

of St. James. The attempt to instil the culture of ages into this unprepared mind brought moral and physical collapse in its train, and a continuation of the attempt will but produce still greater disasters. The harmless "crazy" negro, who had been the playmate of the children on the plantation, has become a fiend from whose frenzy none are safe; and to the perverted instincts of many others whose condition is not so apparent are due the frequent crimes that are so swiftly and so horribly avenged.

But many of the freedmen were of a higher order than the great mass. Those who had been house-servants, valets, and ladies' maids, and whose parents had been accustomed to the refinements of life, had not so great a gap to pass, and the "new learning" was not so unattainable. To these the evil has come later, and in them it has operated differently.

It must be borne in mind that when a whole race is considered the general mass is meant, not the few. Burke said that he knew not how to draw an indictment so wide as to cover a nation; but nations as such may be criticized and judged, although the most degenerate of them may produce men of the highest type. A system is to be judged by its average product, not by an exceptional case that may or may not be a result of it; and if this test be applied to the system of education given the negro, its results are unfavorable. The little knowledge acquired in the schools is proverbially dangerous, and as a very general thing it has but increased the power for evil among those possessing it. The reason is not far to seek. A negro lawyer or physician finds that the thrifty, well-to-do members of his race will not accept his services. They prefer to employ a white man; for as a rule the white man is more learned and more skilful, and the negro, like every one else, wishes to get the best attention that his means can command. In consequence of this, the clientele of the colored professional man comes from the lowest grades of the people—those who cannot or will not recompense him for his work. The unfortunate negro becomes discouraged, then disheartened, and finally desperate. He feels that the world owes him a living, and as it seems im-

possible to obtain it by fair means it must be got by foul ones; and so he begins to prey on those of his race whose confidence he can win. By aid of "words of learned length and ponderous sound" he concocts schemes to gull his unlettered brethren. Bogus insurance plans, alleged benefit societies, fictitious savings banks, and the like, spring from his facile pen; and many victims are pillaged before retribution overtakes the designer.

One of these societies is known as "The H. T. A.: Supreme Majesty,—True Love,—Witty Wit and Sound Wisdom Queen and King Scientific and Interchangeable Charity Congress. That Body of True Lovers that is to be known of all men as the Most High, Righteous Congress and Congressional Body of True Lovers. The Queen of Wisdom, The Sun of Righteousness, The Congress and Congressional College Body and Institute of Sound Wisdom, Wit, and Witty True Lovers." The diploma or certificate of membership makes vague promises of benefits to be received, but makes no contract by which the organization may be bound. It is a mass of sacrilegious and blasphemous nonsense. Among other things it says that "not any man of the race will be regarded as a real friend of the race or of this Charity Congress who opposes anything that this Congress shall do to the glory of God or for the good of his people, or anything that any part of its representative members shall do which is approved by its President, the Rev. ———, who is the founder and master-builder of the Congress; for he is unquestionably a man of God and a man of wisdom, and he knows his business, and he is the Chief Engineer of this Congress train, and his hand is on the throttle and his eye is on the rail."

The injury done by such organizations—by the distrust they engender in legitimate banks, benefit societies, and insurance companies—is incalculable; and the "educated" negro, like the "educated" Indian, is often a most dangerous criminal. It is needless to multiply instances—any one who has been thrown with the negro in the South will recall many of them; but the fact is a serious menace to the American commonwealth, and demands thoughtful and studious consideration:

not the hasty, *ex parte* judgment, passed without knowledge of the facts or the conditions underlying them, that has hitherto been given it. At this time it is impossible to prescribe a course that will be of general application, because special cases demand special treatment; but it is evident to every one who has studied the question that the present method is not successful. It is time to try some other plan, and the most feasible one is that of training in the trades.

Within the last few decades Froebel has taught us to train the hands and let them in turn teach the brain, and on this idea rests the kindergarten. The negroes are but children in the simplicity of their minds, and may well be treated as such. If they were taught the simpler trades, if technical schools could be established for them, and they were encouraged to acquire manual dexterity instead of a mental cultivation for which there is as yet no demand, they would be more useful to the community and would lead happier lives themselves. In the slow progress of time, environment would exert its inevitable influence and the undeveloped, untutored minds become suited to the demands of high civilization. The part played by heredity in the animal world is undisputed; race-horses do not spring from common stock, and high intelligences are not made at once. The kindly, gentle nature of the negro gives promise of fine qualities if rightly trained and developed; but the present system of forcing a training that is neither desired nor appreciated is producing direful effects on the individuals and on the race.

CHARLES MINOR BLACKFORD, JR., M.D.

*Lynchburg, Va.*

## NEW YORK'S MARSHALSEA.

**I**MMEDIATELY after my appointment as Warden of Ludlow Street Jail, New York, in November, 1895, I thoroughly investigated the condition of affairs and the many abuses that had grown up during previous administrations. It is not my present purpose even to mention the unsafe and unsanitary condition of the building, much less to narrate my efforts—procrastinated or prevented by the laxity, ignorance, inefficiency, or downright deviltry of the authorities. The remedy, wholly or in part, has been applied to these things. But one iniquity still remains in all its flagrancy: that of imprisonment for debt, which doubtless few imagine had not been swept away with trial by combat, torture, slavery, and other vestiges of the somewhat darker ages.

Several years ago a great change for the better was effected; but there still remain iniquitous laws upon the statute-book of the State of New York. In the Code of Civil Procedure, chapter VII., title I., article first, section 549, it is provided: "In an action upon contract, express or implied, other than a promise to marry, where it is alleged in the complaint that the defendant was guilty of a fraud in contracting or incurring the liability, *or that he has, since the making of the contract, or in contemplation of making the same, removed or disposed of his property with intent to defraud his creditors, or is about to remove or dispose of the same with like intent,*" etc., an order of arrest may be granted. Observe here that the simple allegation in the complaint obliges the justice before whom the case comes to issue the order. He has no alternative; he is allowed no discretion.

No such allegations would probably ever be made against any man capable of understanding the law, or of in any way redressing his wrongs. The man that knows his rights and dares maintain them has nothing to fear from even the working of a mandatory statute like this; he would compel his accuser to face him in open court and there refute his charges.



But the victims of the law are not of this sort of stuff; they are mostly ignorant foreigners, few speaking English. They do not know the rights they have, and even perhaps if they knew them would not have the courage to maintain them. The agent of the instalment dealer beguiles them into the purchase of some trifle, fifty cents or so down, and a quarter a week till the balance is paid. "As a matter of form" they sign (or make their mark to) a paper. "It will be all right," the agent tells them. But the time comes, perhaps, when it is not all right; they have lost their job or gone on a strike; they have no money to pay the instalment, and even if that were the very last—only a quarter to make up, and they could not pay—it would be in the plaintiff's power to put them into jail, there to stay three long months unless they sooner paid. The contract made the act of refusal or the inability to pay "conversion" in the eyes of the law. They might tender back the trinket, but—though paid for already thrice over—the dealer says: No; he wants his money. The law—the cold-blooded, unswerving, rigid, impartial, inflexible law—says he is entitled to it, or to his pound of flesh.

Judge George F. Roesch, of the Fourth District Court of New York, says of these processes:

"The contracts upon which these actions are based are, of course, in the English language, of which those with whom these men deal are in the main ignorant. An inspection of these contracts on file in my court as exhibits in cases will show that most of them are signed merely with a mark. I do not believe that in any one case the contract is explained to the buyer so as to make him aware of its provisions. The defendants in my court are in the main poor Italians in every portion of the city. These poor people, not understanding our language nor our law, no doubt curse our courts in their misfortunes; and I have myself received letters written in English by others than the prisoners from Ludlow Street Jail, bitterly complaining of their hardships. Of course, if a defendant does not appear I cannot do otherwise than give judgment against him. But if he does appear I give him the benefit of any doubt that can be raised on the trial, and decide against dealers who improperly invoke the process of the court. It

is true that imprisonment for debt was abolished years ago, but I do not believe that there are many lawyers even who know to what extent the provisions of the code relative to arrests in actions for the conversion of property are employed for the collection of ordinary civil debts. I am glad that the matter is receiving ventilation, and I hope that as a result the next legislature will step in and prevent the abuse to which attention is called."

Judge Henry M. Goldfogle, of the Fifth District Court, says in part:

"While the law at present allows an execution against the body to issue on a judgment recovered for the conversion of personal property, it operates harshly and oppressively upon a large number of poor debtors who purchase goods upon the so-called instalment contracts. The law as it now stands is too often used by hard-hearted creditors as an instrument of oppression, and leads to cruel effects. The statute, which is now so general in its terms, should certainly be so modified as to obviate the evils that frequently result in the cases to which I have called attention."

Mr. George C. Holt, of the committee of the Prison Association, writes:

"As a member of the committee of the Prison Association I have recently investigated the imprisonment of persons for debt in Ludlow Street Jail. Individually I think that the right to arrest in any civil action should be abolished. But particularly the arrest of purchasers of goods on the instalment plan, which has been grossly abused, should be abolished, and the commitment of persons for contempt of court for an indefinite period should be abolished. I sympathize heartily with any efforts you may make to accomplish a reform in this matter."

Mr. John W. Hutchinson, of the above-named committee, says: "So far as we have examined into the matter of the debtor and creditor law, in cases of imprisonment, it seems to me it is greatly abused."

An attempt was made at a recent session of the New York legislature to do away with some of the prevailing injustice. The following bill, introduced by the Hon. Lawrence E. Brown, of New York City, passed the Assembly, but failed of becoming a law:

*"In Assembly.*

"No. 1458, 2344.

"An act to amend the code of civil procedure, relating to the release of persons committed for contempt of court.

"The people of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

"Section I.—Section twenty-two hundred and eighty-six of the code of civil procedure is hereby amended to read as follows:

"§2286. When an offender, imprisoned or prescribed in this title, is unable to endure the imprisonment, or to pay the sum or perform the duty or act, required to be paid or performed, in order to entitle him to be released, the court, judge, or referee, or, where the commitment was made as prescribed in section twenty-four hundred and fifty-seven of this act, the court out of which the execution was issued may, in its or his discretion, and upon such terms as justice requires, *and in every case shall, upon satisfactory proof that the offender has been imprisoned for the term of six months*, make an order, directing him to be discharged from the imprisonment.

"Sec. II.—This act shall take effect September first, eighteen hundred and ninety-seven."

Representative Charles F. Alder, of the Eighth Assembly District, also introduced a bill. I have been unable to procure the text, as the printed slips in the hands of the Secretary of State were out of print; but I understand that the bill as introduced would have practically done away with the grossest of the abuses, as it limited the right of a plaintiff to an order of arrest against his delinquent debtor in all cases in which the amount of judgment, exclusive of costs, was more than fifty dollars. This alone would have greatly ameliorated the conditions, as more than nine-tenths of the commitments are for much less—generally for sums ranging from five dollars to twelve or fifteen.

Winter before last, also, there was a revival of public feeling on the subject, and a bill, drafted by Civil Justice Roach, was introduced in the Assembly by Mr. Harburger, one of the city members, and in the Senate by the Hon. T. D. Sullivan. It was an amendment to section 1369 of the New Charter. These bills were never acted upon, and the iniquity still remains.

Those provisions of the law that authorize arrest in civil actions upon a variety of pretexts, some extremely frivolous and—it would almost seem—intentionally vexatious, should at the earliest hour be set aside. Commitments for contempt should be only for an overt act in the presence of the court of such a nature as to interfere with the majesty of the law. Commitments for contempt for the non-payment of money, for alimony and otherwise, should be the prerogative of a judge only after clear proof of contumacy on the part of the defendant. When in alimony proceedings, or in proceedings against an executor or administrator for an accounting, or otherwise, specific payments are ordered by the court and these payments are not made, and it is alleged that the defendant, having the power to comply with the mandate of the court, has contumaciously refused or neglected to do so, then as a matter of right and justice to the plaintiff some form of compulsion would undoubtedly be equitable; but this should in the first instance take the shape of a simple attachment against the person, returnable as speedily as possible, proof being taken forthwith as to those allegations of contumacious conduct. If on the trial of the case it should be proved that the defendant was actually possessed of property whose whereabouts he distinctly refused to disclose, or, having disclosed, wilfully refused to deliver up in satisfaction, then clearly justice could only be satisfied by a merger of the attachment into a commitment.

As the law now stands in cases of failure to pay alimony as directed by the courts, should the amount be less than \$500 three months' imprisonment is all that can be enforced, or if exceeding that sum six months'. A pugnacious and determined defendant, by the exercise of some patience, thus has it in his power, no matter how wealthy he may be, to ignore the legal rights of a plaintiff, defy the process of the court, and by such action and defiance tend to bring the whole machinery of the law into disrepute. If, on the other hand, as in an action for an accounting, a plaintiff has private reasons of his own—perhaps quite apart from financial ones—for personal

vengeance, it lies within his power, with the aid of a clever attorney, dilatory motions, and the like, to detain a debtor in jail for months and even years, on the nominal pretext (which may be entirely erroneous) that he is possessed of property that he refuses to surrender, but in fact so to harass and worry the relatives and friends of the prisoner, if possessed of means, that, rather than see him languish indefinitely in prison, they will eventually come to his assistance and cause his release by making payment, or at least forcing a compromise with them.

There was a case that I personally knew of which was certainly one of great hardship. The prisoner, a man of some education and refinement, was made executor of the will of a relative and was unable to account before the surrogate for a considerable balance. He was brought to the jail in July, 1895, and was not discharged till the summer of 1897, in spite of all efforts to effect his release. He offered many times to give a complete surrender of any property, or assignment of any claim to property, that might have been supposed to have been his, or in which he may have been thought to have any interest, but wholly without avail. The defendants claimed that in order to defeat the law's process he had fraudulently conveyed to his wife real estate of considerable value—almost if not quite sufficient to make good the deficit. The fact of the conveyance of this piece of property was admitted by the defendant; but the records showed conclusively that this transfer was made long before the death of the deceased, before he had entered upon his duties as executor, and while he was in good circumstances and making a respectable income as a contractor.

The income of this property was about all the reliance this man's wife and children had by way of support, and, while they might have been willing to give it up to save the husband and father from further imprisonment, yet he himself stoutly declared that he would not ask that of them. The ethics of the situation—aside from any sentimental views one may hold as to the duty of a wife impoverishing herself and her children under such circumstances—seems to be this:

(1) That the commitment upon *prima facie* evidence of

conversion is just, but that this commitment ought to be for no longer period than will suffice for a determination "on the merits."

(2) That a prisoner in a civil action ought to have the benefit of such speedy determination. That provision of our Constitution that allows any one charged with crime a speedy trial ought to apply with equal or greater force to a civil prisoner.

(3) That if upon the trial of the issues it be found that a civil prisoner has wilfully and fraudulently misappropriated funds or property he should then become in the eyes of the law a criminal, and should receive such measure of punishment due to the crime as may be provided by statute.

(4) The present state of the law whereby a plaintiff is practically allowed to incarcerate his debtor, not for any fixed term but at his good pleasure—even, for all the law provides, indefinitely—is (in the language of the Westminster Confession) "pernicious, and to be detested."

Perhaps the most piteous case of all is that of a man that remained a year and a half behind the bars in Ludlow. He was imprisoned by virtue of a commitment for contempt on the 31st of March, 1896. His charge was misappropriating money that had come into his hands as receiver of the defunct National Mutual Insurance Company of New York. His "contempt" was his inability, as he claimed, to pay over this sum—in *refusing* to pay it over, as the court held. In addition to the civil action this man was proceeded against criminally; and, the case coming on to be tried, he defended himself so effectually that the jury found him "not guilty." And yet he remained imprisoned! It is hardly believable, but is most true—still in jail for doing that of which a jury of his peers had found him absolutely innocent!

It might also be wise, while our legislators are in the humor, to look carefully into the provisions of the military code of the State, especially as to executions against the body of unfortunate militiamen, who for no fault but poverty may be imprisoned at the mercy or caprice of one of their superior officers. This code (section 123) provides:

"Every enlisted man who shall without proper excuse be absent from, or in any other respect delinquent at, any drill, parade, encampment, meeting for instructions, or other duty ordered by competent authority, shall be fined by a delinquency court for enlisted men not more than five dollars, nor less than one, for each absence or other delinquency."

The code (section 127) provides in full how fines are to be collected. The president of the delinquency court is directed to prepare a list of delinquents, together with the amounts due, within twenty days after the expiration of the time in which an appeal is allowed, and shall draw his warrant directed (in New York County) to any city marshal, commanding him to levy on the goods and chattels of the delinquent, no property to be exempt from levy and sale, and in default of sufficient to satisfy the claims to take the body of said delinquent to the common jail, there to be kept—

"closely confined, without bail or mainprize, for two days for any fine or penalty not exceeding \$2, and two additional days for every dollar above that sum, unless the fine or penalty, together with the costs and jailer's fees, be sooner paid; but no such imprisonment shall extend beyond the period of twenty days—provided, however, that the prisoner may be liberated at any time by order of the officer who orders the court that imposed such fines or penalties."

Certainly, it is all right to enforce discipline. The disobedience of an order to parade with his command is as much disobedience as any other. But where a man in good faith, and when in good circumstances, has enlisted in the National Guard, and has then lost his position, whatever it may be, whereby his power of earning money is at an end, it is a gross hardship to imprison him. But this is not all. Section 131 of the same code is even yet more arbitrary. It reads:

"Any fine against the by-laws, rules, or regulations of any regiment, battalion, troop, battery, or company, and any dues not exceeding the sum of \$25, a certified copy of the proceedings relating to the infliction of which, with a copy of said by-laws, rules, and regulations, has been returned to any delinquency court, may be enforced by such court in the same manner as a fine for delinquency."

By virtue of these provisions, the guardsman is absolutely in

the power of his officer ; and if the stigma of the jail is put upon him, however unjustly, however maliciously, he has no redress whatever, as the statute expressly bars proceedings at law against the unjust or malicious officer—as for false imprisonment, or the like.

The provisions of the military code in these regards are a discredit and even disgrace to the State. If a man fall into temporary straits, is he to be classed as a common criminal and thrust into the common jail? If he acquires the *habit* of poverty or becomes a loafer, drum him out; otherwise, give him a better chance than he has now. That is due to the self-respect of the New York National Guard.

And there is another point, not in a financial sense a very extravagant one, but in principle huge with importance; the entire cost of providing for all these inmates of the jail is borne, not by the plaintiff, but by the county. It is quite possible under existing laws for a debtor, owing say five dollars, to cost the community upward of fifty in order that some cunning rascal may have all possible chance to squeeze his victim. Thus is a public institution at public expense made a collection agency for private greed and chicanery.

The whole thing is infamous. Imprisonment for debt has not been abolished in the State of New York. In Ludlow Street Jail the people are maintaining an institution that, in practical effect upon hundreds yearly of our poorer and more helpless fellow-citizens, is a Marshalsea, in fact a Bastile, wherein by what amounts to a *lettre de cachet*, though called a "body execution," the ignorant and lowly are deprived of their liberty. If you had been witness, as I was, day after day and night after night for nearly two years, of the misery of men, not unwilling but unable to pay the trifling amounts due; if you had heard the wails of the poor women left outside the clanging iron doors—I am sure no efforts would be spared to change the law. Sentiment should be the adornment of justice, not its substitute. But here is room, most ample room, for the unstrained quality of mercy—for equity: "the correction of that wherein the law is deficient."

WILLIAM J. ROE.

*New York.*



## THE TRUST QUESTION.

### I. ITS DEVELOPMENT IN AMERICA.

FOR the first time in our history, the American people as a mass is awakening to questions that elsewhere in the world are as old as greed. The common American mind has been slow to learn that social misery comes more from inequality of privileges regarding property than from inequality of political rights. This the masses are slow to comprehend, although they are beginning to recognize the fact that with our much-boasted security of political rights the same misery that wearies life under the despotisms of Europe is being fastened upon us.

This blindness originated in the teachings and training of past generations. Our fathers, having braved the perils of unknown seas and lived through the privations of a howling wilderness, that they might believe in and utter aloud, without fear or restraint, certain religious maxims, came in time to believe that there was a political gospel somewhat akin to their theological creed, in which national salvation could be assured by simply uttering from time to time certain glittering generalities or political abstractions. In this way we came to be a race of political phrase-eaters. We swallow under all circumstances epigrammatic maxims and proverbs—such, for instance, as “Government of the people, by the people, and for the people,” “All men are created equal,” “The ballot is the poor man’s bayonet,” and the like, *ad infinitum*. One day in the year we set apart in which to hear these seductively lulling truths repeated, and their sweet sound soothes our minds to sleep for the other three hundred and sixty-four days in which our industrial and commercial rights are abstracted from us.

To this fool’s paradise we have been greatly helped by the happy circumstances attending our early conquest of the continent. The deep, rich soil of our wide domain, which offered

free homes to the industrious, saved us for a time from the fierce competition that crowds the hungry masses down and gives to organized greed its great advantage. Failing to comprehend from what we gained our prosperity, we attributed all the good we enjoyed to our "free institutions," as we called them, and blindly proceeded to cut from under our good fortune the foundation of our advantage. We invited the overcrowded populations of Europe to our shores and donated whole territories of our precious domain to corporations, until all the surplus land was exhausted; and now, with the same conditions that have so long afflicted Europe, we begin to wonder that our "free institutions" seem to have lost their charm. Millions of men are working at starvation wages and millions more are starving out of employment; discontented labor organizes all over the land, and we have already seen raised, here and there, the hideous red hand of anarchy, which to our disordered minds is a virtue in Europe but a sin with us.

There is, therefore, nothing revolutionary in the evils that have grown upon us. The Trusts are a natural outgrowth of the diseased condition. Their origin is far back, but it may be said that they took their present form among us in our railroad system. The growth of these private highways is not more phenomenal than the fact that the untold millions invested in them have passed from the investors to the absolute control and virtual ownership of a few men, mainly mere officials, who put nothing into the enterprise except their cunning.

Science has given to commerce artificial highways that bring facilities for transportation to every man's door. In our eagerness to possess ourselves of this immense advantage, we neglected to study its nature and consequently to guard ourselves against its abuse. As private means had to be called upon to construct these artificial drains for surplus products, we not only opened the way to swindle but actually offered premiums for abuse. Anxiously alive to the importance of the roads to us, we freely gave, without recompense or cautious guard, the invaluable privilege of right of way, and gave no heed to the manner in which the money was procured nor the

heavy, unending interest that products would be taxed to pay to make the investments profitable. For years we saw only the stockholders and forgot that these enterprises were public works, and only in part private instruments. It is not to be wondered at that as the roads have multiplied and laws have become fitted to the condition, rather than the condition made to conform to right principles of justice, the ordinary mind has become hopelessly puzzled over the complicated problem. Wrong at first has been sanctioned by law and sanctified by custom until it has become sacred.

My grandfather had his attention called one morning to a group, busy with instruments, upon his meadow. Asking the meaning of the trespass, he learned from the trespassers that they were a surveying party locating what was then called the Cincinnati, Sandusky, & Cleveland Railroad, the first line to be built in Ohio. My grandfather remonstrated over the course they proposed taking over his place, as it would ruin the best part of his farm, and he ordered them away. He was coolly informed that unless he made terms with the railroad company the company would appeal to the courts and have the land condemned, whatever part the company saw fit, as the railroad was a public improvement. The appeal was made and the land taken. After the railroad was in operation my grandfather found that other grain and stock besides his own were afforded easy facility for market, and that the competition cut down the price. One day, when he drove a car-load of cattle to the station to be freighted to market, he found that the charges, rising up to meet the decreased price for his stock, left him less profit than before. He remonstrated against the extortion and threatened to appeal to the same court that had condemned his land. The agent, with a grim smile, told him that the court could not interfere with their charges, as the railroad was a private enterprise, and the courts could as well fix the price of his cattle as the company's charges for freight. Small wonder that the old gentleman was perplexed to know where the public work ended and the private enterprise began!

We make at this late day an illustration of Æsop's fable that

told of the horse that made the hunter his ally in driving off the stag. When the hunt was ended the stag was dead, and the hunter continued to ride.

The one great cause of the confusion and much of the wrongdoing is found in the fact that the railways were constructed and are still conducted under no well-conceived system of general government. Authorized by State laws, they were limited to State boundaries and were for a long time badly connected links of a great network. To remedy the cost of reloading and the absence of coöperation and responsibility, combinations began to be formed. At first the larger roads leased, and then, as the smaller roads failed and were sold, purchased and so converted many short roads into grand trunk lines; and by this process the combination passed from the control of the States, which badly created the pieces, without for a long time finding a government even to attempt the control of the combination.

Precisely the same, it may be remarked in passing, is true of other trusts of to-day. Owing their origin to State laws, they have blended or expanded into continental concerns, and the national government has not rapidly enough recognized its newly acquired responsibility. There are parents in plenty to create but none to control.

When the consolidations began, through the purchase of the roads first built, the original investors were, of course, eliminated. Those who took their places were men that had nothing in the way of means to invest. Any one curious to know how this could be done needs only to study intelligently the Credit Mobilier affair, which at one time startled a country that knew nothing and yet knows nothing of the real issue involved in the investigation. It seems that in this government-built enterprise, the Union Pacific Railway, the directors were not only the representatives of the construction company but the trustees of the government. Contracting with themselves, the gentlemen were extremely liberal and cheerfully agreed to pay to themselves from four to five times the amount necessary to build the road; and the immense amount over and above the

cost of construction, which the directors as such acknowledged to be due themselves as contractors, assumed the shape of indebtedness to be liquidated in bonds. It will be perceived that by this ingenious arrangement the directors, who never invested a cent in either company, became owners of the vast property.

How many roads have been built in much the same way we can only surmise; but from the fact that our railroad magnates, who swing by in private palace-cars, were once mostly poor lawyers or humble contractors, we can easily see through not only the watered stock so well known but the *Credit Mobilier* that underlay the original construction. How much the public and investors have lost, not only through money borrowed at ruinous rates, but through fraudulent construction, extravagant management, and watered stock, we may learn from the fact that 200,000 miles of operating railroad owe to-day enough money to reconstruct the entire system. So immense is this amount that, when one asserts that the products of the land are taxed in their distribution to pay the interest on this really fictitious indebtedness, he is coolly informed that the rates are measured only by the cost of transportation, controlled by competition, without regard to the debt; so that dividends are declared without any consideration of the supposed investments. Now that the traffic associations have very largely eliminated competition in rates and brought about coöperation in management, the great trunk lines with all their branches are practically combined into a single system, which is the Nestor of trusts, and controls absolutely, under the direction of a few men, the transportation (which is a large element of the market) of all the products of the continent. Not only is the railroad system the foundation of the vast concentration of capital, but it has fostered it in side-lines by discrimination in rates, as exemplified notably in the case of the Standard Oil Company, until there has been weaved over the land a vast web of steel in which the spider, Monopoly, is fast entrapping and holding secure his prey.

Much complaint has been made of the protective tariff hav-

ing fostered infant industries into commercial giants, which, since becoming strong, mercilessly wield a club over competition. This applies only to customs duties on imports. It is supposed that inside our boundaries we are blessed with free trade, and that interchange of commodities at home is free from discrimination. Such, however, is not the fact. The railroad trust, combined with the coöperating capital of powerful industries, has made for us a home tariff more fostering even than that affecting foreign products. The Standard Oil Company affords a powerful illustration of the advantages that railways can supply where the tariff fails.

In the heated controversy over wrongdoing it is natural that both sides should go to extremes. Thus it is claimed on the one side that these highways are unmixed blessings; that the iron network of rails covering the land has developed the country to such an extent that a wilderness has blossomed like magic into a garden; that, as Hawthorne said and Buchanan Read verified—

The locomotive, by Saxon arm conveyed,  
Darts like a shuttle through the loom of trade;

—and that to this agency alone can be attributed the fact that our land has swung down the ages of slow development accorded other nations in less than half a century. On the other side it is asserted that the ills brought upon us by this awful monopoly more than balance all the good done through development.

Looked at with judicial impartiality, the situation makes it hard to doubt that the opponents of the railroads are nearest right. To the evils done, to the wrongs committed by this iron-bound, incorporated monopoly, much time has been given and wasted. Perhaps, however, it has had its effect in influencing public opinion. But we must bear in mind that we suffer not so much from the abuse of power as from the power to abuse, and that crimes at common law bear no proportion to those crimes against humanity sanctioned by legal enactment and sanctified by long acceptance. A knowledge of human nature

teaches that men in seeking to gratify their greed will go to the full extent of the law and of custom. God help the unfortunate creatures dependent on man's natural sense of justice and generous impulses!

We have to see only what this railroad power can do with impunity to know what it actually does. We have high authority for the measure of its despotic sway. Long years ago, Senators Sherman, Conkling, and Windom reported to the Senate that the railroad power could tax the products of the country to an extent that Congress dare not attempt. In other words, the fiscal agency of the people, the highest attribute of sovereignty, is shared with, if not passed over to, this incorporated monopoly controlled by a few irresponsible men. Long before the railroad managers themselves had realized more than a small part of their possibilities in consolidation, President Garfield said: "They rise above all law and defy all judicial control." What was true then has far more force now. We have worn into a platitude the fact that these soulless corporations select our members of the House, purchase for themselves our Senators, dictate the nominations for the Presidency on both sides, own our courts, and while robbing the stockholders on one side are plundering the producers on the other. And they have done more. They have changed the old methods and spirit of business relations. They have turned the most vital business transactions of the country into mere gambling. The president of a trunk line can realize more in a month on Wall street, bulling and bearing his own stocks, than his line of roads can make legitimately in a year. These methods are imitated and extended in other lines until all business has become unsound and speculative—a condition peculiarly favorable to vast adventures.

To this diseased condition of business, in which ninety-four per cent. of the trade of the country is done on credit and six per cent. in cash, another trust, more gigantic than the railroad corporations, has immeasurably contributed. Herein lies the real issue that is clouded over by the contest between a gold standard and bimetallism. The government furnishes the peo-

ple with their currency, as it furnished them with the railroads, by placing it in the hands of corporations. During the civil war, as a war measure, the right to issue this currency in the form of promises to pay was farmed out to about two thousand corporations, which, strangely enough, have increased as the necessity for them disappeared. This chartered infamy called a national bank system absolutely controls the finances of the country as the railroads control the transportation. Instead of answering the real demands of trade and measuring the amount of such want, the despotic power is given this bank trust to expand or contract the currency in accordance with its own greed; and in this it forces the money of the government from the channels of honest trade to those of gambling and speculation, such as we find in the wheat corners of Chicago and in Wall street.

The necessity that called national banks into existence illustrates no more strikingly the dire distress of the government than the utter lack of patriotism on the part of the interests into whose hands the control of the country's currency was intrusted. The intense selfishness of this class bade fair to be more fatal to the government than all the armed legions of the South. While our soldiers in the field and the laborer left at home accepted the greenback at par, unpatriotic capital higgled over its marble counters, discrediting the currency that was the life-blood of the government. To win over these banking interests and carry on the war, the distressed government was forced to grant them most extraordinary privileges.

To farm out the fiscal agency in the creation of a circulating medium was not a new thing; but to permit these corporations to purchase government bonds in depreciated currency, at a heavy discount, and then to accept the same bonds at par as a basis for a circulating medium to be loaned out by the banks, was an arrangement that only the poverty and distress of the treasury could justify. Secretary Chase always claimed, in extenuation, that he meant this to be only a war measure—to cease when the armed conflict ended. That this extraordinary system rests entirely on the indebtedness of the government,



and must cease when the indebtedness is paid, gives plausibility to his plea. A national debt, however, of the magnitude of that left us is slow of liquidation. Before the great War Secretary died he saw the consequence of his blunder and that the system was fixed upon the people for all time to come. It had a certain hold upon the favor of business men from a false contrast that it offered between itself and the old system of State banks that immediately preceded it. This contrast is false, for the evil complained of in the State banks was not in the legitimate banking they did, but in the currency they issued, which could secure only a local circulation without heavy discount. The war that obliterated State lines in the sense that they existed under the old Colonial superstition of State sovereignty gave us both a nation and a nation's credit for a currency. The national banks are precisely the same as the old State banks—no better and no worse; but the currency in which their business is done differs, and in this difference lies its superiority.

While it is the banks' to loan out and to control, it is based on the national credit; and, as it represents a loan of the government to the banks, the bankers in passing it into circulation present the cheerful spectacle of drawing interest upon their own debts.

Secretary Chase saw clearly the evil he had done in calling into existence a currency system that, in spite of its superiority over the old one, lives on a fluctuation that swings from one extreme to the other, and is therefore uncertain, unstable, and dangerous; and his desire to attain the Presidency originated in his anxiety to correct his blunder. Thus the system begotten by Greed on the body of helpless Distress was conceived in sin, brought forth in shame, and lives in iniquity.

What we deplore as the evil of a swollen, or contracted, currency is really the evil of an overstimulated, or depressed, credit. And this power was unreservedly placed in the hands of the national bank trust. All our business is done on credit, from the greenback to the book-account of the grocer. Were trade dependent on the actual wants of the community, it would be in a measure uniform, stable, and safe. To stimulate

this in a healthy manner, the natural thrift of humanity is sufficient. But there has come in such a thing as artificial stimulation, and such a thing as gambling; and herein lies the evil of farming out the credit of the government to private corporations. It is in accord with their selfish interests to stimulate credit when trade is healthy and active, as it is their safety to contract it when overexcited speculation ends and pay-day arrives. Now, while a business man will not employ a dollar in the purchase of a bushel of wheat until satisfied that he can sell at a dollar-five, he may be induced to believe that a profit will be found in the future, or, what is more common, to make one of a combination that, controlling the market and crushing competition, can force a profit of its own dictation.

With these two great, powerful trusts—the railroad and national bank oligarchies—securely intrenched behind law, the one willing to finance any adventures, however monstrous, that promise quick profits, and the other ready, by discrimination in transportation rates, to foster any enterprises in which its own management may have an interest, the growth of combinations for monopoly in all lines of trade is rendered not only easy but unavoidable.

Wrongs done under the sanction of law have been through all time more fatal to humanity than crimes committed in violation of it; for they undermine and destroy the very foundation upon which society rests. Legalizing wrong reverses natural conditions and lends the advantage to the wrongdoer. He no longer finds the judge upon the bench and the criminal in the box, but Wrong administering justice and Innocence being tried. All confidence in and respect for law are annihilated; and what that means we may realize when we reflect that in the actual enforcement of order the means required are as one-third to the instinctive recognition of the unseen power that gives force and effect to the law. We see that the convict submits meekly to the sentence of death from one man, although the sympathies of the multitude may be with the condemned. The baton of the constable overawes and controls a mob, for back of it lie the force and majesty of the law. When we re-

verse this, the crushing weight falls on the honest and inoffensive. In our commercial relations it has been reversed.

CHARLES GRANT MILLER.

*Cleveland, O.*



## II. EVOLUTION OF THE COMBINATION.

THE public mind being somewhat agitated on account of the unusual number and magnitude of associations or combinations of business interests called "trusts," it seems pertinent at this time to treat the subject more philosophically than the "yellow journals" are doing. Let us, therefore, inquire into their cause and effect. The history of the trust is the history of the evolution of civilization. In the primitive conditions of civilization each family had its own sheep, hogs, cattle, poultry, etc.; it carded, spun, and wove its own woolens and cottons; had its own meat, milk, and butter; tanned its own leather; produced its own bread, fruits, and vegetables, and made its own clothing. All of this was, of course, on a scale commensurate with the mental and physical capacity of the head of the family and the age or period in which he lived. As civilization advances at a geometrical ratio, the advancement in those primitive ages was very slow; but as time rolled on the building of houses became a trade, the making of shoes became a trade, and so on through the whole catalogue of products. The man whose whole thought was centered on building houses began to develop mechanical skill and improved the tools of his trade; so with the blacksmith and shoemaker.

No doubt these innovations aroused the suspicions and sometimes the indignation of "conservative people." The blacksmith and the carpenter formed a copartnership for the manufacture of farming implements. This was the first combination, or trust. Some enterprising fellow who had produced more than he needed for his family stored his produce away and sold it to his less fortunate neighbors. He found it profitable, and, finding a neighbor who had a surplus of some prod-

ucts that he did not have, they combined and pooled their capital for mutual profit—thereby forming another trust. This was the direct ancestor of the modern department store, which has crowded hundreds of mercantile institutions to the wall.

Then, as towns began to develop, the necessity for roads to the large rivers became evident. These roads were sometimes built by associations of two or three men, who charged a toll of the products hauled over them. This was the first monopoly. Mechanics continued to develop until the steam-engine was invented and the railroad was built. No individual was able to build and operate a railway at that time; hence, a combination, pool, association, syndicate, or trust was formed in order to get the necessary capital to conduct the work of building and operating railways. Each railway had a monopoly of the traffic along its line, as it still has. As railroad and steamboat lines developed, the spirit of enterprise grew, and the result was vast productions of agricultural and mechanical wealth. These industries developed more capable business men as well as larger business.

The present magnitude of commerce is simply a result of the broad business training of several generations of men who have had charge of large business enterprises. This broader idea of business has developed into a *partial* realization, on the part of business men of the world, of the advantages of co-operation of persons engaged in the same branch of business. This realization is the cause of the present gigantic trusts. The development of labor-saving and rapid-operating machinery has rendered overproduction of everything, even agricultural products, possible and even frequent. The pooling of all interests in a given line of business enables the managers to control the amount of production as well as the price of the product, thereby obviating the danger of loss from strong and shrewd competition.

We see that *competition* is the immediate *cause* of the trust: then where is the wisdom of condemning the *result*, instead of trying to remove the cause? Where does the legitimate partnership end and the illegitimate trust begin? No sensible

man will attempt to draw the line. Without combinations of capital there would never have been any railways, steamship lines, nor commerce of any consequence. There would have been no intercommunication of the peoples of the earth—no great printing-houses nor telegraph lines. Civilization would still be in its infancy. The present enormous combinations of capital are only the small ones of the past better and more highly developed; just as the Hoe perfecting press, the harvesting machine, the iron furnace, and the great university of to-day are the old-time printing-press, the sickle, the old forge, and the old-time school in a higher state of development; just as the village of huts built by our ancestors has developed into the magnificent city of to-day. The *mind* of man first developed and then made these prodigious improvements. The development or evolution of the *mind* is the power behind it all. The trust is a necessity for the preservation of these industries under the present system. To abolish the trust is to step backward in civilization to a primitive condition.

If coöperation of the producers of petroleum is beneficial to those engaged in that business, coöperation of the persons engaged in any other business is or should be beneficial. The people are learning this rapidly, as shown by the great number of trusts recently organized. The development of machinery and concentration of energy have divided business into separate lines of manufacture and of agricultural products, according to the taste and location of the producer. Our wants and necessities have kept pace with other developments, so that, instead of one family producing all it needs, it requires the industry of the whole nation—I might say the world—to supply the wants of each family. This lining off of products into separate branches of business has produced a community of interests with all persons engaged in the same branch of business, instead of the little community composed of a family—hence the coöperation of all persons engaged in one line of business, instead of the coöperation of only a family.

Now, these separate branches of business must fit into one another. The persons engaged in the production of one class

of goods are consumers of the products of other branches of business. The Standard Oil Company, for instance, is a large consumer of the products of the cooperage industry. The cooper is a large consumer of the products of the saw-mill. The saw-mill is a large consumer of the products of the machine-shop. The machine-shop is a large consumer of the products of the iron furnace. The furnace is a large consumer of the products of the ore and coal mines. The Standard Oil Company is already manufacturing its own barrels, and is directly interested in the production of rough lumber. As developments proceed, it will gradually reach out for the manufacture of its own machinery and finally to the coal and ore mines. At any rate this is the logical road for it to travel in its evolution.

There are many other large business institutions that have gone even further than the Standard Oil Company; thus we are rapidly but almost imperceptibly approaching a condition of coöperative industry. The great railways of the world are manufacturing their own machinery and are indirectly making their own iron. The family of primitive times has evolved into a community of business men, widely separated it may be, but having nevertheless a community of interests. The people are rapidly learning that railways are infinitely more in the nature of public highways than dirt roads are, and the public is soliloquizing about this way: The public as a community owns the dirt roads. Why not the railroads? If the public can operate the postal system, with all of its complications and intricacies, and render itself such splendid service for so little pay, why not operate the railroads and other means of transportation in the same way? The trust has shown that coöperation is a good thing. Why not coöperate further? If the coöperation of a dozen men is a good thing for *them*, why is not the coöperation of a thousand a still better thing for the larger number?

The trust is a great object-lesson to the public, as every other new development is. The trust is the longest step ever taken toward the coöperative system of industry. Even the

trusts are beginning to absorb one another. Thus the evolution toward civilization, or coöperation, goes on. The people will soon be able to see and comprehend the difference between a trust with the bulk of the people left out and a trust with all the people taken in as beneficiaries. Then the people will proceed to form a grand trust in which there will be an equitable division of profits. Then ignorance, poverty, and crime will be buried in the same grave with political and religious "creeds;" and the development of a higher intelligence and a nobler morality will bound forward with a speed hitherto unthought of, much less heard of. Wall street and the Bowery, of New York, will be alike annihilated, and a *real* civilization will be set up on the ruins of both.

EVERETT LEFTWICH.

*Williamson, W. Va.*



### III. THE SUICIDAL METHODS OF TRUSTS.

WHEN our great-grandfathers were chopping down trees, pulling up stumps, draining swamps, and building log cabins, their chief concern was to produce enough to sustain life. They had no particular desire at that time for a foreign market, because all they produced was required at home. No such thing as overproduction was known in those days. Every manufactured article found several customers waiting for it. There was no glut, no commercial dyspepsia, no overstocked warehouses, no cornering and withholding of what the people had produced. When an ax-handle or a horseshoe was made, it at once found its way to some one who needed it; and thus business moved along with confident step. Every settler who made himself useful was sure of a living, and could rear his family without fear of want. Production and distribution worked together in harmony, like the two oars of a rowboat. Business failures were rare and panics were unknown.

But since our villages have become cities, and our log cabins

have grown into twenty-story buildings, and our little isolated communities have evolved into a complex society of interdependent workers and idlers, the harmony between production and distribution has been disturbed. We have completely solved the problem of cheap and abundant production. Our bonanza farms, our well-organized factories, and our wonder-working machinery have made it incalculably easier for us to produce the necessities of life than it was for our great-grandfathers. We have the swiftest, brightest, and most inventive mechanics in the world, and the most intelligent farmers and laborers.

It is asserted on good authority that if all our people were working on full time they could produce in three months as much as they would need in a year. We have certainly machinery enough to give us a six-hour day in the factories. We have land enough to encircle every home with green. We have natural resources enough for the millennium. We have enough of everything except common sense and a system of distribution that shall be as scientific as our system of production. Our captains of industry have given all their time to solving the problem of cheap production; and the result is the organization of trusts in almost every line of business. They have succeeded so well that they can to-day compete with Europe, and even with China, in the manufacture of cheap goods. But in spite of all their foreseeing shrewdness they have forgotten one thing: *you cannot sell goods to a plundered and moneyless people.*

The trust-makers are killing the geese that lay the golden eggs. They are destroying their own market and making business impossible; and, like King Midas, they will perish in the midst of their wealth.

The labor-saving machines, which are every day driving workers into the ranks of the unemployed, most certainly cheapen production; but they also decrease the manufacturer's chance to sell his goods. Machines can produce, but they cannot *buy*. They do not rent houses, or buy groceries, or wear clothes, or read magazines, or go to the theater. The substi-



tution of machinery for men means in the end the destruction of business, unless the men displaced are allowed to share in the benefits of invention. Self-operating machinery is the ideal of every manufacturer; and the day seems even now to be not far distant when a child can touch a button in a large factory and put every wheel in motion. But what benefit will be reaped by the manufacturer if he cannot find a market for his goods? If corner lots were offered for a dollar apiece to a crowd that could not raise more than ninety cents, no business could be done. Of what benefit are the cable-cars to the man who has not a nickel? What benefit are the cheap rates of the Post-office to the man who has spent his last cent for a sandwich?

Whenever a man is thrown out of work, the volume of our business is decreased. Whenever wages are reduced, profits are ultimately made less. This should be remembered by those apologists of monopoly who rule out of court all arguments that appeal to the higher nature. If business is dull to-day, it is not because buyers are satisfied and surfeited, but because money is increasingly difficult to get. We have a high standard of living in this country. We want more than black bread and shinbone soup and tar-paper shanties: we want pianos, bicycles, books, jewelry, good clothes, and so forth. Only guarantee every citizen \$20 a week in wages, and there would be the greatest boom in business the world has ever known.

The fact is, thousands of our people are obliged to live like Hottentots. In spite of the organization of industry and our wonderful facilities for production, they are compelled to live the precarious, hand-to-mouth life of savages. It would have been better for them had they been born in Central Africa or Thibet. The nineteenth century has brought nothing to them but suffering and disaster. A great industrial organism has been built up—and they are outside of it. The log cabins have been torn down to build a gigantic palace of commerce; and, now that the palace is built, a few contractors have moved in and barred the doors against the rest.

We cannot remain in this condition. We must go either forward or backward. If socialized production is not to be a

social benefit, then we must return to the old plan of hand-labor and free competition. If we cannot discover a just system of distribution to match our magnificent system of production, then our civilization will be as imperfect as a bicycle with one wheel. It is better for a man to have a wigwam of his own than to be unable to pay rent for a room. It is better to paddle your own canoe than to have no chance to sail on a modern steamer. It is better to be a savage with a bow and arrow, roaming the ownerless forests, than to be a moneyless outcast on the streets of a great city. It is better to have a bowl of bread and milk than to stand outside a banquet hall and be a hungry spectator of the feasting within.

The average American workingman is in a worse predicament than Tantalus. He is continually surrounded by the wealth he has created but cannot buy. His eyes are dazzled by the displays in a thousand shop-windows, and the bill-boards flame with advertisements of pleasures he cannot afford to enjoy.

Unlike the stunted peasantry of many lands, our working-people are clever enough to appreciate the luxuries of life. They are not "dumb, driven cattle." They have been educated in the public schools and trained to believe in "certain inalienable rights." We have the proudest and most sensitive workers ever known in any time or country—and they are gradually being driven to desperation by the difficulty of making a living. They are discovering that industry, thrift, and sobriety may be inadequate protectors against poverty. Like squirrels in a treadmill, they find that all their hustling brings them no further ahead. Some economic witchcraft seems to pull them back. They feel as if they were entangled in a merciless net, which is gradually being tightened around them. Every man realizes himself to be but an insignificant unit in a vast rabble, moved this way and that way by some power that he cannot check. Our workers feel as if their humanness were departing—as if they were but machines afflicted with consciousness.

In short, civilization has itself become a vast machine; and the whole social problem is how to give every man and woman

a chance to be a helpful, vital part of it. There is a flaw somewhere in our methods of ownership when the producers of wealth are poor. There is a mistake somewhere in our system of industry when every labor-saving machine makes life harder for the men who labor. Society has committed one of those blunders that are worse than crimes when thousands of worthy people in every large city have to endure more hardships than the pioneers of a hundred years ago.

Every nation has its portentous Dreyfus problem. In America it is industrial, not military—as we are much further along the upward path than France. Our task is not to break up the trusts, which would be unwise and reactionary; not to perpetuate them, which would be impossible; but to work for a speedy and peaceful transition from private to collective ownership.

HERBERT N. CASSON.

*New York.*



#### IV. COÖPERATIVE BENEFITS THROUGH TAXATION.

THE ideal expressed in the inspired words of Thomas Jefferson as the right of the individual to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness marked a great stride forward. It was a concrete statement of what had up to that time been regarded only as a possible abstract theory. Having the ideal before us we have perhaps, on the whole, kept in the van on the march toward its realization. But only by dwelling on the ideal may plans be formed for its attainment. That, even within our limited comprehension of this right, it is as yet the right only of the favored few, while to the great mass of human beings it is unattainable, is a patent fact. The degree in which the most favored individuals enjoy this right is, to be sure, very slight in comparison with the possibilities involved; but that others have no liberty and happiness in comparison is the point to be considered. We must ever seek to strengthen the weakest link in a chain.

As humanity is a unit, and only progresses in reality as such,

so coöperative effort is the key-note of progress; and one of the effects of progression is the more and more effectual application of the principle of combined activity for the attainment of a common end—the greatest good for all.

To conceive, in some measure, the importance of coöperative effort in the progress of human development, dwell for a moment on the first expression of the principle in action. Whatever may have been the preliminary process, there came a time when some primitive man first joined his efforts to those of his fellow and there ensued mutual advantage and greater certainty of success in procuring the essentials of life, liberty, and happiness as exemplified at that time. As the infant of the race realized the advantage resulting from the coöperative activity of two individuals, there must have dawned in the primitive mind the possibility of combined activity by a larger number of individuals and proportionately greater mutual advantage and certainty of successful achievement. That there occurred simultaneously with advancement the multiplication of what were considered the comforts and necessities of life, signaling the departure from the standards of primeval simplicity, is true, and this effect became in turn a cause making for continued advancement.

It is unnecessary and manifestly impossible to follow the steps of the system of human coöperation. It is a part of the infinite process that leads to the realization of the unity of humanity. A point to be noted is that the attention of thinkers now seems to center about the present condition, which resembles that when primitive men as individuals, each striving for himself alone, were first confronted and overwhelmed by a defensive and offensive combination of other men before which they, as individuals, were helpless. The people of this country are confronted by stupendous aggregations of capital looking to the control of the production of human necessities. In some instances the control of sources of production is already practically complete. These trusts, or combinations, are the result of the recognition of the same law, the realization of which must have given some primitive man and his chosen associate

a temporary advantage over the rest of their race. Trusts and similar organizations are a form of coöperative activity for the benefit of a few individuals at the expense of the many. This statement is made in the full knowledge that some combinations have not only not raised prices but in some instances prices have been lower as a result of the improved methods, either in procuring raw material or in actual production, made possible only by coöperative action. The system is right. Its success wherever applied indicates that any industry should properly be conducted as a unit, and not in a number of individual sections in competition with one another. It is not to be expected that any other than the best known methods of carrying on any work will be long tolerated by intelligent human beings. An industry conducted as a unit is in a position, by reason of its magnitude, to adopt the most improved methods and to buy raw materials most advantageously. The question is not as to the system, but for whose benefit the system should exist. It would have been no more absurd for a savage race, fighting singly, each man for himself, to have been annihilated as individuals by a score of other men who fought as one body, than it would be for the great body of people to-day to submit meekly to injustice and extortion when practised upon them by a combination of a few of their own number.

That the advantage lies ever in the most effective system of coöperative effort, whether military, capitalistic, commercial, or social, is an unassailable proposition. Furthermore, a system of coöperation is at its best only when under the ultimate control of a single, *adequate, responsible* leader.

As from time to time there have been benefits added, particularly in this country, to those shared by human beings in common, tending to make living truth of the words of Jefferson, so we must continue to add as fast as we perceive that the right indicated may become more truly a common right. A few representative benefits may be enumerated to make a concrete example. In a modern community all citizens have equal right to the privileges of common schools, public lighting,

police and fire protection, public water-supply, sewerage, access to libraries, etc., according to the standard of the particular community considered. These benefits are procured by taxation. If taxes were done away with, each citizen would be richer by a certain amount annually. This amount would vary according to locality, etc., but not in a degree sufficient to affect the principle it is desired to indicate. In the city of Boston, for instance, the amount raised by taxation last year was \$14,406,132. This is less than \$23 per capita for the entire population of 496,920 (census of 1895). As the benefits of the community procured by taxation accrue to the entire population, it may be pertinently asked, What portion of the benefits of taxation could an individual purchase for the per capita amount, were they under private control and those controlling had a fair profit? He is now at least in a position to save the extra "fair profit." Whether any individual has a right to take a profit on what merely passes through his hands is a question that must some time be considered.

The fact that the bulk of the amount raised by taxation in Boston is paid by about one-eighth of the population does not bear upon this statement, namely, that the benefit derived from the per capita amount (about \$23) is much greater than the benefit obtainable from any similar amount expended by an individual, and is furthermore much less than the sum for which such benefits could be purchased under any other system. It is also doubtful if individuals could dispense with a sufficient number of these benefits to bring the cost of the indispensable ones, plus the profit of those controlling them, within the limits of the sum mentioned.

That the amount of taxes paid by some is in excess of the amount paid by others also serves to call attention to the fact that those who pay the smallest amount are taxed the most; and *vice versa*. In other words, the amount of the poor man's tax entails greater abstinence from the enjoyment of the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness on his part than the payment of the much greater amount, representing the rich man's tax, does upon him. When seen in their right relation,

taxes are not a burden on the people but the most economical outlay of money made by them. To indicate the multiplication of benefits that might accrue to a community from increased taxation these propositions are formulated :

(1) That in the use of revenue raised by taxation for the benefit of the population is manifested a system of pure coöperation, resulting in enormous benefit to the individual.

(2) It is evident that this system, with the accompanying benefits, may be extended at will by the population of municipalities, counties, States, and the National Government.

In the present attitude of many of our citizens is seen the curious condition wherein humanity can see clearly the advantage of one coöperative act, and maintain it strenuously, and at the same time regard with indifference the extortion of a profit by an individual from a monopoly of what might be another coöperative act.

The widespread adoption and development of the prevailing system of supporting public schools afford good ground for the belief that the principle it is desired to indicate is well recognized in regard to this institution, and also in regard to those particular institutions that are similarly maintained, which usually include the departments of street repair, police and fire protection, water-supply, lighting, etc. We may take the public school system as a single example and apply the statement in the preceding paragraph in the following manner :

(1) The conduct of public schools for the benefit of all in a community is a coöperative act, because, potentially, all contribute to their maintenance and all share in the benefit of them—thus fulfilling the meaning of the term *coöperative act*.

(2) Barring corruption, all the money paid in the form of taxes and appropriated for public schools is expended solely for that purpose, none going to individuals in the form of profit. (The profits on school supplies, like the earnings of teachers, are a part of the cost of maintenance and must not be confused with the profit referred to that would go to the proprietors and would of necessity be in excess of the cost of maintenance.)

Seeing that in excess of the cost of maintenance there must be paid a profit to those conducting as a private enterprise what has been a communal function, the benefit of which has been shared at cost, we should expect an intelligent community to stand firmly against any such change.

Nothing could be more undesirable, in the conception of the writer, than any sudden reversal of the present order of things. Nature and evolution work slowly and must not be unduly hurried if permanent good is to result. But it is of foremost importance to know the law of our progress in any line of development. During the last hundred years in particular a large number of the most tangible things have been included in the coöperative activities of communities. For instance, who would care to be obliged, in common with all others, to hang a lantern before his house at night to light the streets of a city? It is plain that the present system provides better light at less cost to all.

In the transfer of an industry from private to public control, two very important considerations stand foremost. These are (1) the greatly enlarged field for political corruption that might be opened by the greater complexity of government, and (2) the effect of such a change on labor and capital. As to the first, the remedy will not have to be created. It is close at hand. But in the meantime it is well to remember, as bearing upon the application of the remedy, that Americans have ever been a people of notable tolerance in all things. They have by no means been ignorant of such political corruption as there is. But one feature of this tolerance that has not been dwelt upon is that its duration extends only through the time necessary for the accumulation of adequate resisting force. Every great movement of the American people has been preceded by a season of toleration of abuses. When the movement comes, it is adequate for the occasion because of its unity of action. Judging by the past, one way to correct the prevailing corrupt political system is to multiply the necessity for reform. When the necessity is sufficient we may rest assured the overturning will come. The remedy is inherent in the suffrage.



Constitutional amendments have their time and place. The only proper test of fitness to exercise the privilege of suffrage is that of individual intellectual capacity. The present standard is too low. Sex is not a proper factor.

Labor comes first in the second consideration, because it most seriously affects the greatest number. The condition of what may be termed labor in municipal government is well known. Any given grade of labor seems without exception to be better paid, to enjoy a shorter workday, and to have greater certainty of steady employment. Organization exists in some departments but not in all. Members of police and fire departments are not affiliated with organized labor; yet those employed in these departments receive considerably more pay than they could in all probability earn, as a class, in any other calling. The mention of this fact in no way implies that they receive too much.

Capital, in the ordinary sense of money or its equivalent, is not worthy of such solicitude as labor, because (1) its possession precludes actual suffering, and (2) the greatest good to the greatest number is more important. But capital in the sense of intellectual superiority, special training, or capacity can never fail of recognition and must ever be in demand in the proper administration of any industry as a coöperative act by a community. There must be the same direction and supervision as would obtain under private control. And, if ordinary labor receives increased remuneration, those directing it are worthy of proportionately greater recognition. An innovation in municipal functions is usually influenced by environment. Sometimes the novelty is rapidly introduced in one city or town after another until it becomes general. But, while most of our cities have certain conventional departments under public control, throughout the country are many communities that administer one or two unconventional industries to advantage. These form the nucleus that should enable us to see unlimited possibilities. As to the choice of coöperative acts, the general ground of the greatest good to the greatest number has had weight in the choice of present communal activities, and it will

be well to direct our attention to that object. A key-note seems to have been sounded long ago when Robert Owen (1771—1858) wrote his conception of the proper functions of a community in this form:

"1. The proper training and education from birth of the physical and mental powers of each individual.

"2. Arrangements to enable each individual to procure, in the best manner, at all times, a full supply of those things which are necessary and the most beneficial for human nature.

"3. That all individuals should be so united and combined, in a social system, as to give each the greatest benefit from society. A general knowledge of the facts that external circumstances may be so formed as to have an overwhelming and irresistible influence over every infant that comes into existence, either for good or evil; to compel him to receive any particular sentiments or habits; to surround him through life with the most agreeable or disagreeable objects; and thus at pleasure make any portion or the whole of the human race poor, ignorant, vicious, and wretched—or affluent, intelligent, virtuous, and happy."

These words indicate what was long ago considered part of the proper field of activity for a community.

Different minds conceive varying objections to any proposition, and it would be impossible to anticipate them in full. As coincident in some measure to the main subject of this article it seems fitting to publish in connection with it an outline of a method for the collection of taxes that seems capable of doing away with the imperfections of the present system. It is contended that an enormous sum is lost to the public annually through the possibility of misrepresentation and evasion pertaining to the prevailing system. The proposed plan may be stated as follows:

(1) That there be a corps of assessors who shall assess the taxes upon every building, lot of land, manufactory, banking house, and all visible taxable property located within the community, without taking any pains to discover ownership: the only qualification being that each parcel shall be definitely located and described.

(2) That the assessor's department prepare the customary tax bills for each parcel assessed.

(3) That there be an appointed period of time for the payment of all taxes, this being made public in the same manner as public notice of elections, etc.

(4) That every taxpayer shall be required during the specified time to appear before the assessors and definitely locate and describe his taxable property, that the tax bills of that property may be produced for payment by him.

(5) That the officers of corporations, etc., shall appear and pay the whole of the tax upon their properties, leaving the company to settle with individual stockholders, etc., by deducting the amount of the tax from dividends or in any other way agreeable to them and the said stockholders: the taxes upon municipal and government bonds to be collected at first hand, in the same way, from the departments issuing them.

(6) That the taxable property located and described in all tax bills remaining unpaid after the expiration of the lawful time shall be confiscated by the government and the title so acquired shall henceforward be valid to the exclusion of all previous titles.

(7) Any injustice through double assessment will be rendered inoperative by the existence of a proper receipt for taxes paid somewhere else or in some other form on the property doubly assessed, to which the owner will naturally be enabled to call the tax collector's attention.

(8) That the prevailing laws and methods of procedure pertaining to the assessment and collection of taxes remain in force so far as they do not conflict with the foregoing.

The degree of altruism involved in the carrying out of the heretofore successful method of progression along the line herein indicated is only slightly in advance of the present average status. As the altruistic standard of to-day is far in advance of that of primitive man, so must the standard of the future be even further in advance of the present, as each degree attained adds to the impetus and increases the velocity of progression. Thus may we be capable of meeting many contingen-

cies, which may be discovered far in advance, when we eventually come in contact with them.

The ideals of Robert Owen, apart from his plans for their realization, are worthy of consideration and attention. When we have more nearly approached them, perhaps the true meaning of the almost unknown reverse side of the great seal of the United States, with its motto, will begin to be dreamt of. "Novus Ordo Seclorum" (A New Order of Ages) is the motto; and it has been suggested that its significance as well as that of the design will be comprehended only when the American people have made some of the great onward strides for which the national life of the past century has been the merest elementary preparation.

RUDOLF WALD.

*Cambridge, Mass.*

## WHO SHALL CONTROL THE PRICE LEVEL?

### I. ATTITUDE OF AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES.

THE American Economic Association is an organization controlled by the professors in our universities and colleges. Others may become non-voting members. At its annual meeting two years ago there was a program for the discussion of "currency reform" in which the speakers announced to read papers were all on one side; whereas there were among the professors a few who championed the other side, and of the people of the country a majority, probably, favored the side that was not represented. A non-voting member petitioned that some one be named to defend "the other side," and suggested General A. J. Warner, president of the American Bimetallic Union, an acknowledged authority for government currency as against bank currency; but no attention was paid to the petition.

At the next annual meeting, which took place a year ago at New Haven, a special committee on currency reported unanimously for a bank currency, and therefore against government currency—thus giving to the country the impression that the American Economic Association was unanimous for the retirement of the greenbacks and for control of prices and business by the private corporations known as national banks; whereas the fact was that, in the preceding year, Professor Charles S. Walker, of Massachusetts Agricultural College, published an article upholding government currency; two or three other professors were openly advocating direct government control of the volume of currency, and others were known to be on that side of the question. But this one-sided and therefore notoriously unfair method of handling class questions—questions in which the self-interests of classes are opposed to each other—is on a par with the university system under which the professors are themselves employed.

In each university and college in the United States, a board of directors—composed principally of business men, lawyers, and ministers—is by law clothed with absolute power as to the employing and the dismissal of professors of the science of wealth and of government; and in but two or three instances has a Board enacted the rule that the professors who deal with class questions—the professors of economic, political, and social science—may speak their minds freely and fully and yet retain their positions. Presidents have made such declarations, but the Boards by refusing to indorse such statements of their employees have refused to ratify the principle of academic freedom. Furthermore, the dismissal of every professor in each private university and college who has spoken out in favor of control of the price level and business by the government rather than by private corporations (national banks) has served as an “object-lesson” to all professors, while in the public university and college there has been considerable pressure brought on the side of the party in power.

This attitude of employing only such professors as will teach the side of the class questions that the dominant element in the board of directors stands for is openly championed by Mr. Raymond, of the Northwestern University board of directors, in an article in the *Chicago Tribune* of September 3, 1897:

“A professor is not a mere parrot to repeat and fairly explain to his students the diametrically opposite premises, arguments, and conclusions of the writers of the ages upon any given subject. *He must of necessity be an advocate*; but his advocacy *must be in harmony with the conclusions of the powers that be*, with the animus and main purposes of the institution, and with the teachings of his colaborers.”

The writer called upon Mr. Raymond shortly after the above was given to the public, and he stated for the press:

“During the week that has elapsed since the publication of my article I have not received any criticism from university circles, but have received from most unexpected sources the most unqualified commendation of them [nine propositions, including the above, concerning the government of American univer-

sities]. The commendations that I refer to come not only from officers of our university but also from those connected with other institutions who have given this matter long and careful study."

The writer also interviewed, or had interviewed, one or more members of the boards of directors of the University of Chicago and the Northwestern, Vanderbilt, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, Cornell, Johns Hopkins, the American (Washington, D. C.), and Syracuse universities, and in almost every instance the director either expressly agreed with Mr. Raymond and therefore was against academic freedom, or he refused to tell his opinion—thereby impliedly agreeing to the principle of "advocacy in harmony with the powers that be." Further proof that on vital class questions there is no academic freedom is the fact stated above—that the law clothes the boards of directors with control—and the further fact that they have not delegated it except in two or three instances, and the still further proof that the professors who have spoken out against the bankers' control of prices and business have, except in a few cases, been ostracized.

It is under the university system above described that the professors of social sciences are employed in the United States; whereas in England and several other countries the professors are selected by fellow specialists and then have life positions, as do their judges. In these countries the private banks are prohibited from controlling the price level, and I challenge our teachers to name one professor in those countries who argues that private corporations *should* control it.

But in the United States the Constitution provides for majority rule instead of government by the few; and Mr. Raymond told me that the plan he outlined for controlling the teachings in our universities was the system he thought fitted to *this country*. He emphasized "this country," which meant of course the distinction that *where there is majority rule the few should*, as to facts pertaining to wealth and government, *control the many through controlling the seats of learning*. "Progress" under such a system is provided for by Mr. Raymond in his plan

of university government for republics, published in the *Chicago Tribune*. It is as follows: "The limitations [upon the teachings concerning wealth and government] must be the consistent policy and actions of *the powers that be*, who, if loyally supported, may be *safely trusted to keep up with the real progress of the times*, and not to establish barriers to all reasonable latitude of thought and action."

The system championed by Mr. Raymond is the existing system, as I have demonstrated, and under it the professors of wealth and of government are employed; and they are joined together in the American Economic Association, which publicly handled the currency question in the one-sided manner I have described. The writer called to the attention of the chairman of the committee on currency its unscientific handling of the subject, and presented a short paper setting forth important omissions of elementary principles and suggesting that these omissions when placed alongside the admissions in the committee's report demonstrated that it had no case. Of course the chairman refused to debate the points—refusing to debate publicly has been the method whereby they have managed to keep the public deceived. But through the courtesy of *THE ARENA* I have been enabled to invite the reader to consider the report of said currency committee of the American Economic Association; and I promise to point out one of the arguments against self-government and in favor of controlling the Republic of the United States by means of false education as to wealth and government.

## II. GOVERNMENT PAPER MONEY VS. BANK PAPER MONEY.

The committee on currency of the American Economic Association, at the annual meeting in New Haven, recommended unanimously that the paper money we use in connection with metallic money should be issued through private corporations (national banks), and not by the government direct. In this unanimous report by five eminent professors of the science of wealth there are several important admissions and omissions,



and they are such as to defeat the case these gentlemen advocate. One of the most important omissions is the failure to admit or otherwise recognize that the average price of products should be kept as stable as possible; whereas this is the basic principle in the science of money. The principle is well stated by Professor Sherwood, of this committee, in his volume entitled "History and Theory of Money:" "The ideal that we want, so far as price adjustment is concerned, is to keep stable prices, so that a contract payable in one year from now can be paid with just the amount of commodities that will then represent the value stated in the contract of to-day." Furthermore, falls in the average of prices disorganize the productive forces, while rising prices do the same but in a less degree. The other members of the committee are agreed, as are all economists and statesmen, that a stable average of prices is the desideratum.

As to admissions, the report of the committee concedes that the volume of paper money in the United States, or paper "currency," as some prefer to term it, is so great that it cannot be withdrawn from circulation. That this concession should be made is perfectly evident when there is called to mind the large volume of "uncovered" paper money (paper currency) in the United States and the other gold-price countries. The "covered" paper money is that issued to represent the gold or silver stored in vaults. This admission that the volume of paper currency is so great that it cannot be withdrawn is a confession that the volume of paper currency affects prices; and history shows that the volume of paper currency *does* affect prices. One way of stating the case is this: Where a paper currency is issued in sufficient quantities it raises the price of things, on the average; and if the volume of paper currency is contracted sufficiently the price of things can be lowered, on the average. In short, the average price (price level) can be controlled through the volume of paper currency. This statement implies what the committee have admitted, namely, that the volume of paper currency is so large that we must continue to use it along with the metallic money, for otherwise there would be a severe fall of prices.

A second admission is as follows: It is conceded that, where the private corporations known as banks are empowered to issue and withdraw paper money, the motive that governs their action is *profit*. In the words of the report: "In order to be elastic a [bank] circulation should be profitable. That this is a fundamental principle needs little proof." The motive, then, that determines the action of private bank directors and stockholders is the securing of benefits to themselves—profit. The profit from "banking," and from the issuance of a paper currency and its withdrawal at the will of the private bankers, is from the following sources:

1. Profit from legitimate banking.
2. Profit from speculation in stocks, produce, and other property.
3. The control of legislation. This includes the control of national elections.
4. The control of the government in case of a severe war.
5. As high a rate of interest as is possible, consistent with the best possible returns from deposits and reloaning.
6. The interest made from putting forth the paper money that the voters through their representatives furnish the banks for loaning out at interest.
7. A net increase in the purchasing power of money. From 1873 to 1896 the purchasing power of money was increased 100 per cent.; that is to say, the average price of products was made to fall 50 per cent.

Illustrations from experience in this country, demonstrating that the great bankers have used their power for each of the above-mentioned objects, are set forth at length in my writings.

I next call attention to a second most glaring omission in the report favoring the control of prices by private corporations; namely, the omission to state that where paper currency has been so issued it has always resulted in cycles of rising and falling prices. It cannot be otherwise while human nature is as it is. History shows that when the average of prices has been rising, business of all kinds has been profitable, and therefore brisk, with a strong demand for money. This has induced the

banks conducted on the basis of "profit" to expand their credits and to issue every dollar of paper money that the law permitted them to issue at a profit. The more the banks expanded the volume of credit and the volume of money the more it tended to make prices go higher, and this kept up the demand for money and credit. This always continued until the more cautious bankers would begin to get ready for a panic by asking for more security or for better securities, and by collecting cash to build up their bank reserve. At this time and for a short time before, the far-seeing speculators have always endeavored to reap profits from the high prices. But all this tended to make prices fall, and the lower prices fell the poorer were the securities in the hands of the banks; consequently, the banks would ask for increased securities and demand payment also of some of the debts due them, in order to increase the amount of money in their vaults. While this was going on there was a "panic" and falling prices, and with falling prices the business of the country became less profitable or was conducted at a loss; therefore, business men to protect themselves have either restricted production or closed down. This lessened the demand for money and credit, and as a consequence there was idle money in the banks. This downward tendency of average prices, with the consequent stagnation of business and a small volume of credits and with money piling up in the banks, has always continued until money was put in circulation by a big crop or by some government, or prices became so low that the consensus of opinion was that prices would soon rise. When there has been a general belief that prices would soon rise, there has been a general movement to purchase, and this has resulted in a general rise of prices. Each period of rising prices inaugurated during past decades has continued rising, rhythmically, until a high point was reached, followed by an explosion and a reversal of the direction of the general price level. "So frequently have trade and industry made this weary round," says Walker, "that the writers on finance have undertaken to establish the law of periodicity of panics and hard times. The term of ten years is the most often fixed upon for the completion of the cycle."

The truthfulness of the above is recognized by every business man and scholar. The monetary systems of the entire world have been such that for a couple of hundred years there have existed these great cycles of rising and falling price levels each ten years or thereabouts. But during the last thirty years there have been improvements; namely, a lessening of the height and depth of the ten-year oscillations or cycles, and a lessening also, and to a most material extent, of the smaller oscillations within the so-called ten-year periods. This has been accomplished through the governments of the leading countries assuming a direct control of the price level, or delegating the control to representatives of the producing classes—*thereby taking the control from private bankers and speculators*. Illustrations of these improved modern systems are as follows:

Since the formation of the German Empire, the government has controlled the price level through the German Imperial Bank. The capital of this bank is supplied by private individuals, but the government directs the policy. Through the control of the interest rate and the volume of paper money, the price level is controlled. In Austro-Hungary a similar system prevails. In Russia the government directly controls the price level. In France the Bank of France, with its capital contributed by private individuals, is controlled by a combination of government officials and representatives of the producing classes. They determine the bank rate and the volume of paper money, thus controlling the price level. In Great Britain the government has delegated to the Bank of England the control of the price level, and its board of directors is composed of merchants and other business men—bankers are expressly prohibited from participating in the control of the bank. Thus in each of these countries the control of the price level is either in the government direct or in the producing classes, or in a combination of government officials and representatives of the producing classes.

The method of controlling the price level in these several countries has been this: In Germany and Austria the paper money is elastic within a very small compass; and, by so chang-

ing the volume as to meet the temporary changes in the demand for money and occasionally changing the bank rate, there has been maintained a comparatively stable price level, except that there have been cycles more or less long, as suited the dominant political power, or the cycles were caused by the inadvisability of parting with gold—a weapon of war, and therefore of prime importance to a European nation. My point is that the government of each of these States has the absolute control of the price level, and therefore has kept it where it chose.

In France, where the government and the producing classes control the price level, and in England, where the producers determine the price level, they are unable to stop the long cycles of rising and falling prices, for gold is a war weapon the same as in Germany, Austria, and Russia; therefore, the French and English governments have each had to keep within their control about as much gold as each of the opposing States has had. In France, as in Germany and Austria, the volume of paper currency is elastic within narrow limits, and therefore has usually been issued when the demand for money has temporarily increased, and it has been withdrawn when the demand slackened, thus leaving the bank rate practically stationary. But in England the law is such that there is a fixed volume of money, except as the government issues exchequer bills to pay a portion of the running expenses of the government, these bills being canceled upon payment. Owing to the fixed volume the changes in the demand for money are met by changing the bank rate; for example, when the demand for money is materially increased the bank rate is raised, and this leads to a contraction in the volume of credits and to the payment of loans, thus increasing the volume of money in the bank and tending to lower the price level. When the bank rate is lowered, the opposite tendency occurs; namely, an increase in the volume of money in circulation and a tendency toward rising prices. History shows that in England, with a fixed volume of money, the interest rate is changed more frequently than in France or Germany, where the volume of money is elastic.

But in the United States the system is medieval; for the pri-

vate corporations termed banks still control the price level (except as hereinafter stated), and as a result there are lightning changes in the bank rate, with falling or rising prices in proportion as it yields the greatest profit to those in control. I do not imply that all changes in the bank rate are at the pleasure of the great New York banks, combined with the great money-lenders of London, Paris, and Berlin; for our bank rate must conform, in a measure, to the tides of rising and falling prices that necessarily prevail under our fixed volume of money; that is to say, at times the great banks of New York are forced to change the bank rate most materially and sharply: but at such a time it is known by the directors in advance of the business world, and thereby they have an undue advantage. The point I desire to emphasize most is, that while the banks are not always able to expand their credit when they desire to, they certainly have the power to contract the volume of credit whenever they choose; and history shows that for this purpose they have combined. The combination may be simply the great banks, or it may be a widespread combination, instances of which I have set forth at considerable length at various times.

I next direct attention to further sources of control of the price level in this country. Speculators outside of the great banks have at times raised the interest rate temporarily by bidding up the rate on "call" money in the New York market, and thus have lowered the prices of stocks and influenced other prices. The money secured by bidding up the rate is usually counted out and left as security for the payment of the loan, thus tying up the available funds and forcing down the price of stocks. "Bear" raids of this character could not be made if there were an elastic volume of new currency of sufficient quantity to meet the increased demand.

A third way in which the price level is controlled is through the Chief Executive of the United States. Our laws are such that he controls at will the volume of the Treasury money from the internal revenue that is left on deposit with the banks, and he can withdraw these deposits at will. For example, October 30, 1897, the amount of Treasury money on

deposit with the banks was \$13,000,000; November 30, \$33,000,000; December 30, \$44,000,000; November 30, 1898, \$91,000,000—an increase of about three hundred per cent. during the year. About September 20 of this year there was a sudden rise in the bank rate and falling prices, and it was said that the cause was the payment to the government by the New York banks of something like \$16,000,000. The next week, when the bank statement came out, it was said that the Treasury had paid the October interest in advance, thereby increasing the volume of money and tending to restore the price level; but only those on the “inside” knew of the change until the end of the week. When the \$20,000,000 was to be paid to Spain, the business world did not know whether it would come from the Treasury or be drawn from bank deposits; but it was finally given out that it would be taken from the Treasury—and this raised prices.

During President Harrison’s Administration great quantities of Treasury money were put into circulation through the prepayment of interest on government bonds and the purchase of bonds before maturity. In the President’s annual message to Congress in December, 1891, he said: “The efforts of the Secretary to increase the volume of money in circulation by keeping down the Treasury surplus to the lowest practicable limit has been unremitting and in a very high degree successful. . . . The increase of money in circulation during the nineteen months has been in the aggregate \$93,866,813, or about \$1.50 per capita [a six per cent. increase]. Of this increase only \$7,100,000 was due to the recent silver legislation. This was a substantial and needed aid to commerce.”

A fourth source of coördinate control of our price level is by foreign governments and foreign banks. These institutions can take gold out of the United States either by raising the bank rate within their territory or by directly purchasing our gold for export. This contraction of the volume of our money cannot be offset by our government nor by our banks, for the volume of paper money is practically fixed in quantity; under the existing system the increase of bank notes is very slow. On

the other hand, the bankers of Europe and the European governments can cause gold to flow to this country by issuing currency within their respective territories, or by reducing the gold in their vaults and war-chests, or by a combination of both. By thus increasing the volume of their money there is a rise of prices, and gold is exported to our shores, thereby raising our price level, stimulating business, and influencing elections.

The demand of the Chicago Platform, and of the Populist party and the Silver Republican party, is that the government shall control our price level and keep it stable, thereby protecting the producing classes and taking from the great bankers, speculators, foreign governments, and the President, the control of prices and business. This control by the government should be by a commission quite similar to the one that controls the price level in France. The usual suggestion is that it shall consist of an officer of the government, say the Secretary of the Treasury or the Comptroller of the Currency, and representatives of the producing classes—for example, a representative of employers and one of employees. The law creating the commission should direct that it maintain a stable average price of the principal products at wholesale, and prescribe the details, including the method of increasing and decreasing the volume of money. It is not necessary that the commission have the direct control of the bank rate, as in Germany and France, for through the volume of money it will have an indirect control. This is unquestionably true. In Germany, for example, the circulation is changed quite frequently, thereby meeting many of the changes in the demand for money and thus avoiding the need for changing the bank rate so frequently as otherwise would be required.

In the face of the foregoing facts, what is the argument for a continuance of the control of prices, business, and national elections by the private corporations in the banking business? For such is the contention of those who are against governmental control. What is the argument of the professors of economics in the United States who are employed by the boards of directors of our universities and who are liable to dismissal



at the pleasure of such boards? The argument of practically all the professors of economics thus subject to dismissal at the will of the bankers and capitalists, and their tools who compose the boards of directors of the employing corporation, is the same argument, in the main, as that put forward by the committee of the American Economic Association. The few professors in the Association who advocate a direct governmental control of the price level in place of the private corporations were not given a place on the committee, thus making it one-sided and wholly unfair; for it gave the public the impression that the professors are unanimous for "sound currency," *i. e.*, the control of prices and business by the private corporations that do the banking. And these professors, employed by the corporations and subject to dismissal by them, *advocate that still greater power be lodged in the private corporations in the banking business.* They ask that the greenbacks and other forms of government currency be retired and burned, and that to the private corporations be delegated the power to issue and withdraw paper money at will and without depositing United States bonds, but simply upon their "assets," *i. e.*, their capital stock and the depositors' money. This would be going backward instead of forward; it would be going back to wild-cat banking and to a plan as bad as John Law's South Sea Bubble scheme, instead of forward to where the nations of Europe stand. We believe that the real trend of affairs in this country is upward. Instead of the control of all prices, all business, and national campaigns and elections by the great creditors, foreign governments, and the President, we believe that the people demand and will secure a direct governmental control, which shall operate under fixed rules, such as are not in the interest of any class, but are equitable and therefore best suited to advance the interests of the human race. Such a system will (1) maintain a practically stable price level, and therefore remove the money question from politics; (2) we shall continue to have a "specie basis," and (3) the entire gold-price world will also have a stable price level so long as we are upon the gold standard; and when we are upon the two-metal stand-

ard the entire specie-using world will have a stable price level. Other beneficent effects I will state after placing before the reader the argument against this governmental control, and then describing more in detail the machinery whereby the government will control the price level.

Let us consider the argument for "sound currency," *i. e.*, a currency issued and withdrawn by the private corporations known as national banks. In the last analysis the sole argument in favor of the control of prices and of business by private corporations instead of by the public corporation—the United States of America—is that the people through Congress are unfit to govern themselves and that private corporations do it better. This sounds like an overstatement, many will say; therefore, I bring forward evidence which shows that I have not overstated the argument of those who oppose the control of prices and business by the people through their representatives in Congress. It is because their argument is so offensive to self-government and in favor of imperialism that the professors of the committee did not dare attempt to answer the points I have raised.

Dr. J. Laurence Laughlin, "Head Professor of Political Economy in the University of Chicago," speaking before the Sunset Club of that city, December 6, 1894, said: "The government should not issue notes [paper money] for many reasons, among which is this: Because it puts *the government* [*i. e.*, the people through their representatives in Congress] *in the dangerous position of influencing and controlling prices and the money market* [*i. e.*, the bank rate of interest]." The alternative is for private corporations to control prices, business, and national elections, as at present; and this Professor Laughlin contends for.

Dr. Francis A. Walker, professor of political economy at Yale College in 1878, in a book published during that year says: "Especially with regard to the effects of contraction [falling prices for products and labor] have economic writers been greatly influenced by the attitude in which they have come to regard themselves as preachers instead of teachers; as in some

degree responsible for the conduct of affairs, rather than as simply bound to investigate economic phenomena fearlessly and impartially. Having satisfied themselves that there is great political danger from the instincts of repudiation and confiscation [a fallacious objection, as we shall see], they seem to feel it *their public duty to divulge nothing that*, either by being understood or misunderstood, *could minister to those instincts*. This is not the only department of political economy in which much has been written in the same spirit as if the chemist *should refuse to disclose the secrets* of poisonous agencies lest men should take advantage of them to perpetrate crimes." And to the same effect is the final argument of each of the professors who advocate that private corporations shall continue to issue and withdraw the paper money.

It is admitted that the professors of "the science of wealth" deliberately deceive the people as to certain truths concerning wealth. The reason assigned is that it is to benefit the people and thereby assist God in developing the human race. But these professors are employed by those benefited by the deception of the voters; and the question arises, Are the law-makers deceived for the purpose of benefiting those deceiving them—who are falsifying God's law and making money out of it? Or is the purpose the benefiting of the voters—the benefiting of the voter by averting that which otherwise would result from the action of God's law?

Judging from the action of bankers and other would-be monopolists in other matters, we know that they do not hesitate to deceive the voters in order to benefit themselves at the expense of the community. And we find upon examining the history of the United States as to money and prices that the bankers and other monopolists who desire to control things through private corporations do not have the people's interests at heart, and *are deceiving the voters in order to benefit themselves*. The history of this country demonstrates that when the people have demanded "more money," *it has only been when the price level was falling*—when they were being robbed, and production disorganized—or when the necessities of war com-

pelled the issuance of paper money, or when it was thought to be only a question of whether the banks or the government should issue it. True, the people have at different times demanded an inflation of money, and therefore higher prices and a depreciation of debts—a scaling of debts; but it has only been when the price level was falling and they were being thus wrongfully injured. The bankers and their hired advocates conceal this fact, and thereby make out a *prima facie* case that God has placed in his people the instincts of confiscation and repudiation, and therefore that self-government is not as good for the human race as government by others—imperialism.

One form of imperialism is falsely to educate the voters of a self-governing State so that they will delegate to private corporations the powers that the public corporations should exercise. And that is what has been done through our university system. It is so arranged as to have one man present both sides of each class question under the guise of fairly presenting both sides—while he believes in one side or the other, necessarily, and therefore is incapable of fairly presenting both sides; and, worst of all, he is liable to dismissal if he speaks favorably for “the other side.” Through this system our people have been falsely educated; and thereby the few who have become rich through special privilege, and therefore powerful, have controlled the great multitude and “fleeced” them. This is imperialism through false education—one of the worst forms of autocracy; and it amounts to blasphemy, for God’s laws are deliberately falsified.

One phase of this imperialism is private monopoly. In no other civilized country in the world is there so much private monopoly and therefore industrial oppression, with mammoth private fortunes wrung from the people. Not only is our price level controlled by bankers, speculators, the President, and foreign governments—while in Europe it is controlled by governments and representatives of the producing classes—but in Europe most of the telegraphs and telephones, express, water-works, street-cars, and other natural monopolies are owned and operated by the people in common (public corporations), in-

stead of by corporations in which only the few are stockholders : many of them non-residents and all of them in control of the several grades of government in order to retain their special legal privileges and secure more of them. It is a notorious fact that the few private individuals who own the monopolies control also the legislation, the administration of the laws, and the courts that construe the laws.

Thus the few govern the many and take from them their rightful belongings. It is accomplished by controlling the economic and political teachings in our universities—the seats of learning. If all the facts of history, together with the principles they demonstrate, had been placed before the students of our colleges and universities during the last hundred years, and used as text-books by the adult population while the professors actively exposed all deceit, it would have been impossible for a subsidized press to delude the people. But as to wealth and government the people have been falsely educated in the universities, and in this way the few, who have been rich and powerful, have kept most of their special privileges after the adoption of majority rule—self-government. They have governed the many through *controlling their ideas*.

Is it to be wondered at that the professors employed under such a system, and arguing that private corporations rather than a government commission operating under fixed rules should control prices and business, have refused to engage in a written debate? But through THE ARENA, which stands for the frank and fearless discussion of both sides and all sides of vital questions, the American people are enabled to get the “stable money” side of the case ; and it is to be hoped that some advocate of “sound currency” will feel constrained to reply.

Let us look for a moment at the details of the proposed currency system and its far-reaching effects. The measurement of the price level is a modern invention. In the green-back days of 1865-'79 it was not generally known, and therefore the system advocated for gaging the volume of money by a sum “per capita” was entirely different from that now asked for. The present-day system of measuring the price level,

and thereby making known whether more money is needed or some should be withdrawn, is the system impliedly called for by the money planks of the Democratic, Populist, and Silver Republican parties. It is as follows:

(1) A law of Congress should command that the price of each of the leading products in the principal wholesale markets in this country shall be tabulated each day or each week by a commission, and the average, proportioned according to importance, be represented by 100; and (2) that this index number be kept practically stable through the issuance and withdrawal of money by the commission under rules to be laid down in detail in the law.

By commanding that a stable price level be maintained, and prescribing all the rules under which the currency commission shall operate to keep the index number from going up or down, there will be practically nothing left to the discretion of the commission; and, as the stable price level will be recognized by the public as equitable to all classes, there will be no demand for a change in the law—the money question will be removed from politics. In no other way can it be removed. When private corporations issue paper money there are cycles of rising and falling prices; and when prices are falling it occasions hard times, and the people properly demand that the falling prices shall cease. Falls in the average price of products can be permanently stopped only through Congress providing for the direct issuance and withdrawal of the paper currency with the express object of maintaining a stable average. Under the plan proposed by those who demand a stable average of prices the object will be attained; for when credits expand, thus tending to raise the price level, the commission will offset the tendency by withdrawing money from circulation—and this it can do by selling the government bonds it has previously purchased. Then, when the volume of credit tends to diminish, the contraction can be offset by the commission through putting money back into circulation in exchange for bonds. The yearly increase of population and production calls for an increased volume of money, and the exact quantity required will be accurately gaged and supplied.

A system that maintains a practically stable average of prices in the United States will not result in the loss of a "specie basis," for it will be to the interest of the countries of Europe so to gage the volume of their paper money as to leave some metallic money in our circulation. Were they to do otherwise there would be a broken par of exchange, and falling prices within their territory. This would injure them and benefit us; for, with us, gold is not hoarded as a war weapon. Proof is as follows:

1. A fluctuating par of exchange would interfere with the sale of their manufactures in all the countries that should be on our price level. Thus we should have an advantage in this foreign trade; the countries of Europe would suffer an interference in the sales of manufactures in this country; while the broken par of exchange would not interfere with the sale of our agricultural products in Europe. All this is demonstrated by the history of the trade between gold-price and silver-price countries.

2. We should have a stable price level coincident with falling prices in European countries. This would give us a bounty on the sale of products in such countries. That this is so is demonstrated by the last twenty-five years of trade between gold-price and silver-price countries.

The European nations would not bring these evils upon themselves, for they could prevent them by issuing their proportion of the paper money needed to supplement the metallic money. At present the European countries permit falls in the average price of products because they appreciate debts in the United States and all other gold-price countries, and they must keep a hoard of gold because it is a war weapon; but, when we establish a stable average in our country and in all the countries that we can influence, the incentive to European creditors will very largely be gone, while the added injury to their producing and trading classes will compel them to "play fair"—to keep their price level up to our stable price level; and this they can do and retain their gold supply.

As to the reserve in our Treasury, we can keep it up or we

can let the exporters of bullion get it from the banks. The "reserve" does not give to the money in circulation its purchasing power: this is determined, as I have shown, by the quantity of money and the other media of exchange and the demand for them.

In conclusion, I desire to state three facts and to make a prophecy: (1) There is an invention for measuring the average price of products. (2) This average price is controlled by the voters through Congress. (The control is exercised by Congress through the volume of money.) (3) Fluctuations in the average price of products disorganize industry and are otherwise injurious to society. In proportion as these three facts become known will there be a demand for the adoption of a system that will prevent any considerable fluctuation in the average price of products. When such a system is adopted the money question will be removed from politics, just as is to-day the question of the number of pecks in a bushel. That such a monetary system is to be established is as certain as was the discarding of the stage-coach after the discovery of the improved modes of travel. All that is required to produce this result is that the people know the three facts above mentioned. But there stand in the way the selfish interests of the great creditors and big speculators, and the control exercised by these interests.

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## THE DIVORCE EVIL.

### I. SOME OF ITS RECENT ASPECTS.

**I**T is safe to say that no problem of the present day presents greater intricacies and more portentous issues than the question of Divorce. The independence of Cuba, the Philippine strife, the race war, and the ratio of 16 to 1 will bear no more comparison with the profundity of the divorce question than a problem of simple interest alongside the struggles of combination and permutation. The whole array of arguments looks like a syncretism of opinions from the days of Henry VIII. to our own time. In all, without exception, we find causes ascribed, effects described, remedies prescribed; but the evil marches on. The last census of the United States shows the increase of divorce to be at a rate two and one-half times greater than that of the increase of population. To-day, with divorce agencies and other rapid-transit facilities, a case can be rushed through the courts in fifteen minutes.

Serious-minded persons look on this state of affairs with dismay. They have cried of the violence done the Constitution of the land, which forbids a State to meddle with the obligations of a contract. The judicial power stigmatizes legislative divorce as unconstitutional, being an infringement on the judicial domain. In the present status the States have dogmatically assumed to settle all differences themselves. In the midst of the chaos, a man born in one State, married in a second, and domiciled in a third, may there sue for a divorce for a matrimonial offense committed in a fourth. There is no need of going to Utah to find polygamists: our most enlightened cities swarm with them. Polygamy *simultaneous* or polygamy *successive*—it is all the same, morally speaking; in practise the difference is only a question of household economy. In many States the increase of illegitimate births is keeping pace with the spread of divorce; and in almost every State the prevalence of criminal abortion and kindred vices is be-

coming alarming. This is only a cursory glance at the subject, without regard to the appalling figures that Samuel W. Dyke has tabulated.

The most logical question now is, What is the cause? Here, precisely here, is the issue. One discovers it in the unbalanced individualism that sees only within the radius of its own height; another, in the unlicensed, free-and-easy socialism that knows neither superior nor inferior, virtue nor vice, nor anything of mutual love, esteem, and respect; a third detects the root of the whole trouble in the morbid relationship of family with society; a fourth, again, in the faulty conception of family life that obtains at the present day, when the use of railways, machinery, and wire, and the reign of the Trust are revolutionizing ideas and pursuits, and are drifting men into different conditions. The clergy, on their part, incriminate the law-makers for the distorted and ununiform operation of our marriage and divorce laws. Not less interesting is the argument of Mrs. Hetty Green, who says: "Good food is the basis of good conduct, and consequently of happiness; more divorces are caused by hash than by infidelity."

If the opinions and teachings of our many economists were less at variance right here, perhaps a speedy remedy might be secured. But from day to day we are groping in mist and darkness, with new and more complex phases of a tedious problem pressing upon us harder and faster—with no better promise than if we were wrangling with the proofs of Newton's Imaginary Roots.

To every sober-thinking moralist that has given this matter appreciable thought and study, it must appear that the only satisfactory solution of the difficulty is to stop all divorce. Cut the Gordian knot. This is a sweeping doctrine; but it seems the only way out. No amount of side-legislation will ever crush this parasite, which sooner or later threatens to infect the entire community. But, it is alleged, what redress is there for the victim of unfaithfulness? Not much, we regret to say. It falls to the lot of the nation to teach such unfortunates that the public is confronted by two evils, and it must elect—it must

choose the lesser. It is not to be forgotten that, in the normal condition of things, the family is destined to remain intact during the lifetime of the wedded couple. The sentiment of morality, as implanted in the human race, wills that it should; and no quality of education will ever make them think otherwise. Disintegration or rupture of the sacred nuptials is purely accidental—*per accidens*, not *per se*. Moreover, it is a maxim in metaphysics that when the particular good stands in conflict with the general good the former must subserve the latter—the individual, the community.

"This is a hard saying, and few can bear it," may well apply here; but it seems the only satisfactory disposition of the case. When happiness has once left the cozy fireside, and *the status of the home is such as to preclude the readjustment of things*, then I would say: "Unhappy pair, part; any condition outside of this infernum you will find more tolerable." But here the law must punctuate. It can and ought to countenance separation—divorce *a mensa et thoro*, as moralists call it. Beyond this, nothing more. Strike off *a vinculo* from its statute-books; it will have ample scope to legislate in dealing with the possible problems of labor and capital that may be interwebbed in the family structure. Divorce *a vinculo* is in logical sequence divorce *ad libitum*, which in its turn is at no appreciable distance from free love: free vice—degeneracy.

Instead of stepping into the mire to struggle with a foe of slime and filth, let our good lawmakers give their strength and spirit to the nobler cause of a higher standard of morality for the classes and an education less godless for our needy masses. The marriage bond will rise above the level of a mere civil contract, and the sanctuary of the sacred nuptials will be less open to invasion.

The stand lately taken by the clergy of the country in a case involving two families prominent in New York's "aristocracy," and still more recently at Ann Arbor, is worthy of our commendation. The proposition of the Episcopal bishop of Quincy, despite the editorials of the press, deserves special consideration. But Mr. S. N. Tuckman, in the columns of

a New York newspaper, says: "Let us rather cling to the present law, and let matters of matrimony be permitted to adjust and elevate themselves." I should like to ask the gentleman what "present law" he means. Is he not aware that this country has no uniform divorce law? Moreover, in the name of good sense, what is meant by allowing matters of matrimony "to adjust and elevate themselves?" Is not this the experiment of the French Commune, when the number of divorces in 1797 alone outstripped the number of marriages? Prophetic humor is convenient in debate. The attitude of the gentleman is quite in keeping with the propensities of the average thinker, who much prefers to have opinions brought to him rather than go out in quest of them. This is one of the distempers that work havoc in the morals of the land and the ideas of the people. The press, we realize now, has its own ethics. There is not a more persuasive teacher than the journalism of our day. No mystery is too profound—no plot too deep—for solution by the daily papers. No ethics can be too lofty to bear some criticism or secure a higher elevation from the infallible press. At some near date, we trust, the question of divorce will bolt from the cartoonist and fall in line with other vital issues on the editorial page.

If the American public had as strong and clear-cut concepts of the esthetic evolution of the family as it has of the material demands of the individual, much of the existing social corruption might be accounted for. The situation is precarious in its every phase. We are living in an age when commercial interests are strong and absorbing; when brains and energy are passionately expended on the farm and the bourse. We never had more urgent need of men who can discern the divine symbolism of material things and the profound significance of the Nation. The field of usefulness for such is large. But be it said to their encouragement that, beneath all this hustle and bustle—yea, at the bottom of all the rationalism, agnosticism, and the other troublesome "isms" of the hour—there is a strong religious feeling craving for light, life, and warmth. On the cultivation of this instinctive religion rest the salvation

and potential strength of the nation. Let them implant upon this soil the good seed of wholesomer literature, stronger virtue, and nobler types of matrimonial union. And let our lawgivers legislate in presence of the fact that the physical health and strength of the race is an indispensable element of the national perpetuity.

With the ascendancy of cleaner tastes, concupiscence of the flesh will droop. Marriages will be contracted more cautiously. Habitual self-control, so essential to social bliss, follows in the bridal footsteps. "On their dead selves, men will rise to higher things." From out of the depths of conjugal love, in time, arises the heavenly mutual love that is the prototype of the union that shall be immortal. "*Felices ter et amplius, quos irrupta tenet copula.*"

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## II. IS THE DANGER EXAGGERATED?

THERE is a revival of discussion about the "divorce evil"—an evil existing largely in the minds of the able reformers who see in the increased number of divorces, and the ease with which they are obtained, a state of things that threatens destruction to the entire social fabric. Men judge their fellows by their own ideals, forgetting that there are no catholic standards of right and wrong doing. The high-minded gentleman will think well of others and see much of good until the reverse is proved; the carnally inclined will seek for and find that which feasts depraved appetite. Just so does the happily married man imagine that divorce will bring destruction to society. It is not for him to feel the misery, humiliation, and despair accompanying a life of marital infelicity; not for him to bear the awful, crushing weight of the millstone of wedded woe, from which there seems no escape except by suicide or through the divorce courts. We never hear of a man or a woman who has passed through such an experience decrying the means of escape.

When will the world, and especially organized orthodox Christianity, reach that point—that growth in grace and charity, that elevation of mind—where the happiness of the whole human family is desired: a happiness born of purity of life, cleanliness of thought, and moral uprightness?

Marriage is the bulwark of the nation. A happy marriage is our nearest approach to celestial joy: an unhappy wedlock is its antithesis. The one incites to all the virtues, and brings to light the beauty and fragrance of the soul; the other offers nothing but misery, destruction, and despair. Would the unhappily married brave the publicity, the ostracism, and the scandal of the medium of redress were the situation anything but desperate, and heroic measures not necessary? "But marriage," we are assured, "is a sacred institution—necessary for the moral salvation of our young people." Yes, marriage is sacred; and many who enter its portals walk in the paths of rectitude, but would be in sin if without. Yet matrimony ceases to be marriage the moment it becomes certain that husband and wife are abhorrent to each other; when the realization comes that for them to live together as man and wife is a profanation of the sacred state into which their vows inducted them—that henceforth their association must be a living lie. *Then* it is they are divorced, just as truly as they are united the moment their mutual vows of love—life's love—are exchanged, preceding the nuptial ceremony. The public avowal and the decree that makes them legally free are but sequels to the tragedy.

There is no sacredness in wedlock unless it be a union of hearts—a community of minds cemented by the unction of mutual respect. Sever these bonds, and, though the fact be sacredly kept from the lips of scandal and the breath of shame, the union degenerates into an unholy alliance, dishonoring the marriage institution and degrading alike the man and woman. I would not change the accepted marriage ceremony or hush that beautiful symbol and holy promise: "I agree to love, honor, and cherish, until death do us part;" but I would have those words mean something more than mockery, placed be-

yond the possibility of sacrilege, and made far more binding than the edict of human law, civil or religious: trusting to that divine power, a force greater than any other lever that moves our being—Love. Promises are of no avail unless we cleave to this most precious gift; for when *love* dies marriage becomes mockery.

American homes—those fit to be called homes—are in no danger because of the prevalence of divorce. The flowers of love will bloom more luxuriantly and give forth the incense of happy hearts and contented minds in greater degree when the weeds of wedded life are removed. A home without love and mutual respect will propagate misery and disgrace marriage. Let our editors and legislators annihilate the root of the evil, instead of lopping off the branches. Rather than say, "It should be a matter of extreme difficulty to obtain a divorce," we can more profitably lament the looseness and utter recklessness with which marriages are too often contracted, and if possible devise ways and means to check this, the greatest of all social evils; for in unwise, injudicious, or loveless matrimonial alliances there are both sacrilege and tragedy.

Divorce presents the chance to begin life anew and to gather shattered hopes; it offers opportunity to correct the mistake of a lifetime. Legislators do not heed measures intended to place safeguards around marriage; they frown upon such propositions, which they characterize as "an infringement of personal liberty," while busily devising and perfecting more stringent divorce laws.

I do not write as a reformer, or with the hope of overturning any existing institutions or customs; but I do plead for more charity, broader minds, a greater desire for universal happiness, the opportunity to retrace mistaken steps, and the full exercise and enjoyment of that liberty "wherein Christ hath made us free."

Dr. Talmage, in his recent sermon on divorce, took for his text the familiar words: "What, therefore, God has joined together let not man put asunder." These words have no relation to divorce, for God has not joined those who seek legal

separation. He has permitted them to come together—only to learn the immorality, the shame, and degradation of an unfit relation. He joins only those whose affection is based upon unselfish love, character, and mutual respect. An unhappy and consequently wrong marriage is the worst sin-breeder imaginable. It fosters deceit, encourages lewdness, and in every way degrades the individual. It forces the man and woman to exist in a false atmosphere—a living lie, deceiving their friends, deceiving even themselves, deceiving all but God. There is one avenue of escape—one pathway leading to a better life, a wiser choice, a purer atmosphere—divorce.

Which course is most conducive to the general good—to remain in this state of matrimony, which robs life of all its sweetness and entails a train of evil to be visited on future generations, or to walk forth free from the divorce courts into life's sunshine? All the hideous nightmare of a wretched alliance dispelled by a brighter day—despair throttled, joy enthroned, and hope no longer deferred! Those who have never felt the chastening rod of the great teacher, Experience, cannot appreciate or comprehend the feelings of one who has passed through the dark shadow of unhappy marriage.

Dr. Talmage says that God sometimes authorizes divorce, but that wholesale divorce is one of our national scourges. No doubt there are abuses of the institution of divorce, but they cannot compare with the wholesale abuses of the marriage institution—amounting in innumerable cases to legalized sin. Divorce is vastly more elevating than a marriage with unfit motives as its incentive; and the man or woman whom self-respect and honor impel to sever the degrading bonds should be considered as martyrs and treated with the respect and consideration we give to those who are trying to atone for a mistaken course and live a better life. Instead of the frowns and suspicion that greet them they should be given encouragement and a helping hand.

Dr. Talmage professes to believe that making divorce more difficult will cause people, before they enter the marriage relation, to pause and reflect while on the verge of matrimony that



there will probably be no escape from the bond except through the tomb, and that in consequence they will wait until fully satisfied that the relation is best, and right, and happiest. The reverend gentleman makes the common error of assuming that human nature, and especially that part of human nature within the realm of the affections, can be regulated by statute. The fact that there is punishment for crime does not prevent law-breaking, and infractions of the law are often involuntary, or done while under the influence of that which "steals away the brain." Not one man or woman in a thousand thinks of the possibility of divorce when about to enter matrimony. That is a cloud that does not intrude upon their sky of bliss. In the heyday of love and courtship, divorce is an unknown quantity, or, if thought of at all, is treated with the consideration given to ghosts, goblins, and "the stuff that dreams are made on." What, then, becomes of the argument that knowledge of stringent divorce laws will cause people to defer matrimony?

Under present conditions of society marriage is necessarily, to a large degree, a lottery. It is the most far-reaching and solemn of speculations. Young and inexperienced persons cannot be expected to choose life partners with wisdom or with regard for the wants and longings of their more mature life; and to have a choice made for them is considered un-American. They are not content to wait until fire and passion have been cooled by the experience and judgment that come with added years.

Dr. Talmage quotes statistics showing the great number of divorces in various States and sections—the Western Reserve of Ohio being in the lead with its proportion of one divorce to eleven marriages—and then defames the good people of the Western Reserve by saying that "frequency of divorce always goes along with dissoluteness of society." As a native of old Ashtabula, in the Western Reserve, I desire to protest against this unjust allusion. It is well known that in no section of the United States can be found a more law-abiding, intelligent, and moral community than in this identical Reserve, barring the slums of her one great city. But the West-

ern Reserve, as it is "known and read of men," is a sufficient answer to the statement that "frequency of divorce always goes along with dissoluteness of society."

Easy divorce is not a discredit to a State, though uniform and just laws on the subject should be enacted in all States. There will be difficulty in securing just laws, however, while the pulpit and press continue to instil prejudice and misconception on this important subject. If marriages are rightly contracted, divorce will disappear; with marriages wrong, divorce is a necessity and a blessing. The efforts of educators should be directed against the evil of wrong marriages, and such a public sentiment created that this crime will be lessened. The fact that "all the world loves a lover" has led to gross abuses. Young people in their "teens," who fly from anxious parents and to their doom, are lionized and aided because of the romantic side of human nature—instead of being sent back to their homes, where they belong.

Dr. Talmage says that uniform divorce laws will lead married couples to consider less the possibility of getting away from each other and to plan how they can adjust themselves to the more or less unfavorable circumstances. If the uniform laws are to be just, and enacted in the interest of human welfare, they will furnish avenues of escape from every unholy alliance, without perjury or shame. But the Doctor deals with the married state, in this instance, as he might with some ordinary business partnership. Married persons do not become agitated on the question of getting away from each other unless there is some great and underlying reason that racks the mind and distresses the heart.

To get at the *facts* of human life we must probe beneath the surface and touch the heart-strings of experience. We must feel the throbs and pulsations of the fettered spirit—the longings of the burdened soul. In none other of life's situations is it more true that "the unseen is the real." Does the All-wise One desire that His children shall continue in the slough and wretchedness of unfit and consequently unholy marriage because of a mistaken step, because sober intellect and reasoning

powers did not quench the fires of passion—did not absorb the breath of affection? No; a father's love and tenderness, and a father's desire for our happiness and welfare, tell us it cannot be true.

There is no good reason why a man should understand that if he goes into the marriage relation there is no possibility of getting out. If it is right and best and happiest that he should remain married he will not have the least desire to get out; and if it were true that he could not change the relation when once entered into, he would still make matrimonial mistakes and there would still be wretched alliances. In all the lesser affairs of life a way is provided for changing conditions should they prove intolerable. Why should not such provision be made for this, the most important step in existence?

Let us learn to distinguish between "holy matrimony" and that which is unholy—between the wheat and the chaff, the good and the bad, the pure and the impure. We do not war against this divine institution of marriage, but seek to perpetuate, honor, and uphold it. Those who are wrongly wedded have no place within its gates. Its atmosphere is to them stifling, its associations profane, its ties galling. But those "whom God has joined" will cleave together to the end, their married existence being like unto the sweet song of birds in an atmosphere of freedom and purity—their association that of kindred minds and "hearts that beat as one."

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### III. A PLEA FOR LIBERAL LEGISLATION.

THE advocate of greater liberality in divorce legislation has an ungrateful task. He opposes customs and opinions resulting from conditions that have existed for ages, and very generally have the support of the most conservative people, who strongly resist any changes that might seem to them likely to weaken family ties or run counter to the teachings of re-

ligion. And it is certain that, without the support and approval of the great majority of the home-loving, religious people of the country, no changes can be made.

The Christian Church has for centuries sanctioned divorce only in case of adultery, basing its rule on certain well-known expressions of Christ. It has allowed the remarriage of the innocent party, after a divorce; though some clergymen of the Episcopal Church in this country go so far as to favor the adoption of a canon forbidding the second marriage of the innocent as well as the guilty party.

The laws of civilized States differ widely in regard to the grounds they recognize as warranting divorce—some granting it only for adultery, others for a considerable number of other causes also. It is not necessary to refer here to the scandal and legal confusion caused by the conflicting laws in force in the various States of our Union; but no matter what the law may sanction, many people, whether members of a church or not, are by tradition and the force of public opinion inclined to doubt the right of a State to allow divorce for reasons not considered valid by the Church.

There can be little difference of opinion as to the literal meaning of the words of Christ on which the Church's rules regarding divorce are based. No less clear are his teachings on many other subjects; yet, while the Church has insisted on accepting literally what he said about marriage and divorce, it has not, at least since its earliest period, so accepted his plain words regarding non-resistance, humility, community of goods, etc. This may perhaps be explained on the theory that these teachings were intended only to present an ideal; and that if actually lived up to they would interfere with material progress and the course of civilization—which is probably true.

It must be remembered that the tendency of the Church, though somewhat modified since the Reformation, has been to interpret the words of Christ literally whenever such an interpretation would tend to substantiate the claims made for its own authority. Without entering further into a discussion of this theological point, it may be said that the attitude of the

Church on the subject of marriage and divorce is based, precisely as is its claim to authority in other things, on this literal method of interpretation, instead of the more liberal one accepted for biblical passages relating to other worldly affairs—for the reason that, beyond and aside from its proper desire to promote morality, it has been able to strengthen its hold on the people through its control of the marriage rite. This control was long absolute, and the Church has constantly and fiercely resisted the changes that have gradually given to the State the power to regulate domestic relations.

Let us now consider the subject in a practical way, as it presents itself in our own time. The history of the marriage relation has been no exception to the rule of development and progress. In rude ages, as among rude people in all ages, it has been an association of a man and a woman on the lowest terms—the wife being expected only to be a faithful mother and an efficient housekeeper, and the husband a protector and breadwinner. With improved conditions we naturally find a higher standard. Education, travel, and all that goes to make modern life what it is, tend to raise this standard; and in no age or country, except our own, do we find so much demanded of each other by husband and wife, nor so near an approach to the ideal of marriage when both are truly mated. Unfortunately, the higher the development and standards of the individual become, the greater is the misery caused by an injudicious marriage; and for such the benediction of the clergyman becomes indeed, as Kipling says in one of his stories, “the curse pronounced from the altar.”

Bishop Potter, who is strongly opposed to divorce, proposes in a recent magazine article that some of the old-time measures to prevent hasty and unwise marriages be again made use of—such, for instance, as the publishing of banns. This is a wise suggestion, and the same result is aimed at by the marriage-license laws in force in some of our States; but no precautions can eliminate the element of chance in matrimony. And the problem that must still be solved is to find some way to relieve from life-long misery those who have

foolishly, ignorantly, or accidentally formed hopelessly unhappy unions, without doing injury to their children or to the community. Just how this shall be done is a question calling for careful thought and discussion; but, in view of the complicated physical, mental, and social conditions that enter into the marriage relation, it seems a great injustice to refuse any relief unless it can very clearly be shown that it cannot be given without in the end causing still greater injury and suffering to others.

Aside from the scriptural argument against divorce and the second marriage of divorced persons, there are two others generally brought forward: first, the wrong to children (if there are children); and second, the effect on public morals. So far as children are concerned, it may be said that they can have no suitable or happy home surroundings in a household where the father and mother are not in sympathy with each other, and simply live together, or under the same roof, because they cannot be divorced without scandal. It is needless to say that children ought not to be born of parents living in this way. Such children as there are would usually be happier with either one of the parents than with both—if they could see the other one at will.

As to the second objection, the possible injury to morals, it may be remarked that a great deal of confusion of thought seems to exist. Many writers who oppose divorce hold up the advantages of home life, and then proceed to demolish a "man of straw" by denouncing those who would, as they claim, make our homes less sacred. This comes from an unconscious reversal of cause and effect. The happily married man or woman does not want a divorce, no matter how easily it might be obtained; and, on the other hand, a couple that cannot live happily together will not be made to do so by refusing them leave to separate honorably, and, if they can, to form other and happier unions.

It is well known that, in States whose laws permit divorce only for adultery, men of good character have allowed themselves to be charged with this offense—accepting the disgrace,

because in no other way could they obtain freedom. Every instance of this kind must do vastly more harm than if the divorce had been allowed for other causes. Men and women of really immoral character are not, as many suppose, the ones who would take advantage of more lenient divorce laws. Their bonds sit lightly, being in some respects rather an advantage than otherwise, and their consciences are not sensitive.

It is earnestly to be hoped that some way may be found to put an end to the injustice that results from the survival of medieval laws and opinions concerning the whole subject of marriage and divorce. The solution is not easy, and cannot be reached in haste; but it is surely worthy of the best thought and effort of all who desire the advancement of true morality and the increase of happy homes—where men and women, fitly mated, may find the highest companionship, and bring up, under the best possible conditions, children who will do honor to their parents, their country, and their time.

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## A NEEDED POSTAL REFORM.

**T**HE largest package of merchandise that can be sent through the United States mails weighs but four pounds. The cost of sending it at the regular rate of one cent an ounce is sixty-four cents. Under such conditions only the smallest and lightest parcels are transmitted by post. Larger ones are as effectually excluded as if they were kept out by law.

Suppose that the rates were reduced to a cent and a half a pound, and the weight limit increased to eleven pounds: a package weighing four pounds would then go for six cents, and one weighing ten pounds for fifteen cents. Such a change would bring about an immediate growth in the business of the Post-office, necessitating an extension of its transportation facilities and an increase in the number of men employed. It would mean, on packages within the prescribed limit of size and weight, a low, uniform rate of transportation charges throughout the whole United States. That such a result would follow seems clear. The important question, however, is whether such a reduction is possible—whether the Post-office could transmit packages at these rates.

In attempting to answer this question I shall first show what has been done in this direction by other nations. Many of the European countries have a parcels-post system under which packages three feet in length, two and a half or three feet in girth, and weighing eleven pounds, may be sent through the mails. The rates on such parcels in Great Britain are a little over two cents a pound. In Germany they may be sent ten miles for three-fifths of a cent a pound, and to any part of the empire for one and one-fifth cents a pound. In France and Belgium an eleven-pound parcel can be forwarded for sixteen cents; but in the latter country the same package can be sent by slow train for ten cents, and in the former twenty-two pounds go for thirty cents. The average rate in these countries is about a cent and a half a pound; and in view of this



fact it seems fair to infer that we might maintain an equally low rate.

This inference, too, is strengthened by an examination of some of the freight charges that obtain in the United States. The Massachusetts Railroad Commissioners, in their report for 1898, gave as the average freight rate on all the roads in that State one and a quarter cents for carrying a ton a mile. The rate on the Boston & Albany road is ninety-two-hundredths of a cent a mile, and that on the Pennsylvania road sixty-five-hundredths of a cent a mile. Mr. W. E. Weyl, in a paper read before the American Academy of Political and Social Science, said that the average rate in the United States, based on figures from Poole's Manual, for carrying a ton of freight a mile was eighty-one-hundredths of a cent. These figures indicate that railroads can carry a ton of freight a mile for less than a cent and still make a profit. Mr. Weyl also gives the rate on cotton from Memphis to New York—a distance of 1,163 miles—at fifty and one-half cents a hundred; while the statistician of the United States Agricultural Department gives a rate, on eleven articles of food products, wool, and hides from Chicago to Boston—1,025 miles—in lots less than a car-load, of fifty-three cents a hundred. This shows that a pound of freight can be carried a thousand miles for about half a cent; and that corresponds with the figures first given—a ton of freight carried a mile for a cent being equivalent to a pound of freight carried two thousand miles for a cent. These are freight rates, and so do not include cost of collection and delivery.

Postmaster-General Wanamaker estimated the average distance a piece of mail is carried at 442 miles. Now, if a pound of freight can be carried a thousand miles for half a cent, and a profit still be made, it will not be extravagant to assume that a pound of mail, with the extra service necessary, ought to be carried less than half the distance for three times that amount. But there are other figures that point more directly to that conclusion. The rates of the Adams Express Company on parcels of a hundred pounds, similar to mail-sacks, from New York to Boston—a distance of 217 miles—are one cent a pound. The

rates from New York to Cincinnati—a distance of 744 miles—are two cents a pound; while those from New York to Cleveland—about the distance the average piece of mail is carried—are just a cent and a half a pound. In addition to this, Mr. Loud, chairman of the Post-office Committee of the Fifty-fourth Congress, tells us that express companies are carrying second-class mail matter—regular publications in the form of books and magazines—distances up to five hundred miles, with collection and delivery at domicile, for less than one cent a pound.

We have, then, three kinds of evidence in favor of a low-rate parcels post: First, other nations maintain such a system; secondly, freight rates are such as to raise a presumption in that direction; and, finally, express rates indicate the possibility in a pretty definite manner. But, granting that such a reform might be carried out, the question at once arises, Do we need it? Are not our express companies carrying parcels similar to those included in the proposed system as cheaply as the Post-office would be able to do it? We have already seen that on parcels of a hundred pounds' weight rates are low. In thickly populated districts and between large centers of business, rates on smaller packages, too, are reasonable, many going for fifteen cents and some for ten. These, however, are exceptions. For any but the shortest distances the general public sends very few express parcels for less than twenty-five cents. Under the proposed system, packages of eleven pounds would go for sixteen cents, and many that now cost a quarter could be sent for five or ten cents; and this, too, regardless of whether the distance were one hundred or five hundred miles.

It is generally acknowledged, so far as letters and such parcels as are now admitted to the mails are concerned, that government service is better than private service could be. But, if government service is better on a letter or a package weighing a few ounces, why were it not better on one weighing a few pounds? So far as transportation is concerned, they do not differ. We might hesitate to go as far as some do and advocate the pooling of the entire transportation business of the

country, both freight and passenger, under government ownership: such a course would involve changes of a radical nature, and much difficulty might be met in carrying it out. But here is a reform that could be put in operation merely by extending a branch of service already in existence. By reducing rates gradually, a too sudden increase in the business of the Post-office could be prevented; and in time, by repeated trials, the lowest rate possible without loss to the government could be ascertained.

It is a reform that would be of immediate, practical benefit by reducing the price of every article that could be sent through the mails. With these low rates the farmer and the market gardener could, as they now do in Germany, send small quantities of produce directly to the customer. The manufacturer could in many cases sell directly to the retail dealer, and in both instances there would be no need of a middle-man. Thus the profits and expenses of the wholesale dealer would be saved to the producer and the consumer. Many articles that, by people living in rural districts, cannot now be had at all or only at the highest prices, could, under the proposed postal system, be ordered by mail. In this way prices would be lowered, business increased, and the country farm-house supplied with many articles now accessible only to those living in the large cities.

Moreover, besides this direct benefit in buying and selling, another advantage, almost equally great, would arise in all the cases (outside trade relations) in which people send parcels to one another. Multitudes of packages are thus sent daily, and with reduced rates the number would inevitably increase. Indeed, such a system of low rates would in effect amount to giving rural communities the benefit of the city grocer's cart and delivery wagon. What rapid transit and low car-fares are doing in one way for suburban towns, a system of low postal rates would do in another way for the whole country. It would be one more step toward a solution of the problem of distributing the benefits of modern industry among all the people.

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## REFORM OR REVOLUTION?

**P**OLITICAL unrest has seized the world. Not alone in our own country, but in other lands than ours, the spirit of inquiry disturbs the powers that be. It assails thrones, threatens trusts, and everywhere forces lawmakers to stop and think as they have never done before. In every clime, men speak of "reform," and call for a nobler and larger degree of justice to all. Fiction is filled with pictures of the altruistic State, statesmen begin to see the necessity of municipalization of certain monopolies, while even staid philosophers ponder. The signs in the social sky alarm the holders of special privileges.

Hitherto, in history, struggles for liberty have been confined within single States. The cry of the human heart has ever been for light and air. Love of freedom, the longing to do and to be something in the world, has beheaded tyrants and overturned dynasties. Never before has it made the world its battle-ground. For the first time, civilization questions itself. The great school of democracy has pupils under every flag. A mighty war is being waged by means of the press and by pamphleteering. Ideas take the place of guns. In all this, conservatives discern danger to themselves and the institutions by which they profit. To the dreamer, it means the political millennium. The clergy, frightened, warn us that it portends the death of the religion they preach. Meanwhile the privileged classes rule, as they have ever done, though less rigorously than formerly, and the poor toil on, seemingly, in vain. As if by a law as unerring and as merciless as that of gravity, they continue to see the fruits of their labors flow to others. The crowned despot, the speculator, the gold gambler, the millionaire manufacturer, the railway king, the money-lender, the real-estate monopolist—all these receive the choicest material blessings of human effort, as the oceans drink forever

the water gathered in streams from the hills and plains of continents. Brain revels in all that is created by brawn.

Among men possessing the capacity for thought, the notion no longer obtains that the great differences in the fortunes of men are due to the heed that the very rich or the very poor have paid to the old-time lessons of frugality, industry, and economy. At length it has been learned that social environments created by law have vastly to do with individual success or failure in life. On all sides it is admitted that there must be a great change in the economic systems of nations. But how and when? Shall it come peacefully or by revolution?

In contemplating the slow pace at which progress moves, the patience of the average reformer gives way. He feels, selfishly, the need of things going at a faster gait in his lifetime, because after his death no reform can help him. He fondly hopes to see the awful throes of ages accomplished in an hour. As his sense of the prevailing injustice deepens his impatience grows, until at times he drops from philosophy to cant and from cant to rant. At this point he appears merely as a wild railer against the rich. On the other hand, the monopolist professes to see a dangerous anarchist in every agitator for social betterment, and points to the impatient prophet of the New Day as proof that all who demand a broader justice are improvident poor who do nothing but declaim against those who have "saved" a competence against the proverbial "rainy day."

It is only by study of the individual, his life and motives and ambitions, as well as by study of the governments founded by his species, that we may arrive at correct conclusions in matters pertaining to economics. The thinker must arise from such study profoundly convinced that streams do not rise higher than their sources; that the weakness and base appetites of the individual must assert themselves in all laws made by the State. Many reformers mistake the cause for the effect. In government they see an all-powerful entity, responsible for all social wrong and capable of accomplishing within

itself all measures that make for the common good. They say: "Conditions are wrong; we must change them by law." Upon this theory socialists try to fill legislatures with men holding their peculiar doctrines, and other agitators act along the same line. We must understand what government is, and we must know the individual. Until this knowledge comes to us, we may not intelligently take part in discussion of ethical questions in politics.

In any state of society akin to popular government that has existed for any length of time, government is nothing more nor less than the exponent of the average morality and intelligence of the people that create and maintain it. This is an axiom that should always be borne in mind by those who strive for human betterment through law. That is to say, government, in such case, can be no better than its average citizen. Congressmen and State legislators, despite all claims to the contrary, do in the main correctly represent their constituents. The ordinary individual desires to become rich. His thoughts and aspirations do not rise to the sublime height of altruistic sentiment. He is emphatically a selfish creature, striving to acquire a competence—the greater the better. He never stops to inquire whether such result can be reached by him in consonance with the principles upon which the government was founded, or to attempt to adjust his welfare to that of his brothers. There is not a spark of altruism in the sale of dry-goods or any other commodity. The banker, making a loan, pauses not to ask if it will in the end benefit him at the expense of his neighbor or to calculate the intricate and perplexing possibilities and niceties that arise upon a philosophic study of the currency problem. The real-estate dealer, in nine cases out of ten, either knows nothing of "unearned increment" or cares nothing about it. That three factors are concerned in wealth-making—namely, production, transportation, and distribution—is of no consequence to the manufacturer, the agriculturist, the owner of railway or steamship stock, or the huckster, whether he be jobber or retailer. Promoters of corporations for pecuniary profit are neither philan-

thropists nor students of Carl Marx. There are but two sides to the moral ledger of every business man, namely, profit and loss within legal limits. Business is selfishness seemingly made necessary by the very conditions against which lovers of liberty and justice protest. Man's life is short. He has little time to engage in moral speculation; besides, that would never win a living for himself and family. And Nature slays him while he is yet a gray-haired infant.

Is it, therefore, strange that Congress and the several State legislatures foster selfish enterprises and enact laws protecting selfish interests? Need we wonder when we read that this or that financial enterprise has a lobby at the Capital? May we not easily see that government is just what it should be—just as good as the folks who permit or compose it? The average man is selfish, sometimes meanly so: so is the government. The average man wants the better of the bargain: so does the government. The average man sometimes commits crimes against men and women: so does the government. The average man would be a millionaire: the government busies itself chiefly in guarding the interests of financial concerns. Commercialism to-day dominates the world; therefore, all governments represent and serve those who get the greater share of gain in commercial and business transactions. In the ages when priestcraft ruled, a government's main effort was to spread the religion of its people. Later, under the reign of the soldier, government was an engine of war and destruction. From these facts we are able to learn why Congress gives more time to tariffs and franchises and subsidies granted to powerful corporations than to the youth of the land and their educational needs.

Let it be supposed that by some miracle Congress and the legislatures of the States could at once be filled with members of the highest type—men possessing vast learning, the broadest sympathy and love for their kind, and the skill to enact laws abolishing all corporations for pecuniary profit and confiding to government the functions of production, transportation, and distribution of all wealth. Suppose the Federal

and State Constitutions did not forbid this, or, rather, suppose they could in a moment be swept aside. What would be the result when the disinherited millions should learn that their substance had been sacrificed to the common evil? Revolution, the wildest and fiercest in history. Every property-owner would see, in the new order of things, the grossest injustice to himself. The land-owners of the country, seeing common pasture made of their estates, would wage war to the death against the new régime, and they would be reenforced by every man who has ambition to own property. The well-meaning legislators would be hanged or shot in the heat of a patriotism as lofty as that which animated the barons when they wrung the Magna Charta from King John.

Three factors are concerned in producing selfishness in the individual: heredity, education, and social environment. The government set up by the people creates conditions that affect individual character but may not always control it, since we see many men and women who, despite surroundings and notwithstanding heredity, are wise and unselfish; but they seem to be of little use in this selfish age, judged by popular standards. The obvious lesson is that until the majority of men and women, through higher education, reach the mental and moral plane now occupied by humanitarian thinkers, the many must remain the servants of the few, the strong oppress the weak, and wealth continue to concentrate to the detriment of the masses. The cause of the people is not hopeless. When the pulpit and the school unite in teaching more of justice, less of charity, and more of the principles of coöperation making for the good of all, then shall we have entered the golden highway to the promised land whose happy borders have enraptured the visions of seers and poets of every age. Once let boys and girls be taught the truth pertaining to social conditions as affected by the wonderful forces of steam and machinery; let them be fired with the zeal of human brotherhood rather than the greed of the money-getter, and the world will make mighty strides forward. Neither the gospel of Jesus nor any other moral code equivalent to it is taught in



the public schools to-day. Teaching along this line, apart from that received at the homes of children, is confined to an hour or a half-hour in Sunday-school—at the hands of very excellent ladies and gentlemen, of course; but how many of these are free from the virus of greed? How few of the young girls that seem largely to do this work understand aught of the mighty problems that confront society and threaten its very moral foundations! The higher education will find in the minds of the country's children the fertile soil that shall bear reform fruit.

Life is too short to permit men and women born and reared in a selfish atmosphere, reeking with the greed and ambitions of commercialism, to change themselves into good and wise beings, anxious only for the welfare of their kind. If real reformers would see the beginning of the downfall of class privilege, they must, through the schools, reach the brains and hearts of the youth of the land. This is the great Revolution that must come. Talk of armed revolution, against the "exploitation of the masses by the classes," is idle indeed. That were revolution by the people against themselves—against the aims, ambitions, and desires of the majority of individuals and not against the government, as the term is understood. It would be rebellion of the people against themselves—national suicide. Such a revolution, under existing conditions and with present moral standards, is an impossibility. Some time, perhaps, a terrible conflict will ensue between those holding the altruistic thought and others wedded to the old order of things. But that day is yet distant. It will dawn after the higher education shall have made brothers and wise thinkers of the majority of people living upon the earth. The clash will be provoked by those holding selfish ideas. Out of the flames of such strife will arise a diviner civilization.

JOHN HUDSPETH.

*Atlantic, Iowa.*

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.  
They master us and force us into the arena,  
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*  
—HEINE.

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# The ARENA

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## POLYGAMY IN CONGRESS.

### I. THE MORMON BREACH OF FAITH.

ABOUT a year ago one Brigham H. Roberts was elected to Congress from Utah. Soon there was heard the distant rumbling of a social storm. Mr. Roberts and his friends laughed merrily and assured themselves that the storm's fury would be spent ere the close of a long summer, and that at the convening of Congress he would walk into the national legislative halls in a peace so serene and a calm so deathlike as to give no sign that a storm had ever raged. But here, as is often the case, the Prophets were in error. The storm broke with a great protest by seven millions of petitioners, demanding that Roberts be excluded. When the storm shall have spent its fury, Mr. Roberts's political ambitions will be a wreck upon the other shore—where a myriad of ghosts dance upon the political graves of more worthy men.

What caused all this commotion? Fanaticism, religious emotion, unreasoning hysteria, answer some. I may grant, and it is with me a matter of regret, that all these elements combined to add furor to the social cyclone; but what gave it

direction? Whence came the unifying force that brought together Catholics and Protestants, Jews and infidels, Democrats and Republicans? It was not Roberts alone, because he had been prior thereto unknown. Neither was it Roberts's polygamy, for standing by itself that could directly injure only himself, and could be of but little more effect than the isolated secret transgressions of other individuals.

We instinctively look beyond the individual when in search of an adequate cause for this extraordinary social phenomenon. In this controversy Mr. Roberts is a mere incident through whom it is sought to reach the degrading and damning social system of which he is proud to be temporarily the most conspicuous votary. Social vice elsewhere is held under the ban of enlightened public sentiment. In Mr. Roberts's system it changes its name and adds the mumblings of a priest—and lust is sanctified. Elsewhere the man who takes wives or mistresses into lawless partnership, and flaunts them in the faces of decent people, thereby classifies himself with those the harmful influence of whose example is practically limited to social outcasts. In Mr. Roberts's system the increase in the harem comes as a reward for piety—"the reward of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." The heads of polygamous households are upheld as the highest types of moral excellence, yea, the literal "mouthpieces of God." A powerful organization, with business and political influence, is defending their polygamous cohabitation, and ready upon proper demand to urge others to follow their example. What elsewhere is called a crime, and punished under the law, is in Mr. Roberts's system called religious worship and demands constitutional protection as such.

I may be charitable toward Mr. Roberts by assuming that he knows no better; that in taking his wives, as he did, with intentional defiance of then existing laws, he only lived honestly up to his highest ethical conceptions. I may grant also that in continuing his polygamous relations—criminal under present Utah laws, as they were in their inception—and also that in the begetting of children whom he deliberately starts in life with

the brand of illegitimacy under the Utah laws, he is the perfect embodiment of his own highest ideal. Grant all this, and how have we altered the case? Instead of hating Mr. Roberts, we pity him for coming so near being an erotomaniac. This, however, cannot lessen our enmity toward the marriage system of which he is a conspicuous champion. It still remains that an organized, powerful system, with enormous proselyting machinery, defending vice in the name of God, courting increased opportunity for sensualism as a heavenly reward for piety and the means of increased celestial glory in the next life—it still remains, I say, that such a system is more pernicious, both in the quantity and degree of its evil influence, than would be a like number of criminal acts, the same in kind but isolated as to the wrongdoers, committed in secret and thus paying to virtue at least the cheap homage of hypocrisy.

It is urged, however, that the system received its death-blow years ago, and by natural processes will breathe its last very soon. But will it? If we could be sure of that we might be more charitable. But we remember that as far back as 1882 Mr. George Q. Cannon went before the American people, holding out a similar hope, and appealed to a generous sympathy for the protection of old polygamous relations, even though unlawful in their inception. His appeal in this behalf was more pathetic than any Mr. Roberts has made upon the same lines. We also remember that, under a sympathy aroused by the intentional suggestion of the falsehood that polygamy should be left to die a natural death, this band continued in secrecy to solemnize new polygamous marriages, thus deliberately blasting the hopes they had themselves aroused. We remember also that in 1888 a Utah Constitutional Convention, composed of Mormons, met and adopted an anti-polygamy clause in the organic law of the proposed State. That this, too, was but the trick of cunning deceivers is evidenced by the present admission that polygamous marriages were thereafter solemnized, at least up to October, 1890. The Mormon apologist, however, insists that the manifesto of 1890, by which polygamy was "suspended," was a more solemn dec-

laration than any preceding one, and therefore is entitled to credit. *Yet its conditions have been violated already.*

Here we have reached the principal issue in the present controversy, as defined by the church leaders on one side and the "storm-starters" on the other. Before we can intelligently discuss whether or not the promises made on behalf of the Mormon people have been violated, we must determine what those promises were. The "storm-starters" insist that the Mormon people, through their representative men, agreed that polygamous cohabitation as well as new polygamous marriages should forever cease, and that as to both these pledges the agreement has been violated. The polygamists and their defenders insist that unlawful cohabitation (with wives acquired in violation of law, though prior to 1890) was to be tolerated; that nothing was promised except the cessation of new marriages, and that this pledge has been sacredly kept.

Having defined the issues, we may proceed to examine the evidence both as to what that promise was and its violation. That the promises made to secure Statehood included an agreement to cease unlawful cohabitation is evidenced by many public declarations made on behalf of all the people. First of all comes the church manifesto of 1890, which discourses glibly upon obedience to the law and advises against contracting any marriages forbidden by the laws of the land. I thought then that it read plain enough, but I can see now that it must have been intentionally so worded as to be susceptible of two interpretations. The federal government had, prior to 1890, escheated Mormon church property then in the hands of a receiver. The church leaders desired to secure its restoration and were tempted in court proceedings to interpret the manifesto under oath, and they did interpret it to prohibit unlawful cohabitation with prior acquired wives as well as to prohibit new marriages. Accepting this sworn interpretation of the alleged Prophets and Apostles of God, as coming with the same divine sanction as the manifesto itself, the church property was restored. Acting upon this same interpretation, the Mormon Utah Legislature of 1892 passed a law making unlawful

cohabitation as well as polygamy (the ceremony of taking additional wives) a crime against the Territory, and legitimated all children begotten prior to the manifesto. This sworn interpretation of the manifesto and the laws of 1892 against unlawful cohabitation were both used before the members of Congress and the Congressional Committee as evidencing the good faith of the people in having abandoned polygamous cohabitation as well as polygamous marriages. These public evidences of intention were reenforced by many corroborative private declarations by leading citizens, whom all had a right to suppose to be speaking authoritatively for all the people.

The Constitution of Utah, carrying out the same interpretation of the pledge against polygamous cohabitation, by its schedule continues in force the Territorial law of 1892 against unlawful cohabitation. If the Mormon people of Utah did not intend that polygamous cohabitation should cease, as they now assert, then why all these solemn official declarations? Were they only made to deceive a confiding public? They establish beyond cavil that promises to suppress unlawful cohabitation were made as a means of securing Statehood. That this promise has been violated is evident to every one. Some of the very men who under oath said that the manifesto of 1890 prohibited polygamous cohabitation have, since Statehood was secured, publicly defended the practise. As evidence of its general violation, we point to over one thousand illegitimate children born to plural wives since then. As evidence of bad faith in the making of the promises recited and the laws passed against unlawful cohabitation, we point to the fact that all Mormons denounce and deride efforts to enforce this law; sympathizing friends pay the fines of those convicted, and all join in abusing the persons engaged in these prosecutions. The same bad faith is further shown by the denial of all intention ever to enforce this law. That this bad faith may be fixed upon the church itself is evident from the fact that the very men who by all Mormons are sustained at its head, and who under oath said the manifesto prohibited unlawful cohabitation, refuse to apply church discipline to those in high station who are guilty, even

when their guilt is evidenced by a court confession and criminal sentence.

That it was promised that no new polygamous marriages should take place is still admitted, and it is asserted that none have been consummated. This last statement I believe untrue, and I cannot accept the testimony of church leaders to the contrary as any evidence upon this contested question of fact. I say this because of their history. The "revelation" authorizing polygamy was received in 1831. The practise is admitted to have been begun under compulsion at least as early as 1840. The "revelation" was reduced to writing in 1843, and not made public until 1852. During all these years the leading Mormons, in the most solemn manner, denied that any such thing as polygamy was either taught or practised within this alleged church. After 1852 many who made these denials said they knew them to be false, and others admitted that they themselves were polygamists when making the denials. When pressed for a justification they boldly announced that the falsehoods had been told by the direction of God! We remember that in former prosecutions of polygamists their wives would swear that they did not know who was the father of their children, or that they did not know whether or not they had lived in marital intercourse with men whom they admitted having married.

These are people of the class whose declaration that no new marriages have been solemnized since 1890 we are to accept as evidence. How can we be sure that they are not again under a "divine command to deceive," simply refusing to cast their polygamous pearls before the Gentile swine? The American people are now as unprepared for "the strong meat of the gospel" as between 1831 and 1852. And here let me say that if I were to describe the esoteric doctrines of Mormonism, "the strong meat of the gospel," even so fair and independent a magazine as THE ARENA would not dare to print my article. Space will allow only one example, showing the character of evidence upon which is based our belief that new marriages have been solemnized since 1890.

After 1890 there lived in Salt Lake City a young woman named Hamlin who was engaged to a brother of Apostle Abraham H. Cannon. This brother was then absent on a three years' mission in Germany, and before the end of the proselytizing tour he died. Early in 1896 it became rumored that Miss Hamlin had become an additional (polygamous) wife of the Apostle. The Apostle died July 19, 1896, and at his funeral Miss Hamlin was with the other wives as one of the chief mourners. Many of the Apostles spoke at the funeral, and the whole burden of their eulogy was an indorsement of the dead Apostle's ideal family relations, which of course included an indorsement of all that was to be implied from the presence of Miss Hamlin as one of the chief mourners. Thenceforth Miss Hamlin became known as Mrs. Cannon, and a few months later a child was born to her, which was christened Cannon, and in the probating of the estate of the deceased Apostle it was recognized by all families as his child. As a further indorsement of all this, by the church leaders, we point to the fact that the church organ expressly refused to deny the marriage of these persons, and the institution employs this Mrs. Cannon by that name as a teacher in a church academy at Provo, Utah.

How do Mormons justify their denial in the face of such evidence, do you ask? That is easy when you understand their system. Two explanations have been privately offered as showing why this was not a violation of the promises made by the manifesto of 1890. One is that the parties are not married, and that the Apostle was only executing an old Bible mandate by raising up a "righteous seed" in his dead brother's name. The manifesto forbade only marriages "forbidden by the laws of the land." Here, then, was no marriage; hence no violation of the manifesto. The other explanation offered is that the marriage took place on the high seas, off the coast of California; hence it was not forbidden by the laws of any land, and therefore was not a violation of the manifesto. Since, as they claim, no promise against unlawful cohabitation was ever made, none was violated by living with this woman in Utah when married to her on the high seas, where no law could



be violated by the ceremony; hence, no violation of any promise or manifesto.

Three other Apostles and several Bishops appear also to have new wives, if quite as convincing circumstances as the above are any evidence of the fact. Even Mr. Roberts might have difficulty in showing, by any outward evidence, that his third wife left Dr. Shipp's harem to join his own very long prior to 1893.

To conclude, we believe that the Gentiles of Utah and of the nation have been "buncoed" into giving Utah Statehood; and now, when the mask is off, we protest against allowing these Saints to enjoy undisturbed the fruits of their confidence game.

A. T. SCHROEDER.

*Salt Lake City, Utah.*



## II. ROBERTS: THE DREYFUS OF AMERICA.

**B**RIGHAM H. ROBERTS is the Dreyfus of America, though his cause is fraught with finer issues than that of the captain in the French army. In France, religious and race prejudice block the road to advancement to a certain class—it banished one of its representatives to Devil's Island on a charge of treason resting on forged evidence. Over there it was the Church and the army that did the work: here it is politics and sectarianism in their most imperialistic and fanatical moods. To prove that *Vox Dei* is also *Vox Populi* a petition of seven million sent by a special train from a certain newspaper office in New York is put in evidence, wrapped with the Stars and Stripes—the same flag that this enterprising journal declared editorially must float in triumph over the Philippine Islands, "though at the cost of the extermination of all its inhabitants," and the same flag that it bore in front of the silver forces in 1896 in opposition to the very powers with which it has now formed a league and covenant. The spirit and intent of this agitation were shown in a cartoon by the great Davenport, which represented Uncle Sam with a sponge in hand in the act

of "wiping out the foul blot of Mormonism from the map of our country," and in another by the same hand picturing a Mormon with his wives gathering about him in dread of the rising storm in the form of infuriated citizens hurling sticks and brick-bats. As the pencil of the artist gives dignity to the actions of the mob, so the voice of the preacher gives sanction to both. Among the holders of tickets at the opening of Congress was a strong force of Christian clergy and women delegates of auxiliary church societies, come to witness the final death-throe of polygamy and "a setback for Mormonism," as expressed in the platform of the Anti-Polygamy League having the conduct of this campaign, with the Social Service League of New York as its scouting patrol, whose munitions of war are a series of "anti-Mormon tracts" written by orthodox divines and paid for by the daughter of a multi-millionaire. One of the tracts referred to brings statistics to bear on the issue, showing the gravity of the situation in the fact that, while some of the Christian sects are actually on the decline, Mormonism shows a steady increase in the number of its converts.

It is undeniable that these are the forces and that this is the motive that head this agitation against Congressman Roberts. The liberal reform elements of the country had no part in the construction of that pyramid of petitions, whose value as an index of the sober sense of American citizenship is in inverse proportion to its bulk. The more thoughtful do not agree with the logic of these moral crusaders and have a haunting sense of inconsistency in the groundwork of the whole argument. The Church for once has a monopoly of a great reform. One of the few of the more capable minds who think Roberts ought to be shut out is the Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbott; but this is one of the exceptions that prove the rule, as his opinion in this case is in keeping with the axiom he has put forth as an excuse for the Philippine war—that "the law must go first, and after that the gospel." And this reverend gentleman is the successor of Henry Ward Beecher, who was tried for a greater offense than that of B. H. Roberts, but by a jury of his peers and with the aid of the most eminent legal talent,

which succeeded in rescuing his name from everlasting shame by a division of the jury. Strange, is it not, that, when the spires of Christian temples let fall their shadows on the very haunts of iniquity, it should not occur to these Doctors of Divinity to quote the words of their Master in a case like this: "Judge not, that ye be not judged;" "Let him that is without sin among thee cast the first stone."

What wonder that the occasion seemed to sanction so unwonted a procedure in dealing with Utah's representative when he presented himself at the bar of the House: an appeal to precedents steeped in the passions of war-time; the appointment of a special committee composed of his avowed antagonists, which constitutes itself a court and jury, denying the accused the right of being heard in the place where the alleged offense was committed, and reversing the common law maxim in assuming that a person is guilty until he is proved innocent; while on the threshold of its inquiry it blinks the fact well known at the White House that polygamists have been appointed to Federal offices in Utah since it became a State, and that the owners of genuine harems in the Sulu Islands are the pensioned servants of this government—to say nothing of the cryptogamic marriage, the mesalliances that are not hid from the all-seeing Eye beneath the Capitol's dome? When will the day arrive that a special committee will be appointed to expurgate the two houses of Congress of the takers of bribes and the friends of plutocracy? Know we not, while legislators are horrified that "Utah is filling up with polygamous wives" (which is not true), that Congress is filling up with the tools of monopoly, the servants of corporations and the trusts?

The question presented by "the anti-Roberts agitation" is more complex than simple owing to the conditions of the time and the temper and bias of one or both parties to the controversy. The accused has to meet mixed charges, with a shifting emphasis dictated by the caprice and exigencies of sect and party, blending truth and falsehood, fact and fiction, the relevant and irrelevant; and it is by such tactics that this agitation has received the impetus that has carried it to its grand culmination at the Capitol.

Brigham H. Roberts was nominated on the Democratic ticket by a convention of Mormons and Gentiles, and was elected by an unusual majority, due as it would seem more to the strength of the Gentile than the Mormon vote, as he carried all of what is known as the Gentile strongholds, while his opponents won in nearly all of the exclusively Mormon districts. Some of the most prominent Mormons were opposed to him, including Heber Wells, the Governor of Utah, and Apostle John Henry Smith, who stumped the State for the Republican candidate. His election was uncontested, and his credentials, bearing the seal of the State, were without a flaw. And his election, moreover, had an exceptional validity in two other respects, namely, the participation of women having the right of suffrage and the absence of the corrupt use of money. When during the campaign one of his critics tried to make an issue of his family relations, his answer was: "I have not violated that compact either in letter or in spirit, and have no desire or intention either to violate it myself or approve its violation by others." That he was chosen for his ability and fitness is shown by his public services before this time, by his speech and bearing before the House of Representatives, and the reports of interviewers coming into close contact with him.

A movement was started to nullify the election and bring Utah into disrepute by a coterie of ministers and politicians who were all Roberts's political and religious opponents, upholders of the present Administration at Washington and of the Christian gospel of the Wesleyan and Calvinistic type. At a meeting of the Presbyterian Synod of Utah it was affirmed that "polygamy is not only being taught to the young people among the Latter-Day Saints, but is being practised in violation of the Constitution and laws of Utah and of the solemn promises made to the people of the United States by their leaders." And coupled with this is the Synod's version of the Mormon creed, giving as its tenets "an infallible priesthood," "blood atonement," "divinity of the Book of Mormon," "present inspiration," "the paying of tithes," "salvation by works," and "preaching the gospel without purse or scrip." And on

these grounds an appeal is made "to all people everywhere in our country who favor law, order, and morality, at once to begin the necessary agitation and unite in a memorial to Congress."

The Woman's Home Mission of the Presbyterian Church states that "Mormon converts are not now as formerly directed to Utah and Idaho, but are advised to remain where they are and practise their religion, which is but a thoroughly organized school of immorality;" "our purpose is to arouse a national spirit against Mormonism and prevent its increase." "Will you not as a Christian and patriot help us in the campaign we are carrying on against Mormonism by sending us at once some gift, however small?"

The superintendent of the Methodist Mission of Utah made a tour of the principal cities of the Eastern, Middle, and Southern States, including Boston and the city of Washington. His contributions to this campaign of misintelligence were on the lines of the following statements: "The Mormon religion is opposed to Scripture and to true Christian doctrine." "The Constitutional State Convention prohibited polygamy and required the enforcement of the law against unlawful cohabitation," and "the apostles, bishops, and counsellors are taking to themselves new plural wives; and Brigham H. Roberts, who belongs to this class, was selected, nominated, and elected by church authority and influence." "The desecration of the Sabbath, intemperance, and the social evil are increasing from year to year," "while the officers are hushed to silence and inactivity by some influence." When, on his return to Salt Lake, the reverend gentleman was charged with having falsified the law and the fact in every one of these statements, he made a partial retraction, but could not expunge the same from the minds of the many thousands of church people who had listened to him throughout the country. A powerful leaven was working.

A New York paper published a picture of a family group under these flaming headlines: "Living proof in a photograph of Lorenzo Snow's own family that Utah is still the graveyard of the nation's morality." And it states that "this photograph

of the president of the Mormon church, his five wives and forty-nine children, was taken at a family reunion held only last August." "It is said that he has been married to several women since the revelation to abandon polygamy. To get around the law it is declared the marriages are celebrated in Mexico or Canada. The original photograph, of which this is a reproduction, is in the possession of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, and the copy was furnished by the Rev. William R. Campbell."

The only truth in this entire statement is that the picture was furnished by the Secretary of the Salt Lake Ministers' Association. The picture does not show the features of the members of President Snow's family, of which there has not been a reunion in fifteen years, and the photograph taken at that time included a number of persons not members of the family. The newspaper did not let its readers know of the fraud when exposed, but followed it up with others of a similar kind, repeating from time to time the charge that "Utah was filling up with plural wives since it became a State," and that "their number reached as high as twenty thousand."

The Salt Lake *Tribune* is the only Republican paper in Utah that made itself the yoke-fellow of these orthodox sects. When the paradisaical hopes of a United States Senatorship began to fade, it broke out as a storm-brewer in an attempt to resurrect the polygamy question by strewing its grass-grown grave with tokens of its regretful remembrance. It went into this business on the hit-or-miss principle, of which the following are illustrations. In the use of its drag-net for evidences of Mormon criminality and breach of faith, it published a long list of names of persons taking new plural wives and begetting children by them, which was made the basis of editorials having the true patriotic and moral stamp. Every one of these cases was proved false. Imagine such charges being made against reputable citizens of any other city of the Union! In attempting to prove its assertion that polygamy was being taught and upheld by the authorities of the church, the *Tribune* reported Apostle Richard Lyman as having said in a sermon in the Mormon

tabernacle: "The word has gone forth to the world that there shall be no more polygamy. I believe there will be more, and the honor we have been taught shall be kept untarnished." His actual words were, "I believe there will be *no* more polygamy." The spirit of Apostle Lyman's remarks is found in these words: "The nation has made a requirement of us. What is the condition? It is that of a great engine. If the wheels of that engine were blocked the momentum gained would make a slide some little distance before it could stop; but people have not patience to wait until we get the engine stopped."

And though with every rising of the sun the *Tribune* shows its anger at the continuance of old polygamous relations as "a violation of the compact," it was one of the most conspicuous champions of the opposite view, as shown by the following extract from its editorials:

"Again, in considering this matter, thoughtful people will not lose sight of the fact that human passions cannot always be killed by a proclamation, or the habits of years made to lose their influences. Beyond all that, the matter of faith was not touched upon by the pronunciamiento. It went only to the point that plural marriages, which had been taught as a holy sacrament, must not hereafter be solemnized. We believe that the rule then laid down has been as sacredly kept by this people as it would have been by any other people; that the 'Mormons' and 'Gentiles' have a right to say that the change amounts to a transformation."

"It won't make a bit of difference to Utah what is in this Constitution in regard to this matter of polygamy; the idea is to have something to present to the President which he and his friends can find no flaw in."

"It is not what is to be after Statehood, but it is how to obtain Statehood."

This last utterance, which surely is a classic instance of an elastic conscience, may explain the defeat of those Senatorial aspirations.

And now a set of persons with the *Tribune* at their head are trying to make the most of some dubious or unguarded utterances on the part of one or two leading church officials in regard to the retroactive effect of the manifesto—an expression

that was at variance with the understanding of the manifesto when submitted to the people in open conference—and did not harmonize with its express declarations or with the views of non-Mormons of such prominence as the one just quoted, and which was negatived by the action of the Constitutional Convention, composed of Mormons and non-Mormons, some of the former being polygamists and known to be such. President Woodruff's concession was an aftermath, due possibly to trepidation under the thumb-screw logic of an over-zealous, inquisitorial commission, baiting its hostile design with the ransom of the church property in its keeping; its control of which in days to come will be regarded as an act of brigandage under sanction of law, on a par with the maintenance of the interests of the Roman Church in the lands wrested from Spanish tyranny.

It was while in this friendly mood that the *Tribune* editor wrote the petition for a general amnesty, signed by the heads of the church, the whole bent of whose phraseology points as with an index-finger to but one interpretation—the abstention from polygamous marriages in time to come. And the purport of the manifesto issued by the church authorities appears in its concluding paragraph: “Inasmuch as laws have been enacted by Congress forbidding plural marriages, which laws have been pronounced constitutional by the court of last resort, I hereby declare my intention to submit to these laws and to use my influence with the members of the church over which I preside to have them do likewise. And I now publicly declare that my advice to Latter-Day Saints is to refrain from contracting any marriages forbidden by the law of the land.” And this “influence” and “advice” could not and did not reach beyond the limits indicated, as far as the Mormon people as a whole were concerned, though some of them may have separated from their plural wives, as George Q. Cannon and others are said to have done.

These documents speak for themselves; and, though of sufficient importance to require notice in this connection, the real compact between the people of Utah and the United States is to be looked for in the Enabling Act and the State Constitution.



The Enabling Act contained a proviso requiring "that polygamous or plural marriages are forever prohibited." The new State Constitution adopted these very words and added thereto another clause, as follows: "An act for the punishment of polygamy and kindred offenses approved by the Utah legislature of 1892, so far as the same defines and imposes penalties for polygamy, is hereby adopted by the State of Utah." This act of 1892, it is important to note, was taken from an act of Congress of 1882 which made a distinction between the contracting of plural marriages and continuance in those relations. The one offense was a felony and is known as "polygamy" in all statutes on the subject; and the other offense is a misdemeanor known as "unlawful cohabitation." This position of the old statute that was purposely omitted was only incorporated in the code years afterward by the State legislature. And when it was suggested to the member of the State Constitutional Convention who introduced this resolution that this clause defining and punishing "unlawful cohabitation" should be included, his reply was that those were conditions he was not aiming to meet and that the Enabling Act of Congress only required the prohibition of future plural marriages. And Senator Joseph Rawlins, a non-Mormon, then Utah's delegate to Congress, declares that such was the understanding at the time the Enabling Act was passed. And President Cleveland's proclamation accepted the Constitution of the new State as the fulfilment of the conditions named. The Enabling Act and the State Constitution swept away all past disabilities resting on any class of the people of Utah, though doubtless it is difficult for some persons to realize that Utah is no longer a Territory whose laws are made by the omnipotent Congress and administered by an imperious judiciary under the guns of frowning forts.

Senator Edmunds has said: "The instant the State was admitted every act of Congress relating to its internal policy ceased to have any force whatever. The consequence is that, in point of law, the State of Utah has the same sovereign rights that any other State has." And it may even be said that the requirement made of Utah, in regard to polygamy, as a condi-

tion of Statehood, was unconstitutional, as every State has exclusive control of the subject of marriage. Yet Utah not only submitted to this stipulation but proposes to abide by it. There are no Congressional or Federal laws on marriage applicable to any of the States, as is evident from the diversity in the divorce laws and the opposite leaning toward the civil and sacred concept of marriage. More uniformity might be reached through a conference of the States, but national legislation on such a subject is a dangerous experiment. There is no need of a constitutional amendment prohibiting polygamy as regards Utah, as there is probably less of it there than in any State of the Union. Only about two per cent. of its adult population ever practised polygamy at any time, a remnant of which only remains, which is destined to pass rapidly away in the natural course of events. The insistence that these men shall abandon the women and children to which they are bound by both honor and affection will not commend itself to the better judgment and moral sense of the country, when cognizant of all the facts. Rather will they approve the course of those who are true to the families that cleave unto them. It is no proof of treason that this sentiment in Utah is strong in this direction. This demand for the pound of flesh, not even nominated in the bond, by these Christian gentlemen with an all-powerful government at their back, makes *Shylock*, the outcast and friendless Jew, a shining example of pity and forbearance.

It is under the statute of the State of Utah making "unlawful cohabitation" a misdemeanor that the recent prosecutions have been made; though the aim has been to have it appear that they were for the crime of "polygamy," which is a felony and would be a violation of the compact with the United States. There has not been a single case of a new polygamous marriage, though the State has been covered by the officers of the law aided by a volunteer force of Christian ministers, making themselves spotters and spies "for the kingdom of God's sake." All the members of the Supreme Court, and seven out of nine of the district judges in the State, are non-Mormons, and the public prosecutors are mostly non-Mormons and anti-polygamists.

The case of B. H. Roberts was made one of the last instead of the first attempts at prosecution because nothing more than "unlawful cohabitation" could be proved against him, and this is no disqualification for voting or holding office. It was part of their purpose to use these vague, trumped-up charges against him as a means of arousing the country and having him tried in Washington instead of in Utah. Almost a year had passed since his election before any step was taken against him, and then not until he had left Salt Lake City for the East, when he was called a "fugitive from justice." The affidavits against him produced before the special committee were signed eight months ago. Was it he or his prosecutors who were running away from the law and trying to cheat justice of its due? The answer is easy, unless we are to assume that only a Mormon can go astray, while the anti-Mormon, like Cæsar's wife, is above suspicion.

One of these innocent characters was the party who took it upon himself to uphold the majesty of the law by scouring the State north and south for a distance of hundreds of miles in quest of the evil-doer, while acting at the same time as correspondent for an Eastern paper that used his reports to advertise its deep and fervent interest in the cause of woman and the home, and caused it to usurp the function of the United States prosecuting attorney in a State nearly three thousand miles away! A resident of the city of New York starts an inquisition into the private domestic life of a people who rescued Utah from the wilderness, making it a home of industry, peace, and contentment, with less of vice and immorality in its entire domain than may be found possibly in the single block whence this palladium of purity issues forth. And the most virulent form of the evils that may exist in those inter-mountain vales are derived from sources extraneous to Mormon polygamy and interwoven with the monogamic system of Manhattan Isle and the District of Columbia. This journal, commenting on the doings of a man convicted of bigamy and confessing to have married forty times in no great length of time, asks, "What difference is there between this man and Roberts, except the superior indus-

try of the former?" To point out the difference between the lives of those two men would be to insult the most ordinary intelligence. Yet it is by such shallow and disingenuous reasoning, such moral sleight-of-hand, that this crusade has won its crown of glory. If the motive of polygamy were the indulgence of the passions, there are other ways by which it could compass its ends and reap a plentiful harvest of carnal delights. Who will deny that the enjoyment of the privileges of married life, without its cares and responsibilities, is not an uncommon practise, the besetting sin of our civilized society? This harem-versus-the-home idea has served as a wizard's staff in evoking these forces of dark suspicion and hellish hate against a comparatively pure and upright people.

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## SOCIAL EXPERIMENTS IN AUSTRALIA.

**I**N the Australian colonies there is a distinct and perfectly natural predisposition to make social experiments. Their history, constitution, political organization, mutual relations, and opportunities are all calculated to develop such an inclination. Of more than one of them it may be said that they were social experiments at the beginning; that they long continued to present that characteristic, and that even now such a description is not entirely inapplicable. To this fact may be traced many of the failures and much of the success recorded in their annals.

The first British settlement in Australia, when a penal colony was founded on the shores of Port Jackson on January 26, 1788, was nothing less than such an experiment. From that center, branch establishments were formed at Moreton Bay, Van Dieman's Land, and elsewhere. The former of these became the nucleus of Queensland, and the latter of Tasmania. Western Australia was first occupied by a detachment sent from Sydney, and in all these cases convict labor was relied upon as an important factor in building up the State. This experiment was a failure. The most unsatisfactory and least progressive chapter in Australian history was that which preceded the abolition of transportation in every case.

The earliest Victorian settlers came from Sydney and Tasmania, but the colonization of South Australia was entirely a new departure, and on what were then untried principles. In the imperial act on which the colony was founded it was specified *inter alia* that the province should be self-supporting, and that the waste lands, instead of being granted, were to be sold, and the proceeds devoted to immigration. The central feature of what came to be known as the Wakefield system was the formation of a land fund by the disposal of the public estate, to be applied to public purposes. It was a great social

experiment and a distinct success. Details of the initial arrangements had to be modified as time went on and as wisdom was acquired by experience. From the outset, however, there was quite enough latitude to allow of the adoption of new methods and to encourage efforts to secure local adaptations.

The entire political evolution of the Australian colonies has proceeded on the lines just referred to, and witnessed—perhaps fostered—the development of the same tendencies. They are practically independent States. Each of them has sought and obtained a constitution of a thoroughly liberal character. There is little consciousness of imperial supremacy, and almost its only visible tokens are in the appointment of governors by the British Crown. Each colony has a representative legislature and a responsible government. It makes laws, imposes taxes, raises loans, and spends money as it likes. In matters of mutual concern, such as mail contracts and naval defense, it makes the best terms it can for itself as a partner in the business and looks carefully after its own interests. There is keen rivalry and close observation, so that an innovation or forward movement if successful in one colony is pretty sure to be copied by others.

The trend of public thought and action is toward advanced liberalism. The property qualification of legislators has been reduced and the franchise broadened until the goal of "one adult, one vote," has come within sight in the domain of practical politics. Payment of members is generally adopted, introducing to the legislatures representatives of classes that were formerly excluded and giving to "labor parties" increased and at times commanding influence. The parliaments are bi-cameral, but nothing is more jealously guarded than the absolute control by the lower house of the public funds. The upper house may reject a money bill, but cannot amend it.

To this should be added the facts that in each case the government has behind it a magnificent asset in the form of public lands; that the material resources awaiting development are enormous, and promise excellent results to capital invested

in their development; and that as a rule there has been no difficulty in obtaining all the money that could be profitably employed. The conditions, therefore, are highly favorable to conducting experiments in what for want of a better term may be described as State socialism. There is a hereditary—perhaps national—tendency in that direction. Novelty is more of an attraction than a deterrent. The disposition of the people and their stake in public affairs are helpful. There is no landed or titled aristocracy to make difficulties. Opportunities are ample and constant, and the field is both wide and promising. Though there is little or no concerted action between the colonies in such matters, yet they have strong affinities, are moved by similar considerations, and the situation is remarkably uniform.

The result is what might be expected. In each of the colonies local self-government ramifies throughout the administration and deals with subjects that affect the common welfare. Central governments have separate departments for railways, postal and telegraphic communication, public works, etc. Special undertakings sanctioned by parliament are relegated to appointed authorities, such as Harbor and Irrigation Trusts. Municipalities have their corporations, and rural districts their councils, elected by householders or rate-payers. Throughout the entire organization works of public utility are undertaken by public bodies and paid for out of public funds. Such as are of general advantage are commonly constructed and managed by the government. Arterial lines of communication, whether by road or rail, water-works, telegraphs, and the improvement of harbors belong to this class. The sanitation of towns and the maintenance of country roads, etc., are included in the other. Even in the latter case, however, the general exchequer commonly bears part of the cost by means of grants voted by parliament or subsidies proportioned to the amount raised by local taxation. Civic corporations and shire or district councils are empowered to levy rates up to a certain standard; and anything beyond that required for special purposes, such as the erection of a town hall or a

market, must be sanctioned by the votes of ratepayers. It will be understood that there is no rigid uniformity in detail, but the foregoing will indicate generally how the idea of local self-government runs throughout the public life of the colonies.

Perhaps it should be observed here that the system has grown like the multiplication of a germ rather than as an attempt to reduce theories to practise. Australian colonists do not yield blind obedience to doctrinaires or theorists, any more than to antiquated notions because they are old. Being free to do it they choose whatever methods commend themselves as the most convenient and best, making mistakes, of course, for which they sometimes have to pay very heavily, and retaining in their plans only what proves to be serviceable. The law of the survival of the fittest receives abundant illustration in their political history.

It should also be noted that whatever is special in this aspect of Australian life cannot be attributed to lack of the spirit of private enterprise, to want of means for its exercise, or to the imposition of a veto upon it. While it is true that monopolies find little favor, it is also the fact that there is no clear line where State socialism says "Thus far and no farther." Railways are mostly public property, but the mercantile marine is owned by private firms. Great exploring parties have been sent out at the public cost, and also at the expense of patriotic individuals. Parliaments encourage mining and vote sums of money to aid prospectors, but the vast mineral wealth of Australia is exploited by companies. The immense pastoral industry has been built up by the energy of pioneers and the investments of capitalists; yet the government assists this and the dairying interest by such means as providing refrigerating cars on the railways, establishing meat-freezing works at the ports of shipment, and stipulating for cold-storage space on the mail steamers. In Sydney the city tramways are under the railway department, but in Melbourne and Adelaide they are private property. Further illustrations might be adduced; but these will sufficiently show that there is no hard and fast rule limiting individual or private enterprise, and indeed that



such enterprise, instead of coming into collision, is interlaced with the system of State socialism that everywhere prevails.

The railway systems of Australia constitute the greatest and most suggestive of the social experiments that are being carried on. They comprise upward of 10,000 miles of line, constructed at a cost of considerably over £100,000,000. These great works form the most valuable asset owned by the several States, except the waste lands, and it is believed that their present commercial value is equal to the public debt. Here and there private lines have been constructed, but they have mostly been taken over one by one and incorporated into the State systems. Each colony has its railway department, which has all the responsibility of both construction and management. Proposals for new lines of railway have to receive parliamentary sanction before they can be proceeded with. For important extensions loans are floated to cover the capital cost, which are reckoned in the public indebtedness. The accounts of the department are always kept separate, and it is the ambition of the authorities to show that the railways pay their way.

The construction of railways on the land-grant system has occasioned much discussion. That plan was acted upon in Western Australia, and it was included in the policy of the Queensland government, though not put in operation. Proposals for a railway built on such terms right through Central Australia were considered and declined in South Australia. The general feeling is decidedly adverse to creating a great land monopoly and alienating so large a portion of the public estate. It is held that the country can do better without railways than pay for them at such a price, and that where they are really required or can be made profitable the government is competent to do the work.

That there are dangers in the present system is not denied. The introduction of political influence into railway construction and management produced in some cases damaging—even disastrous—results. It encouraged the people in the several districts and their representatives in parliament to clamor for

railways that could never by any possibility be made to pay. A system of log-rolling was developed, and ministries could not afford to refuse what their supporters demanded. At the same time a large amount of patronage was placed in the hands of certain gentlemen who were strongly tempted to use it in a way that would gratify influential constituents. Australian parliaments and responsible ministers have kept themselves singularly free from fraud and jobbery; nevertheless, lines were laid on which the traffic will not load one train per week, and the earnings scarcely pay for axle-grease. There was extravagant expenditure on station-buildings, etc., and the entire service was over-manned.

To remedy these evils, boards of commissioners were appointed and intrusted with full powers. On the whole, the change has worked well. Throughout Australia the general principle is that new works must be sanctioned by parliament, which submits the proposals to careful examination, and if they are approved provides the funds. After that the commissioners do the rest. It is claimed that the system works better than any other that could be devised. Australia has no water-ways to speak of; therefore, railway lines from the interior to the seaboard are of exceptional importance. The loss incurred by the construction of rival lines is avoided, and trains are run in the interests of the public instead of promoters and shareholders. The charges for freight and passengers are kept down so as to do little more than cover working expenses and interest on capital, which secures the greatest advantages to the users of the railways. Even where an actual loss is incurred, there are on the other side the settlement of the country and the development of its resources to be taken into account. Well-informed observers affirm without hesitation that for efficiency, economy, and adaptation to local circumstances and conditions the Australian railway service may compare favorably with that of any other part of the world. One thing is certain—the people have no mind to change it for any other.

This subject has been dealt with somewhat elaborately,

partly because of its relative magnitude, but chiefly because the underlying principles and their practical application, as so far detailed, are the same in many other matters, which therefore may be more briefly referred to. Telegraphs and telephones are in all cases owned and managed by the State, usually in connection with the post-offices. The cost of the service cannot be stated with strict accuracy, because of this connection; but Australia has erected over 60,000 miles of telegraph line at a cost of between five and six millions sterling, and the business is admittedly well managed. The climate of Australia and the comparative scarcity of good surface water in the form of rivers and lakes have rendered it necessary to construct reservoirs and other works for the supply of most of the larger towns and cities. These works have almost invariably been undertaken by the governments, and at considerable cost. Connected with them in some cases are deep-drainage schemes, and in both scientific skill has been successfully employed. It is remarkable, as an exception, that the lighting of cities is performed by companies—whether gas or electric—showing that there is no bigoted opposition to such a course. The lighting of the coast-line and harbors is necessarily done by the governments through the Marine Boards, but there are both public and private wharves, jetties, and docks. Each of the colonies has its public works department, subdivided into various branches and with a responsible cabinet minister at its head, which executes such works as are authorized by parliament.

Education is another department under State control, and the arrangement has succeeded in giving the colonies an excellent system of primary instruction, with commodious schoolhouses, up to date in their appliances, scattered all over the country. Secondary education is chiefly though not entirely left to private enterprise, but universities have received liberal assistance from the State. Museums, picture-galleries, public libraries, schools of arts, mechanics' institutes, and the like are all recognized as legitimate objects for State support, and are wholly or in part maintained in efficiency from the public funds.

Asylums for the afflicted, incurable, and insane, and benevolent institutions for the aged, infirm, and poor are regarded in much the same way. There is no uniform rule or practise. The Adelaide Hospital, for instance, is so much of a government establishment that the churches will not make collections for it any more than they would for a custom-house; and a recent squabble, which began with the appointment of a nurse, threatened to overthrow the ministry. But this is an exception. Public charities, however, are as a rule partly supported out of the general revenue. While this is the case the State will have nothing to do with religion. In some of the colonies State aid to religion was continued for many years, but in all of them it is now abandoned; the voluntary principle is universal, and the denominations are on an equality.

One outcome of State socialism as it obtains in Australia should not be overlooked: It certainly fosters a disposition to turn to the government for help in any emergency. If a bridge is washed away by a flood or a clock is wanted for a country post-office; if rust or locusts destroy the crops of the farmers, or through scarcity of labor there is distress among the unemployed, the government of the country is expected to come to the rescue. At one time it is implored to reduce the freights on corn-sacks or fencing-wire below a paying level; at another to provide seed-wheat for distressed agriculturists; and at a third to start relief works, so that unemployed labor may be engaged. When a severe collapse came a few years ago it prompted extraordinary efforts to relieve the congestion of idle workmen in the towns by settling the people on the uncultivated lands. Village settlements were founded in quick succession. The government chose what were supposed to be suitable localities, found means of transport, provided tools and appliances, and generally mothered the whole concern. This was a social experiment on a considerable scale and of an extremely interesting character, but it has not proved a success. The communistic settlements of Queensland were dead failures. The village communities of New South Wales are almost all broken up. In Victoria bad

judgment at the outset proved disastrous to several schemes, and only a few are surviving. The best chance was in South Australia, where settlers on the Murray had fish, game, fuel, and water at their doors. Scores of thousands of pounds were expended with confessedly unsatisfactory results. Communism entered largely into all these schemes; but it did not stand the test, and as a working theory has committed suicide.

With all their temptations and opportunities to make social experiments, Australians stop short at and turn aside from schemes for confiscating property and land. There are single-taxers in all the colonies, but they are regarded as dangerous faddists, and are neither strong nor progressive. There is little prospect of a social revolution on those lines. Most men either hold or expect to have property in some form or other, and every adult male has a vote. Thus a conservative force is generated that effectively limits socialistic movements within a certain range, and preserves a balance with which most people are fairly well content.

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## EVOLUTION VS. IMPERIALISM.

**I**N the past, different nations have had various religions and codes of moral law. Each people regarded its religion as being of divine origin, and hence given to it from without for national and individual guidance. The natural consequence of this belief in outside interference encouraged those mischievous tendencies found in every human being, and each felt justified in seeking to impose his will upon his fellows. Each looked upon himself as his brother's keeper, and if the brother resented this interference moral suasion gave place to force; for each agitator regarded himself as being better able to interpret the wishes of the ruling divinity than his fellows.

It is true that theology has not been the cause of intellectual darkness—of bigotry and selfishness—but rather a product showing the existence of these conditions and tendencies. But the religious idea has been of great influence, not alone in its own domain but in other realms of thought and action. Man is fond of using past creations of his intellect as foundations and buttresses in rearing present structures of thought; hence I believe that a study of religions will show that religious influences have been and still are powerful factors in all departments of intellectual activity. But gradually there has arisen in the human mind a doubt as to the divine origin of religion and ethics. Darwin's clear statement of the law of evolution has greatly aided in this growing consciousness; and now, among scientific minds at least, it is recognized that both religion and ethics are wholly the outcome of mental development on the human plane.

I have dwelt thus at length upon the source of authority in religions because of the important part played in the world's history by religious ideals, and further because of the fact that priest and preacher have been only too willing to follow the injunction, "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations," even to the extent of a baptism by blood and fire. To-day *imperialism* is

welcomed by many preachers as a means of extending the influence of their religion.

This thought, which is rapidly spreading, should aid in dispelling former errors in regard to social relations and cause us to appreciate more clearly what evolution means. The basic principles of evolutionary science can and should be applied to the solution of all social questions, and it is the fault of our short-sightedness and lack of mental grasp if we limit their application to the study of biology. Only when a person's dissatisfaction with his environment is so pronounced as to interfere with continued growth does he become so affected that a natural desire for a change in the environment arises. Hence it follows that any attempt from outside sources arbitrarily to place the person in a new environment before his natural desire for such a change is aroused is a mistake, and by disturbing the harmonious workings of Nature will only retard the processes of growth. It must be admitted that the civilization manifested at any one time by a people is the highest type which at that time the people is capable of manifesting, and force *per se* cannot produce a wholesome change. Granted that neighboring types of progress may be upon higher planes, still these higher types are at least temporarily unappreciable by those in the lower scale, and before they can be assimilated a mental change must take place. Science has effectually destroyed the theological fall-of-man theory, and instead tells us about the *rise* of man.

In all nations misdirected zeal has aimed at arbitrary and untimely changes, but though apparently successful the inevitable reaction has shown the mistake. In the past, before the *evolution* of life was clearly perceived, the zealous reformer may have been pardoned if, in excess of zeal and disgusted with his fellows' apparent indifference, he should use force in his propaganda; for, in spite of the teachings of evolution, mankind quite largely still believes in the efficacy of force. But science, it seems to me, in accepting the evolutionary theory of development, must recognize that there is no logical warrant for attempting to superimpose the civilization of one people

upon another through violence. The desire for increasing liberty of thought and action has been an inherent mark of the rising man. If the individual is not allowed freedom of choice and action (within, of course, the limits of freedom to all), then he ceases to be a free moral agent and the growth of the social unit is retarded. Mistaken choices have been and will be made; but natural law, through the effects of its inevitable penalty for violation, proves to be the best corrective: and the zealous interferer under the guise of governmental force should not be permitted to compete with the natural universe. Thus has mankind grown into its own civilization. Each generation has come into a certain inheritance and has left to its successor a new heritage of struggle and growth.

We of the nineteenth century pride ourselves upon our state of civilization, and, looking about upon other peoples and races, we compare the contemporary stage of progress achieved. We find certain bodies of men in a supposedly lower stage of development and seek to impose our civilization upon them. We do not stop to consider whether our civilization is as well adapted to these people as to ourselves; we do not take into account the time required by *us* to reach our present condition; we do not inquire into the varying effects upon life of different regions and climates. But we do aim arbitrarily to impose our customs, habits, and mode of thought upon others—by peaceful means if possible; if not, by measures of force. We are not invited by the recipients of our bountiful (?) will to undertake this office, but, leaving behind all codes of etiquette, zealously rush in where even angels should fear to tread. Truly, this is a “white man’s burden!”

How much misdirected energy might be saved if mankind clearly perceived that in this natural universe its units can only grow from stage to stage through the peaceful and quiet but nevertheless powerful processes grouped under the head of *natural law*, and that outside force when applied is not only wasted but mischievous! I do not mean to underrate the power of human sympathy and helpfulness in aiding individual progress. Such aid is not merely permissible but a duty, if we are actuated



by an unselfish and high ideal; and our common human nature warrants the statement that the average individual is not merely grateful for but glad to benefit by aid and advice tendered in a tactful manner and offered in such a spirit as to show unmistakably that the donor is actuated by purely altruistic motives. But when a community or people feels that another is arbitrarily endeavoring to govern and direct it, its inherent love of freedom is outraged, and the outrage is very properly represented. The altruistic effort to uplift one's fellows, unless guided by bigotry, never includes the adoption of a "shotgun" or other force policy.

The world's imperialism does not seem to be an unselfish effort to aid peoples in a lower condition. If this were not the case, surely self-interest would long hesitate before it could be tempted to embark upon a policy calling for such an expenditure of money, time, and blood. Common prudence would demand that the imperialist assure in advance those to be affected that his errand was purely philanthropic; that no governmental control or interference upon his part was contemplated, but in a friendly and fraternal spirit he came to tender aid and his more mature advice.

But, underlying the imperialist's efforts, is there not a lust for power and dominion, for additional territory, for enforcing upon others one's own social customs and habits of life, and last but not least a passion for a religious propaganda—for compelling others to accept some divinely ordered religion? If none of these motives are at the bottom of "expansion," then in case of failure the imperialist could retire calmly, knowing that those to be benefited had not yet reached an evolutionary stage qualifying them to appreciate the benefits offered, and assured that in due time human progress would effect its work. But the imperialist cares not for this. Claiming to be fearful that some other country than his own may absorb the race or races in question, and thereby control territory that he might have possessed, he plunges on, counting not the cost to himself and very little of the injury to the other. To be able to say of a nation's territory that the sun never sets upon it; to think that

here are more millions to impose one's own sweet will upon; to attempt to mold and model others as if they were lumps of clay—this is surely an ideal worth all it may cost to accomplish! Moreover, in the excitement of this world-chase is an opportunity to blind the eyes of the sufferers at home from misgovernment—to give an allopathic dose of the expansion opiate which shall hush, for the time being at least, some of that home clamor about social abuses which so wearies the imperialist.

After all, the policy of imperialism is not a strange manifestation upon the part of humanity. It is still the same old spirit of force personified. In spite of its boasted justice and freedom, mankind's real understanding of these two sentiments is very imperfect. Personified force has ever been invoked by the world as a panacea for social ills. Governments are largely instruments of repression and coercion, and the individual needs always to wage a bitter political warfare against being absorbed by the township, municipality, or State. The socialistic ideal has many followers. Reformers, conscious of existing abuses, invoke the aid of legal governmental control and seem to think that every wrong can be righted by passing a new law. More and more do these zealous friends attempt to wrap us in swaddling-clothes of law and government, and our political surgeons watch the body politic closely, seeking to find where a bandage may be drawn more tightly. This wholesale appeal to law and government only encourages the brutal force-instincts of our nature; and is it surprising that in so fertile a field imperialism shows a sturdy growth?

Various have been the arguments used in attacking this expansion policy. Some point out the *cost* of trying to subdue unwilling peoples, and others have advocated a policy of non-interference because of a general disinclination toward exertion of any kind. Possibly these and similar arguments have been used because of a feeling that such concrete statements will have most effect upon an intensely busy and practical age. But it seems to me that the root of this entire matter of imperialism lies in a scientific study of the world's history, and the application to existing social problems of deductions from the sum total

of present scientific research. It is true that this course necessitates painstaking study and will not recognize solutions founded upon hasty generalizations, but the opinions derived from such research are surely worth all their cost. In our own country the lack of this cultivated judgment is very evident. How many oppose our expansion along present lines abroad, but support at home precisely those ideas and policies which are at the bottom of the imperialistic passion! In our country a consideration of imperialism is very timely; for we, who were wont formerly to sympathize with all peoples oppressed by others more powerful than themselves, and who boasted that the Declaration of Independence contained our national political creed, are engaged upon a gigantic attempt at imperialism.

At the close of actual hostilities in the late Spanish war, and when our commissioners were appointed to arrange the details of a peace treaty, public sentiment seemed to favor the retention of Puerto Rico and Cuba but was quite uncertain as to what should be done with the Philippines—even President McKinley expressing no decided opinion on the matter. During the negotiations public sentiment seemed gradually to crystallize into a demand that the latter group of islands be also ceded to us. It was then said that Cuba should be administered as a public trust, and would be given her liberty as soon as the people should show capacity for self-government. Puerto Rico seemed to be looked upon as one of the spoils of war, to be controlled as we should decide; but the Philippine question was more perplexing. Many urged that the natives be given the largest measure of freedom, as our coming into military possession of the islands was simply one of the incidents of the war and not a foreordained intention. No clear and exact statement was made as to our future relations with the islanders. In our publicly expressed ideas we talked in vague generalities. Finally the Filipinos, claiming that our motives were purely selfish, began a war to drive us from them and to achieve absolute independence.

The Philippine natives had been waging war against Spain with much hope of ultimate success and with little expectation

of outside aid. When war was declared against Spain by this country, and Dewey won his victory, the Filipinos could not expect that this event should later affect adversely the fulfilment of their ideals; hence it is not surprising that they should resent what they consider improper interference from us. The war in the Philippines is still in progress, and doubtless, if sufficiently prolonged, the American army will win and succeed in awing the natives into a sort of subjection. And in this cowed condition how easy for the governing power to mistake manifestations caused by fear for those of true progress! A bundle of sticks may be arranged according to one's fancy; a collection of building materials may be formed into such a structure as the architect desires; but Man, the sovereign animal of creation, cannot be molded like clay. Temporary expediency may make him a hypocrite, but sooner or later the unchanged nature causes trouble. History records failure after failure in the uplifting results of coercion, and bigotry and intolerance have left a trail strewn with human skeletons.

After the time of direct coercion passes, the higher civilization may have its influence through the practical daily life of its exponents. This may be the final result in the Philippines. After the natives have surrendered, possibly our representatives will be able to make our ideas and modes of life attractive. But this cannot be called a result of imperialism. It is rather a good effect in spite of the evils of imperialism. Neither was it necessary that this initial "reign of terror" should be passed through. A few months ago I was reading an account of the success of some American missionaries in working upon the natives of a group of islands belonging to Spain in the Pacific. These natives were represented as being in a more degraded condition than many of the Filipinos at the time of the first visit of the missionaries, but, owing to the *peaceful* presentation of the new ideas, wonderful progress was making toward civilization until the work was antagonized by Spanish influences. All this tends to prove the adage that "peace hath her victories not less renowned than those of war," and the power for enlightenment of patient, quiet work.

Unfortunately the policy of imperialism, not content with manifesting its own evil tendencies, needs to be accompanied by militarism to be successful; and then we have that grotesque and hideous monster, the "honor of the army," overshadowing the land and seeking whom it may devour.

It is to be hoped that this extreme manifestation called "imperialism" may shortly subside, and that we shall return to a condition more like our former one, in which, occupied with our own problems, we will not have either the time or the desire to display our prowess without provocation and just warrant—and certainly not in bullying people smaller and weaker than ourselves. Let the Anglo-Saxon remember that, while his home should be his castle even more truly than it is at present, other people have homes—more rude perhaps and thatched with easily obtained tropical material, but nevertheless these homes may be just as sweet to their occupants. Let the Anglo-Saxon also bear in mind constantly his pride, when reading the details of his race's history, in the grave and determined resistance his ancestors made against tyrannous encroachments of other peoples; and then, further, let him strive so to conduct himself that the children of present dwellers upon India's coral strand or the islands of the sea may not have an equal opportunity to glory in their ancestors' brave fight against *his* encroachments.

The time is at hand when the world's civilization should have outgrown these tendencies, but they will continue to manifest themselves in one form or another until the individuals constituting society shall understand clearly the sovereignty of each and shall be willing to grant to each his proper measure of authority. When a man fully realizes that force may not enter into his social program, unless to protect a proper individual freedom, then will he look upon the world in a different light. When he realizes that he is simply a unit, to whom the same respect is due as to each of his fellows, then will a voluntary self-restraint produce fruits of social good behavior far more abundant than those produced by present governmental restraint—and then only will the individual be a free being among a mass of free beings.

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## RADICALISM—EAST AND WEST.

**D**URING the last decade the press and people of the States east of the Mississippi River, but especially of the more extreme Northeastern States, have charged with much constancy and recklessness that the inhabitants of the great agricultural States of the Missouri plains have become possessed of a pernicious radicalism—variously characterized as socialistic, anarchistic, and revolutionary. Previous to this time it had been generally conceded that the people of purely agricultural regions, like that in question, are conservative even to the extent of stolidity, and that the sections containing the great towns and congested populations are peculiarly the homes of unhealthy and unsafe radicalism. But in this short period tradition, history, and philosophy respecting this matter have been either reversed or forgotten. We have the old question in substance which frivolous or tricky courtiers put to King Charles—why in the name of the law of gravitation a vessel containing water weighs no more after live fish are put into it than before. Our present question is to be answered as the witty King answered the silly courtiers, namely, by challenging the alleged fact.

The character and acts of the legislatures of typical States in the two distinct sections of the country alluded to should be a good index of their dominant political and economic sentiment. The enactments of the later legislatures of the great representative States of New York and Illinois have been far more radical, socialistic, and paternalistic—in character and tendency, in kind and in quantity—than those of the contemporary legislatures of the typical States of the Missouri plains, Kansas, and Nebraska. This allegation is especially true regarding what is known as anti-corporation, anti-capitalistic, and pro-labor legislation. During a large part of the ten-year period in question the radical or Populist party has controlled the legislatures of the two States last named; yet the present laws of these States, which include the enactments of successive radical revolutionary legislatures in relation to corporations and

affecting the rights and interests of capital, are not as radical or progressive as similar laws commonly found on the statute-books of eastern States. The laws of Kansas and Nebraska relating to rates of interest and the collection of debts are conservative and safe, and in this regard have not been substantially changed since their original passage in the days of the old conservative political parties. This fact reflects the sound business sense and self-control, in troublous and trying times, of the people of these western States. Reason taught them that as they must depend for some time to come upon loans of Eastern capital for the development of their industrial interests, the passage of laws unjust to, or considered unsafe by, the holders of this capital would be equivalent to killing the goose that laid their golden egg; and business interests were never lost sight of by the controlling elements in these States.

The laws passed by the legislature of New York in 1897 are a long stride along the road of radicalism and paternalism, both in regard to property rights and to a minute surveillance over the acts and affairs of the people—far more radical than those of the revolutionary States of Kansas and Nebraska enacted in the same year. The same allegation may be made as to the State of Illinois, in comparison with the States of Kansas and Nebraska; though Illinois legislation has been less radical and paternal than that of New York. The recently enacted inheritance-tax laws of New York and Illinois are a far greater stride along the road to State Socialism than any laws that have been passed in the western States named. In short, more laws interfering with and checking free industrial competition, or in derogation of the interests if not of the rights of capital and capitalists, or for the special benefit of distinct classes, or paternally seeking minutely to direct and control the affairs of individuals—such measures as are commonly known as paternalistic or socialistic—were passed at a single session of the New York legislature of 1897 than have been passed by the legislatures of all the States of the Western plains since so-called radical politics has been dominant in them. Proof of this statement might easily be made by setting forth here in contrast the sub-

stance of the class of enactments in question in all these States, if want of space did not forbid. The statement, however, rests upon easily accessible records.

Moreover, during the period under consideration, with the exception, happily, of the last few years, the people of these States of the plains were subjected to greater temptation and provocation to political radicalism than those of any other section of the country. They were grievously pinched both by the generally low prices of the products of their farms and by the short crops due to successive droughts. Since these people are all dependent upon the leading agricultural staples, which are their chief products, the adverse conditions named were universally felt. To these natural causes of irritation there were added factitious irritants. After many years of economic blindness, the people of these States have of late come to see that since a high protective tariff benefits some class or section it must do so at the expense of this region of agricultural staples. Since in this region there is always a great surplus of this class of products, which must find its market abroad, a protective tariff that is a fine imposed on foreign trade must take from the value or exchangeable power of the farmer's staple products. A growing belief that the transportation and other branches of the distribution of such products are manipulated by capitalists of the East, and without due or fair regard to the rights or interests of the producers, has been a further cause of irritation and sectional ill-feeling. In such cases of control over the profits, and the chances for comfortable existence, of the producers, the distance of those in control naturally lends prejudice and provocation rather than enchantment. When the farmer of interior Nebraska has of late years heard and read that he lives in the favored times of marvelous mechanical invention, which is especially manifested in the business of freight transportation, but, on the other hand, sees that while he gets nine cents a bushel for his corn (a ruinous price) it takes twelve cents a bushel to carry it to the general market at Chicago, he knows that something is wrong, though he may not be able clearly to comprehend what it is or to apply the proper remedy.



Why, then, have the people of the Western plains been more conservative in spirit and in their legislation, in the face of much misfortune and some injustice, than the people of the Eastern States? Because these Western people are mostly owners and tillers of the soil, and such people are still, as they always have been, more conservative and long-suffering than any other class. Thomas Jefferson's notions of questions of public interest were often visionary, even from the point of view of his own time; but the justness of his views as to the superiority of the agricultural class as citizens has been well established by experience and is illustrated by present political conditions in the agricultural States. On this subject Jefferson wrote: "Those who labor in the earth are the chosen people of God, if ever he had a chosen people, whose breasts he has made his peculiar deposits for substantial and genuine virtue. Corruption of morals in the mass of cultivators is a phenomenon of which no age or nation has furnished an example." It is in the man that owns the soil he tills that the virtues of sturdy honesty and conservatism most abound. Of the farming population of New York only 491,283 own the farms they till, while 816,732 are mere tenants or renters. In Nebraska 124,529 farmers own their farms and 82,291 are tenants. In Illinois 386,374 farmers own their farms and 391,641 are tenants. In Kansas 181,328 own their farms and 116,030 are tenants. The relative real interest that farmers in the States named who own their farms have in them also strongly favors the Western States. The amount of mortgage debt to a taxable acre in New York is \$7.74; in Nebraska, \$3.52; in Illinois, \$4.77; in Kansas, \$3.97. The real-estate mortgage debt *per capita* is, for New York, \$268; Nebraska, \$126; Illinois, \$100; Kansas, \$170. The percentage of real-estate mortgages in force January 1st, 1890, of the true value of all taxed real estate, was in New York 10.62; in Nebraska, 20.03; in Illinois, 12.36; in Kansas, 26.83. The amount of incumbrance on the value of farms occupied by owners is in New York 43.63 per cent.; in Nebraska, 32.39 per cent.; in Illinois, 34.63 per cent.; in Kansas, 35.99 per cent. Of all the farmers the per-

centage who own the farms they till is in Nebraska 60.21, and in New York 37.56. The percentage of families of New York who own their homes is 29.28; of Nebraska, 43.91; of Illinois, 43.10; of Kansas, 50.15. While these figures of the census of 1890 are not now absolutely correct, they make a fair relative showing of the facts in question.

It is thus shown that the people in the States of the great plains are, and by right ought to be, politically conservative. The Fiske who shall tell of the beginnings of these States will have to tell a new and unique story. These commonwealths, unlike their elder sisters of the East, were *made*; they did not grow. They came forth out of the puissant enterprise of railway corporations as Minerva leaped from the head of Jove—creatures of completeness and symmetry from a creature of giant strength. They were thus constructed by a commercial machine just at the time when the reign of commercialism began to be dominant in the country. Fisher Ames had, from his point of view, said most plausibly in 1791, "Ages must elapse before the vast wilderness west of the Alleghanies can be peopled, and then God only knows how it can be governed." The railroad that confounded this prophecy of Ames's was an absolute condition precedent to the settlement of the Western wilderness. The plains of the Missouri valley possessed, in an unrivaled degree, natural conditions for the production of the great agricultural staples—hogs, cattle, and corn and other cereals. But these products would be useless without the railroad to carry them to the far-distant market; and they could not be won from the soil until the railroad should bring lumber, machinery, and other finished products—the necessary tools of production. The claim of the railway companies that they were the creators of these States was constantly made, especially by politicians, who in such conditions were of course the servants of these corporations; and this claim was tacitly and perhaps naturally conceded by the utterly dependent people. By natural assumption and natural acquiescence, then, the people became politically, in feudal phrase, the men of their corporation over-lord. Freeman observes that owing to the instinctive and

irrepressible democratic spirit of the English people and their ancestry, the elective kings in England were from the first styled, not kings of England, but kings of the English people. The *people* of the States of the Western plains have never been represented in the national Congress or in the State legislatures, until recent years at least; though the States have always been so represented, for the corporations have in this respect been the State. While the railroad was the supreme over-lord in this modern feudal system, it enforced its supremacy through an inferior lord over the people—party organization and the party machine. For thirty years in these unfortunate States party organization was the popular fetish. Slavery to political parties was the natural outgrowth also of the civil war. The passions and greed engendered by the war gave party shibboleths a force and terror that lasted for three decades.

But injustice, public corruption, and, most of all perhaps, adversity, which had become the ever-present fact, over against the prosperity which it had been the policy of the political régime perennially to proclaim, at length aroused a spirit of irreverence in the breasts of those long docile denizens of the plains. An easy-going sentiment had been carefully inculcated by corporation and party leaders. The beneficent creator was certainly capable of thinking for his creatures, and ought to be so minded. When, however, the people of Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakotas at last began to think, they were much inclined to make up for lost time. Where they had been dormant their thoughts seemed to take lessons from the fast railroad trains that rushed over the perfect and arrow-lined road-beds of their level country. In some aspects their thinking became dangerously fast. This reaction was natural in its manifestations. There was in it much of the enthusiasm and something even of the excess of the French Revolution, whose causes and inspiration were the same in kind as the causes of this revolution of the plains. The whole responsibility of self-government was thus suddenly assumed by those people, and its exercise, and particularly expression and speculation as to its scope, were often characterized by crudities, innovations, and novelties,

which excited the derision of the provincial and isolated press of the Eastern States and provoked caricature and undue denunciation from the creatures and agents of monopolies everywhere. But notwithstanding much wild and extravagant thought on the question of political wrongs and proposed remedies, as has been indicated, the conservatism of these agricultural people asserted itself when they were confronted with the actual and serious business of legislation.

It is interesting to note that the people of these Western States have shown the same lack of confidence in the capacity and integrity of legislative bodies that is shown in the severe restrictions upon their powers incorporated in the recent charters of the great cities of the country. The constitutions of Western States adopted in later years are about double the length of the earlier State constitutions. The additions to them are composed largely of inhibitions of the powers of the State legislatures and of provisions or enactments usually left within the domain of the legislatures themselves.

A proper understanding of the silver question requires a considerable development of the logical faculty and a clear understanding of economic principles. These qualities not having been called for as yet, they had naturally not been acquired; and the fascinating fallacies of free silver, as taught by clever and ambitious teachers, found ready entrance into the receptive minds and prejudices of the people. Misconception, not inexplicable or strange, mixed with a sense of injustice and some spirit of retaliation, should explain the ready currency of radical free-silver doctrines among the people of these agricultural States. Besides, the espousal of like doctrines in New York and Ohio shows that the difference in susceptibility to economic heresy between the East and the West is only one of slight degree and not at all in kind.

An honest, rational undertaking by the proper authorities really to regulate and control the corporate media of transportation and, so far as practicable, commercial distribution in general, is an important and pressing duty in the work of restoring confidence in the government and in allaying discontent, and so

removing the impetus to or cause of hurtful or un-American radicalism so far as it may exist in the West. If the struggle between individual or popular interests on the one hand and combined capitalistic interests on the other is to result in a workable and equitable adjustment that shall leave a wholesome share of individual freedom and activity unimpaired, the credit will be in the main due to the influence of the inherent, steady conservatism and the abiding sense of justice of the people of the agricultural States. This influence will be found to arise in greatest vigor and purity from the plains of the West, where the class in question most abounds. And so if the alternative calamity of successful stultification and oppression of the individual by combined capital on the one hand, or license and anarchy on the other, awaits this country, it will come in spite of these people of the plains, who will be found to be the most trustworthy and formidable barrier to its approach.

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## THE DRAMA OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

THERE is not a more neglected branch of study than that concerned with the relation of amusement to ethical culture. The ideal of the stage, as an educational and religious force, which was so fully in accordance with the genius of classical Greece and was so naturally and completely worked out in practise by her people, was in less degree a recognized factor in the life of the Middle Ages—until it was lost in the frozen fog that crept over the land with Puritanism, and doubly disappeared in the succeeding waves of materialism out of which we are just emerging. To the Greeks the theater was the heart of national life. Philosophers like Æschylus and Euripides devoted to it the flower of their genius; the priest resorted to it for inspiration, the soldier for fortitude, the sick for healing, the statesman for wisdom, and the *hoi polloi* for that combination which seems so strange to us—religion and recreation united.

In medieval times, when the life of the people was held in the hands of Church and Court, the need of popular amusement was recognized by both sides of the dual power. In return for military service and for taxation, the Court provided pageants for its loyal subjects. Royal progresses, royal christenings and funerals, functions on every pretext and with all the spectacular effect possible to the age, served to keep in good humor the simple folk for whose benefit they were provided. The Court also took a paternal interest in the sports and pastimes of the nation, prohibiting some and encouraging others even to the extent of personal participation and patronage. Not to be outdone, the Church had its pageants, its holy-days and holidays, its gorgeous high masses, its Christmas mummings and its miracle plays: fantastic ceremonies—half pagan, half religious.

Two generations ago, when the stern grip of Puritanism yet held a lingering grasp on the land, the lyceum arose to supply the growing demand of the people for combined instruction

and amusement. The short life of the lyceum ended when cheap books flooded the country, and people found it easier and pleasanter to get their information at home. To-day even the preachers, from whose fervid exhortations and condemnations our Puritan forefathers apparently extracted all the excitement they wanted, find it difficult to fill the seats of their churches. An age of growing individualism resents being preached at, and has almost consigned the divine right of ministers to exploit Divinity to the limbo where reposes the divine right of kings to govern wrong; whilst one of the prominent lessons left us by Puritanism is that the excess or overflow of vital energy persists in expression, and that attempts to ignore or to eradicate it result only in distortion and abnormality.

Now, in the deadly dulness of a religious democracy, where picturesqueness is rigidly excluded from the State, and is by their nature impossible to the churches, we have a stage but recently emancipated from the reproach of impropriety—its literary inheritance unsuited to our age and country, its traditions all foreign and of the past. We have a stage that openly honors idle luxury and the emptiness of title and aristocracy: where aristocracy means not what the word expresses, “the best and noblest,” but merely the richest, and often the worst. We have a stage where the workers have no place, where the thinkers have no place, where noble ideals have very little part, but which is chiefly a faithful reflection of the baser, the more sordid and artificial elements of modern life. Before the stage of to-day lies one of the grandest opportunities ever offered to humanity: that it once more resume its ancient office, become again the educator of the people, the best friend of the proletariat, remembering always that all hope for art that does not rest on the elevation of the masses is as a house built on sand—is basically unsound. The twentieth-century stage must take up the mission that dropped from the dying hands of Chivalry in the seventeenth. It must learn that the quest of the Holy Grail is still possible for the drama, as it is still inevitable in the heart and life of every man. It faces the future as one recovering from a long illness, before whom life lies mapped out

anew—disabilities, disparagements, despairs forgotten: the old powers, the achievements, the career of yesterday beckoning with glowing aspect onward to the fields of to-morrow.

The torch of genius is not extinguished, and the opportunity of the ages is still ours; but reformation is successful in proportion to its timeliness, and a national misstep in evolution, involving a blindness to manifest destiny, is more truly a national reverse than a lost battle could be.

The development of individuality has been the object of the present cycle, and it has passed into a new phase during the nineteenth century. The old individuality of the artisan, who with a joyful independence labored at his task, elaborating the details and perfecting the workmanship to the limit of his skill and knowledge, finding in the completeness of his work the interest and satisfaction of life, and experiencing in some degree the ecstasy of creation, though that which he made were no more than a chest or a pair of shoes—this has passed away, and the toilers of to-day are in danger of becoming almost as much machines as the engines they attend. Meanwhile individuality of thought, independent of authority and tradition, is increasing with giant strides. Men *will* think, and the overworked and underpaid man, if his brain be not too near ossification through the monotony of his toil, will nourish thoughts of discontent, of hatred, of revenge. The question faces us, Must the age of mechanical invention be also the apotheosis of commercial slavery—a death in life for the toilers? The solution of the problem seems to lie, at least in part, in shortening the hours of labor and providing for the laborer, in his leisure time, amusements that shall be stimulating in a healthy way. The first reform is the duty of the State; the second is the mission of the Stage.

In thousands of American homes to-day, the occasional visit to the theater is the one real recreation that life affords, the needed glimpse into another world, the necessary diversion from the strain of daily life with its heart-breaking struggles for existence—the competitions, cares, and disappointments. Charles Wesley regretted that all the fine music should belong



to the devil; and not less is the need of the stage for emancipation from the devil of base ideals and expectations—from slavery to the lowest part of human nature: that part which asks scenes of depression, of crime and melodrama. Is it so certain in the first place that the general public demand is for the low, the sensual, the horrible and monstrous? Or is it not possible that the public take what they can get, and like what they are assured they will like? It is difficult to believe the public taste to be so debased, so prurient, as it is sometimes asserted to be, in the face of the instant success accorded any bright, clean, interesting play that appeals with sufficient force to some one of the ineradicable sentiments or emotions of the human heart; or the enthusiastic homage rendered to any actress who, with a certain or even an uncertain amount of genius, unites simple beauty and purity of life.

Because the stage makes its regular annual offering of *Camilles*, *Carmens*, and *Mrs. Tanquerays*, is it needful to condemn all public taste in art, literature, or music, as hopelessly meretricious? Music at least must be excepted if the experience of an association in a New England town be accepted as a test. With the object of giving the people an opportunity of hearing the best that the world of music afforded, it was arranged for organ recitals of classical music by fine performers to be given free in various churches throughout the city. Auguries were not wanting that the beautiful music would find no audience; on the contrary, however, large numbers of persons were sent away for lack of room.

In the evolution of the new drama certain things will have to be eliminated. There will, for instance, be no representations of murders, of suicides, of torture-chambers, and no painful death scenes dragged out with disgusting detail and realism until the nerves of the audience are all unstrung and their health impaired. If such things occur necessarily in the course of the play they will be mentioned or indicated, never illustrated or described. The reformed stage will offer no object-lessons in vice, nor will it seek to impose on its audience the dreadful immovable fear and expectation of death. The teaching of re-

venge will bear no part in it; but the unity of cause and effect, the indissoluble relation between the doer and the deed—this will be shown as plainly as if the Greek Nemesis presided over every stage. It will illustrate unmistakably the truth of the axiom that “all which is hidden shall be revealed;” that impatience, indolence of mind or body, and restlessness publish themselves as unerringly to a perceptive eye, if not as obtrusively, as do the grosser sins of vice, drunkenness, or dishonesty. Its lesson will be unmistakable that there are no privileges in the universe, and that the broken man is the man that has striven to break the law.

The glorification of a fretful lawless passion, or of a Napoleonic crime, will be excluded from the stage of the new era, and Reason will no longer be insulted by the assertion that petty crimes are despicable whilst enormous crimes are magnificent. The idea that work is misery, and contemptible, will disappear in the evolution of the stage. It is one of the legacies of a materialistic past—the past that thought preaching was religion. The drama of the future will never preach, but it will be didactic in its essence as all good art must be: thus it will exhibit religion as the art of living by law, the law of high thinking and right doing, and, recognizing the fact that effort (employment) is one-half of character—builds the character, first of the individual and then of the nation—it will never show the toiler despicable or ridiculous merely because he is a toiler, and will paint no aureole round the head of the idle incumbent of inherited dignities. Work even to the young may be made as interesting as play; in fact, children are most happy in their play when they believe themselves to be at work. Pope, in his common-sense fashion, stated a fact when he said—

“Absence of occupation is not rest;  
A mind quite vacant is a mind distress’d.”

And the same thought is conveyed in the modern maxim that defines heaven as a place where we are interested in all that we do, and hell as a place where we must do the same thing without interest. The new hero who awaits his introducer will be a worker. He will not be the man that wins laurels by the

slaughter of his fellow-creatures, whether beast or human; nor the sensual "gay Lothario," leaving misery and broken hearts in his wake; nor the brilliant scoundrel who makes vice appear attractive and virtue humdrum. He will be the heroic scientist, devoting his life to the betterment of humanity; he will be the heroic physician, who braves death to keep it away from others; the philanthropist, who rescues brothers and sisters from despair, and fates worse than death; the unlettered, untaught man that fights fire or earth or water, and endures toil, privation, poverty, and suffering in single-hearted devotion to duty. There is no novelty in the thought, which yet will bear emphasizing anew, that heroism on the stage is always popular; all that is needed here is to broaden the general conception of heroic action. The interest awakened by a great social truth objectified may be described as æonic. Ideal love, unswerving devotion to duty, worthily presented, is as sure of an ovation to-day as in the age of Antigone, or of Sakontala. The vindication of Justice is a noble passion in human nature that does not vary with the times. The exhibition of Fortitude consecrates the patient, daily life of the people.

The new hero will necessarily carry his own environment with him onto the new stage, and people will then begin to realize that the talk of the shop, the store, the market-place, the field, the prairie, and the waterside is at least as elevating, as interesting, and much more naturally dramatic, than is the talk of the club, the reception, or the hotel. The great success of plays like "Blue Jeans" and "The Old Homestead" shows clearly that the *heart* of the people is not, as indeed it could not be, divorced from the *life* of the people. It is but a short time since we realized the idealism of a piston-rod, of a dynamo, of a locomotive, of a telegraph wire; but already we have outgrown the foolish old complaint that steam and electricity have banished romance from the world. The ideal aspect; the inner heart of science; its tragedies and comedies; the pathos and beauty that belong to the laboratory, the mine, the diggings, the ranch, the farm, the fishing-boat—all await the man of genius who shall come with the courage of his convictions,

ready to tell what he sees as he sees it and win the whole world to stand by his side and see out of his eyes, as did Millet when, with an almost brutal frankness, he painted the peasant of his native land as he appeared to his peasant eyes.

War and bloodshed will find no place in the twentieth-century drama, as before long they will find none on the stage of the civilized world; and thus the histrionic will assume its proper place among the arts and appear in the vanguard of progress, instead of reluctantly dragged along in the rear. The wild flowers of national life—myth, legend, song, folk-lore—will form a part of the dower of the new drama, which will lead us back, as Matthew Arnold said Wordsworth's poetry did, to "the freshness of the earlier world."

The histrionic art of America must call into existence the drama that is Homeric in its heroism—in its force, fire, and human interest; that is un-Homeric in its humanitarianism, its altruism, its cosmopolitanism: never narrowed to one city, one State, or one nation. The drama of the future will be Elizabethan in its insight, its courage, its chivalry, its gallantry; it will be un-Elizabethan in its breadth, its resources, its sympathies, its unaffectedness. Its *dramatis personæ* will not be tagged with a label—King Bombastes, or the Marquis of Carabbas—but will wear only the royalty of their divine humanity. The stage of the twentieth century will re-present the intense ethical conceptions of the Greeks, the humanity of Euripides, the uprightness of Æschylus; it will be un-Greek in its ultimate optimism, gentler and broader and kindlier than it was possible for the Greek stage to be.

It is true that people cannot now be taught, as were the people of the ages we are accustomed to call heroic, absolutely or principally through the ear. Such a method would be neither desirable nor possible, since the invention of printing has accustomed the world to teaching conveyed in signs and object-lessons. Where the ancient stage had one means of expression and influence, the modern will possess many, for every play will be built scientifically and will conform to the mystical laws of color, number, and sound, which, unseen and heretofore un-

suspected, yet underlie the manifested universe—laws that rule Nature and guide human nature.

What hope, it will be asked, is there for the working of such a metamorphosis in the face of private interests and private cowardice? The prophecy has been made that before the middle of the twentieth century many places of public amusement—opera-houses, academies of music, athletic grounds, etc.—will be provided at public expense. The schools for training artists and actors will then be public institutions, free as are now our common schools, and the only qualification for entrance will be ability of a marked order. This will come in the ordinary progress of evolution—that grand march of humanity which, within fifty years, has built our public schools and made of them usually the most imposing and expensive feature of their town; has made free public baths and libraries; and in less than ten years has given us free kindergartens and lecture-courses, and is now on the verge of widely extended municipal ownership in different directions. In such practical fashion our rulers have expressed their conviction that education and hygienic facilities for the people are necessary to the well-being and even to the continued existence of a republic. The recognition of the ethical and educational value of amusements is but one short step further. Free amusements will always be cheaper in the end than free prisons and poorhouses. The new version of the old aphorism will be, "*Let me make the amusements of the people and I care not who may make their laws.*"

Limited in aspiration and effort to the slow growth of humanity, the expression of any ideal will come by degrees that often appear painfully slow. Yet, though far off it may seem to be, in the near future shines the realization of this nineteenth-century ideal—a theater where the actors, the audience, the very hall shall be in harmonious vibration: *a conditioned stage with a conditioned audience*. In the erection of such a playhouse only the true artist could bear a part. From the architect to the laborer, the men who worked upon it would have turned their backs forever on the baser side of life; would

have realized that work worthily performed becomes worship; would have formed a conception of the brotherhood of man, and have realized that fear, worry, despair, treachery, violence, and melancholy are only different ways of spelling the one word *selfishness*. Such a theater would have to be built like Solomon's Temple—without the sound of a hammer, *i. e.*, by men of peace, in days of peace, with thoughts of peace. It would have to be *isolated* and *insulated*: isolated from all strife, struggle, and competition, if such still pollute the atmosphere of its far-off city; apart from centers of traffic, from railroads and the noise and bustle of commercialism, situated in parks or woods, where the tones of Nature and of art might blend in one harmonious whole to the God of beauty and harmony. It would have to be insulated by an interior lined with glass and silk—non-conductors that would not retain the personality of the audience. The ceilings would be of transparent blue, like the dome of Nature; the light diffused from invisible centers; the walls draped in shades and tints of yellow.

An ideal resembling this in some points has already been partially realized through the genius of one man, under the favor of one sovereign. In the coming century it will approach nearer perfection through the mysterious forces working for progress under the scepter of the American people. All the changes implied in a great national movement, for pure and elevating public entertainment, are not more wonderful than would have seemed to our forefathers those wrought by the locomotive, the telegraph, the telephone, or the printing-press. With the abundant if somewhat latent musical ability of the American people, and their unique inventive genius, the reduction of artistic theories to practise is but a matter of demand and supply. The capacities for expression through light, color, sound, motion, and rhythm are yet unguessed; but we shall have spiritual music, entrancing eloquence, rhythmic motion, and triumphs of thought-expression when we want and claim them.

Above all, the *artists* of the new time will understand the suicidal power inherent in all meannesses—in jealousy, envy, and

competitions. *Esprit de corps*, which now belongs almost exclusively to bodies of men banded together for purposes of destruction, will become the rightful property of artists and educators working together in the interests of humanity. Dreamers and visionaries all men are called who hope and plan for the betterment of the race; but the dreamers and visionaries march in the vanguard of progress, with the prophets and seers who lead the human army. For—

“Dreams are half deeds, and this solid earth  
Is built on visions. Wherefore let no scorn  
Greet those who in the darkness watch for dawn.”

HELEN POTTER.

*Passaic Bridge, N. J.*

## COIN OF THE REPUBLIC.

### I. "FREE SILVER" AND THE WAGE-EARNER.

THE wage-earner is an important part of the social organism, and his interest is not unlike that of its other elements. But, as it has become somewhat of a habit to consider related sections of the larger unit separately, it may not be amiss to look at the free-coinage proposition, both in its general and more specific aspects. It is a specious and superficial political economy which assumes that the community, as a whole, is made up of opposing classes whose interests are naturally antagonistic. On the contrary, the social organism is like the human body, in that either prosperity or adversity is general, rather than limited or local.

In a proposed brief outline of the reasons why the unlimited coinage of silver, at the ratio of 16 to 1, would be disastrous to all classes and to all legitimate business, attention will be called only to a few simple and fundamental principles that will be easily recognized. The treatment often accorded to this topic is a mixture of sophistical theory, pessimism, and class prejudice, which, instead of being instructive to the average man who seeks to find the simple truth, leaves him greatly befogged. Its spirit is destructive rather than constructive. Doubtless most of the advocates of "free silver" are honest and sincere, but they have evolved a sentimental and, to them, a captivating philosophy that leaves entirely out of the account natural laws and principles, which in their tendency and working are as irrepealable as gravitation or the tides. When attention is once called to them they are so plain as to be almost self-evident. Bimetalism has an attractive sound, as a theory, but a real and technical double standard is impossible when the two currency metals, in their conventional ratio, vary in value more than a fractional part of one per cent. The dearer will then become premium funds, and cease its function as money. But, if a practical bimetalism be defined as the concurrent *circulation* of



two metals, we now have that condition. There is but one way in which this is possible. By a natural law, even in the absence of specific legislation, when the national honor makes the dearer metal virtually the standard, a considerable volume of the cheaper can be floated at a parity through the conceded privilege of exchangeability. This is what enables the silver dollar, now intrinsically worth less than one-half the standard dollar, to circulate at the same valuation. There are two metals, but only one standard. It would be as easy to have two different bushels or yard-sticks as two monetary standards. Only the present limited coinage of silver—even though the past accumulation be large—secures the practical equality.

The governmental stamp upon a disk of metal is primarily a certificate of its weight and fineness. In itself it adds no value, except as it confers the privilege of an interchange with something else of higher value. So long as an inferior thing can be freely exchanged for a superior, it will be its equal through the aid of an artificial element that consists of that privilege. No governmental fiat can *create* value. A purely fiat currency might have some value conferred upon it by being made receivable for national dues, but, lacking a redeemable basis, it could never be otherwise than artificial and uncertain. Unless kept in very restricted volume, it would invariably depreciate from the real monetary standard. Value is value because it costs something. If free silver coinage were even in uncertain prospect, the mere anticipation would result in silver monometalism. At the first dawn of such a condition the gold would disappear, and, as a nation, we would have the tremendous accumulation of the silver of the world dumped upon us at twice its real or world value. There would be no practicable way of keeping it out. During the weary months and years of the transitional period, universal panic, confusion, and disaster would reign, and such a loss of confidence always bears most heavily upon the manual laborer and salaried man. Business would be stagnant, labor a drug, and loss or ruin universal.

All experience and analogy confirm these statements. The few exceptions to the general rule would be the bonanza mine-

owner, the wrecker, and the unscrupulous speculator. The former could exact two prices for his silver product, and the latter, through short selling and superior skill, might prosper as well in the midst of general disaster as of prosperity. Confidence in the present and future stability of values is always the mainspring of business and enterprise. The bare possibility of an impending silver degradation during the Presidential campaign of 1896 will be recalled as having caused a great rush of American securities back from Europe, a terrible decline in values, and disaster in general. The present collective prosperity, great demand for labor at increasing wages, and improving values for the products of farm, forge, mine, and factory, are largely due to the confidence that comes from a sound currency having for its basis the standard recognized by all the leading commercial nations. The world is virtually but a larger unit, and for a single nation to disregard this fact would be as futile as an attempt to lift a few square miles of the Atlantic Ocean above the general level and keep it there.

In the case of a monetary revolution through the degradation of the national currency to a silver basis, it may be admitted that after a few transitional years of panic, disaster, ruin, and stagnation there would finally come an inflation of nominal (not real) values. Note how this would affect the wage-earner! History uniformly shows that, during periods of inflation, wages and salaries are the slowest and last things to rise to a complete adjustment. Commodities are the first to respond. The wage-earner would be a direct loser by inflation, because everything he is obliged to purchase would advance much faster than his wages. It would also intensify the present social and economic inequality. After the disastrous period of transition had finally passed, the owner of a million dollars' worth of property would nominally possess a valuation of say two millions. Note the proportion: The million becomes two, while the man who had nothing would have twice nothing! It is true that in reality, and by the world's valuation, the million of property would not be increased, but locally, and relatively to the wage-earner, the very inequality, already so abnormal,

would be doubled. Of all men, the wage-earner's interest lies most strongly in the direction of a sound and stable currency. Does he want the purchasing power of his wages cut in two through the influence of unsound money? Distrust and friction always bring "hard times."

It will be recalled that not long ago the standing argument of the advocates of "free coinage" was that the limitation of silver, and the present virtual gold standard, would produce an unending fall of prices. Exactly the reverse has taken place. Thus the very basic principle of the silverite philosophy is proved by experience to be fallacious. However great a volume of currency might be, distrust and a lack of confidence would make it practically scarce. The condition is noted by the superficial observer, while the cause hidden behind it is often unsuspected. The average rate of interest, which is really the *price* of money, with temporary exceptions, has declined during the last twenty years in about the same proportion that wages have advanced. The total circulation *per capita* has increased steadily, as has also the purchasing power of wages. Any free-coinage experiment would at once result in silver monometalism and a silver basis, and under such a régime foreign exchange would speedily approximate one hundred per cent. premium, and all imported goods and domestic necessities would double in apparent price to the wage-earner.

The annual production of gold is rapidly increasing, and is much greater than that of both gold and silver twenty years ago. The output of a single small district—that of Cripple Creek—has increased from \$60,000 in 1891 to \$18,000,000 (estimated) in 1899, and it bids fair to continue to gain. Modern methods of mining and extracting gold have been so wonderfully improved and perfected that a general and continual expansion of world-values, even on a gold basis, is now predicted by some able economists. But, as the movement is universal, the relativity among nations will not be disturbed. The temporary cessation of supplies from South Africa will be but incidental and have little effect upon the general trend and situation. Economic peace and harmony are at the foundation

of all real prosperity. The credit of States and nations and the rate at which they can borrow money vary with the ethical and economic honor of the people. From the nation down to the individual, it is not only good principle but good policy to keep the credit high. Where this is the case, capital is attracted, and in such localities becomes cheap and plentiful. Every degree of the element of doubt adds directly to the rate of interest at which money can be had, in an increasing ratio. Nothing is more permanently harmful to the debtors of a State than special legislation theoretically in their favor.

In more primitive times, owing to permanent distrust, transactions were at once closed with real rather than representative money. But, with the growing of the modern commercial spirit and a higher civilization, there has been a general increase of confidence. This has formed a basis for credit, through the use of which both domestic and international commerce has enormously increased. It has also furnished a field for the universal use of bills of exchange, drafts, checks, bills, and other representatives of real money. So long as there is no doubt in regard to ultimate redeemability, almost an unlimited amount of business can be transacted with monetary representatives. But with the prevalence of any unsound financial theories, present or prospective faulty legislation, or any sort of departure from the conservative solidity as to *basis*, apprehension begins and real money is demanded because redeemability is open to some degree of doubt. Confidence forms the keystone in the arch of prosperity.

The latest returns from the Transvaal, previous to the breaking out of the war, show that the gold product for nine months ending September 30th reached a total value of \$69,516,973. This is only \$8,553,788 less than the output for the full year of 1898, and is \$12,798,294 more than the total for 1897. With the wonderfully rich discoveries in the Klondike, British Columbia, Australia, and unnumbered other places, there is every indication that the total stock of gold on hand will rapidly and continuously increase in the future. Aside from the small fraction of the product used in the ornamental arts, the great

bulk remains on hand, and does not disappear like the less precious metals.

Natural law and evolution would indicate that with the immense modern accumulation of wealth, and the greatly augmented volume of commerce, there would be a corresponding tendency toward a more valuable and concentrated monetary basis. Among barbarous tribes the currency is composed of beads and shells; and, as ascending steps in civilization are taken, iron, copper, nickel, silver, and gold come respectively into relative use in an advancing order of value. Evolution is a universal principle. Things that are cumbersome and inefficient are continually being displaced by those of greater perfection. There is really nothing more strange or revolutionary in the recent basal substitution of gold for silver than in that of electricity for horse-power, or railroad service for that of the stage-coach. Where wages are not more than ten or fifteen cents a day, as in China, small copper coins of trifling value can still be utilized; but, with the advance of values and civilization, improved tools and instruments are a natural accompaniment.

No metal can really become a standard unless it possesses international acceptability. There are no walls between nations, and the commercial world is the only practical unit. Under modern conditions, different countries are near neighbors, and it is impossible for any one to disregard the action of the others.

The "silver question" has no class, partizan, or sectional significance. The whole country would suffer and become financially disorganized by a drop to silver monometalism. This is as true of the poor as of the rich, of labor as of capital, of the agriculturist as of the manufacturer, and of Colorado as of New York. In the case of the greatest general inflation, which was during the civil war, wages and salaries were the slowest and last things to rise to the full proportion of material products. A sound and stable financial system is advantageous to all sections. Any theoretical diversity of local or sectional interests is the result either of demagogism or of ignorance.

The principles regarding money and coinage that have been outlined are true because they are natural. With the elimination of the artificial elements that have been injected into the subject by sectionalism, partizanship, and prejudice, difficulties vanish, and unity and harmony are seen to be reasonable.

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## II. WHY WE USE METALLIC MONEY.

RATIONAL people have a well understood reason for every act they perform. When they make use of an article, they know why they do so—why they use one article or tool in preference to another. But probably not one man in a hundred can give a rational explanation of the reason why gold and silver are almost exclusively used as a basis for currency, or money. The majority accept the strained and beclouded reasons put into the mouths of political charlatans by their masters, who prate of “good money,” “sound money,” etc., little thinking that all such talk is nonsense to intelligent men who have studied the question closely enough to see through the deep scheme that has raised these metals to the false position they occupy.

There was an original reason for exalting these metals to their sovereign power, entirely disconnected with present conditions or institutions, and it will be interesting to find out what this reason was. Let us go back to the dawn of civilization and see if we cannot discover the true origin of the use of these metals as money, and the original incentive that suggested it.

The earliest form of exchange was barter—the exchange of one article for another directly. As civilization advanced, and the demands of the people became larger and more varied, this system of barter proved too inconvenient and cumbersome. The idea of a medium of exchange—a convenient representative of any kind of commodity—was the natural outgrowth of this steadily developing demand. Various materials were resorted to at different times and in various countries: among the most

savage, the skins of wild animals, flint arrow-heads, etc. ; among pastoral people, oxen were used, and the Greek coins bear evidence of this. Other materials used as money at different times were: leather, cowry shells, and the shells of periwinkles and clams; wampum and beads among the Indians; cakes of tea in India; the bark of the mulberry tree in China; of no late date, tobacco in Virginia and Maryland and codfish in Massachusetts; salt in Abyssinia; nails in Scotland; iron in Sparta; lead in Burmah; and bullets in the New England colonies. These are only a few of the materials resorted to at different times and in various parts of the world. However, all these materials failed to meet the requirements of the dominant classes—for the reason that they were too easily accessible to the people and too generally distributed, making it impossible for them to be monopolized and absolutely controlled.

It must be borne in mind that the time of which we speak was in the earliest eras of civilization. This was a primitive age, and the only form of government yet developed was despotism. The masses were densely ignorant and in an equal degree sunk in superstition. The will of the monarch and that of their deities, expressed through their priestly class (always one of the instruments of despotism), was the only law they knew. These ignorant and superstitious beings had access to the soil and its products only through the ruling power, which retained whatever of these was beneficial to itself and aided in its perpetuation. Among these reservations were the royal sacred metals—gold and silver. These were the especial property of the despot and his priestly allies, and inaccessible to the people on pain of extreme punishment—often death. The primary cause of this reservation grew out of superstition, and in this way: One of the earliest forms of religion was the worship of the sun. The similarity in color between gold and the sun led to the belief among sun-worshippers that gold was in some mysterious way generated by the sun, or was of solar origin; hence it was held not only as sacred, but as symbolic. Round tablets, disks, and other articles of gold were placed in the temples, symbolizing the sun-god. The worship in some

portions of the world was gradually transformed from the sun-symbolic representative, and gold became a royal and sacred metal—prized above its utilitarian value.

Pindar, five hundred years before the time of Christ, invoking Theia, the mythological mother of the sun-god, exclaimed: "Through thee it is that mortals esteem mighty gold above all things else!"

The worship of the sun was not confined to the Asiatic nations. Races of whom they had no knowledge, and consequently with whom they had no intercourse, worshiped the same deity. The people of the Western continent, then unknown to the people of Asia, bowed down in adoration before the same great orb. However, the people may have been descendants of Asiatics who had wandered forth ages before from their original home, bearing with them the racial superstition, and in the lapse of time had forgotten their origin. But this is a question for the ethnologist. We know that the Peruvians, before the advent of the Spaniards, were sun-worshippers, and believed the gold found among their mountains to be the sun's tears, and held it sacred accordingly.

It was natural enough that primitive man, stronger in imagination than in reason, was struck with the grandeur and beneficence of the great source of light. Realizing that through its influence his animal senses were gratified; that during its absence he shivered with cold and felt the pangs of hunger; that when it displayed its power all Nature smiled and brought forth its fruit; that when winter wrapped the world in ice, and the sun withdrew his warmth, all Nature seemed to die: was it to be wondered at that the untutored savage should bow down and worship that power which seemed to command both life and death?

Wherever the sun was worshiped, golden ornaments were deemed the most appropriate and acceptable in the temples. The "sun-stuff" (gold) was given by the votaries and accepted by the priests as the greatest and best gift. From the sun-worshippers, the superstitious regard for gold passed to the devotees of other religions, and, in the ceremonial worship of



their divinities, ornaments and offerings of gold were always a conspicuous and important feature. In the conception of all the various religionists, gold occupies a prominent position in the surroundings of their deities and their accompaniments. Golden thrones, crowns, scepters, and various other paraphernalia are common in the description of all deities and their habitat. Even in our own religion, the early devotees gave vivid descriptions of such thrones and crowns, and golden harps and golden wings of the angels. Even the streets of the New Jerusalem are golden.

This is a sufficient suggestion as to how gold became imbued with the atmosphere of sanctity and mystery that it held for ages even after civilization had made great progress. The further study of this subject will be found full of interest, but does not concern our immediate purpose.

What has been said of gold is true of silver, only in a less degree—the latter metal bearing the same relation to the moon as gold bore to the sun. As the moon was only a secondary deity, of course its complementary metal was secondary. With this knowledge of the relative status of the so-called precious metals, it is easy to comprehend how they were finally settled upon by the despots of Asia as the material of which the medium of exchange should consist. These despots had constantly in mind the perpetuation and increase of their power, and the maintenance intact of existing conditions and institutions. It was gradually becoming more difficult to maintain their advantages by force, and, as they were constantly devising new means for preserving these advantages and increasing their power over the masses, this conception was a master-stroke of policy. The mines being the property of the crown, and the priests holding the entire bulk of the available metal (Church and State being one entirety), by utilizing these metals as a medium of exchange it would be in the power of the dominant classes—the aristocracy and the priests—to fix all values and actually control the entire product of the industry of the population. These clever financiers evidently realized the advantage to themselves which the control of the volume of currency would give. No

other conceivable measure could have placed in their hands the vast power thus secured, or so certainly insure its perpetuation in the hands of their descendants.

Thus it was that gold and silver became the money metals in Asia, and the object of their use was without question the perpetuation of the power of the dominant class. The use of these metals as money began in Asia at an early date. Their first use in the form of coins is ascribed to the Lydians—about a thousand years before Christ. Others ascribe it to the people of Argos. At any rate, the use of the crude metals was established prior to this date—long before even eastern Europe had caught a glimpse of the dim dawn of enlightenment just beginning to dispel the night of slavery in Asia. The ignorant masses of Asia, through generations of training, came to consider this financial system as legitimate and entirely natural—when they thought of it at all.

The use of the metals in this manner gradually spread from Central Asia to the coast of the Mediterranean through the agency of the Phœnicians. These were especially a commercial and maritime people, and established themselves upon the coast of Asia Minor before the time of Abraham. They used gold and silver in exchanges in his time—nearly a thousand years before the Trojan war. Abraham paid for the cave of Machpelah for a burial place in metal money—when the Greeks were still in a state of comparative barbarism.

The Phœnicians began to traffic with the islands in the Grecian archipelago near the coast, and were the first people with whom the inhabitants of these islands ever held commercial intercourse. Through this traffic with the Phœnicians, the Greeks learned the use of metal money. The native traders sold to the Phœnicians for gold the products of the country, which were brought to them by the inhabitants, paying for them this same Phœnician gold. Gradually, in this way, gold brought from Asia became the medium of exchange in Greece.

The commercial class alone, coming in contact with the source of supply, of course controlled the volume of the metal money and fixed all values—absolutely controlling the condition finan-

cially, and through the financial condition socially and to a great extent politically, of the producing (or industrial) masses. Certainly this commercial class realized the great advantage they enjoyed, which gave them immense influence with the ruling political power; and it was an easy step to secure the control of whatever mines were developed within the area over which they ruled. Thus the commercial class gradually developed into the rich and powerful, and finally into the aristocratic, which, continuing to control the royal metals and through them the volume of money, absolutely controlled all values and all the products of industry. It being impossible for the people to secure any of this currency except through the class that controlled it, it is easily seen how, by making money scarce and dear, they could (1) compel the sacrifice on the part of the people of the products of their industry, (2) absorb their substance, and (3) compel them, ignorant as they were, to assume obligations impossible of fulfilment that placed them in a condition of virtual slavery.

By contracting the volume of money, or at least holding it to a limited volume, the people, unable without it to secure the necessities of life, were compelled to assume obligations to be met by future labor to maintain their families; and these obligations were secured by pledging their homes and finally selling their wives and children into slavery. By this means alone a large portion of the population of Lacedæmonia were reduced to the condition of chattel slaves at the time of Lycurgus—about eight hundred years before Christ. Revolution was under way when Lycurgus by his reforms abolished the system and reconstructed the State—and it rose to the pinnacle of power in Greece. Three hundred years later, at the time of Solon, a similar condition was reached through the money system. In Attica war was about to burst forth between the masses and the rich. Solon, by wise reforms, avoided the collision for a time, but he failed to change the money system and it produced the same result as before; and time and again the same cause brought on strife and bloodshed in Greece.

From Greece there passed into Italy the colonists from

whom grew that giant among nations, the Roman Empire, which by its conquests carried its civilization and its institutions throughout Europe. Among these institutions was the metallic money system; and this throughout all the changes and advancement of European civilization has remained practically unchanged to the present day in its vicious and oppressive possibilities—a blot of primeval barbarism upon the enlightenment of the nineteenth century.

The intelligence of the world has been directed toward the problem of production. Methods of production have been multiplied and improved until the power of man seems almost unlimited in this direction. Means of intercourse, of travel, and of transportation have been discovered, the world has progressed with mighty strides since the breaking of the darkness of the Middle Ages, and the race has been too absorbed in the great work it has accomplished to give attention to other matters. But the time seems now at hand when this problem will be taken up and this stain of barbarism wiped from the escutcheon of modern progress.

The volume of money metals being limited, the class that controls them to-day possesses identically the same power as did the controlling classes under the despotisms of Asia, the crude republics of Greece, the empire of Rome, or the feudalism of medieval Europe.

J. A. COLLINS.

*Washington, D. C.*

## THE COLLEGE OF COMMERCE.

A COLLEGE of Commerce was organized in the University of California over a year ago. The work of instruction in this University is distributed into courses of study called "colleges," and the college of commerce is coördinated with eight other previously existing colleges. Like the other colleges, it has its minimum of prescribed general studies; its quota of so-called "group electives," which form the student's characteristic work, and its quota of "free electives," chosen with full liberty by the student.

The curriculum of the colleges expects to include as distinctive subjects: economic, legal, political, and geographical studies, technological studies concerning transportation, and technological studies concerning the materials of commerce. Among the economic studies may be mentioned: the general principles and theory of political economy; labor and wages; theory and practise of exchange; theory of value; markets; currency; banking; transportation; industrial and commercial organization; corporations; communication; insurance; consumption, and the principles of demand and storage; commercial usages of different countries; public finance; statistics; economic history.

Besides giving instruction in such courses as these, it is expected that the college will carry on continuous investigations in all the movements of trade; in transportation, communication, exchange, finance, banking, and insurance; in markets, products, and prices: in short, in all the conditions—legal, political, economic, and physical—upon which trade depends. It is intended that the results of these general investigations shall be published for the use of the community, and that special investigations shall be undertaken from time to time in response to the demands of the community.

The establishment of this college of commerce is a sign of our broadening horizon—educational and material. That the first such college should be established in California is perhaps significant of the fact that we here look out across the

new commercial ocean to the inviting fields of the Orient. But the movement is also in accordance with both the general tendency of education and the special development of the University of California. This general tendency is to make universities respond more closely and completely to all the activities of life that surround us. And for the rational discussion of the causes that originate and develop its institutions, the temper and spirit of California life must be taken into account. For the institutions of California, and chief among them the State University, have characteristic qualities that differentiate them from those of other communities. While there may be piecemeal or wholesale importations from abroad, nevertheless the flavor of the country is ere long imparted to the foreign growth, and it soon partakes of the spirit of the place. The idea becomes modified in its new social and physical environment.

Particularly, the University of California, with all its debt to other communities, may be said to be of native growth. The "university" idea is, of course, here as everywhere, of the same origin; and the actual institution here has a multitude of survivals, additions, and appendages, more or less good and desirable, which show its relationship to like institutions of both former and present times. But its spirit and its development show it to be peculiarly consonant with its environment. This, however, has not come through any process of in-breeding, for its faculty is gathered from far and wide. Provincialism has never controlled its policy. But an amalgamating spirit, for the most part unconscious and unobserved, has ever been at work upon the many diverse component minds and elements of the University, shaping the institution into a complete and symmetrical growth of its own.

This college of commerce, then, so far as it is a departure, is such only as a new branch is a departure in the life of a tree. This new element of our education is in entire conformity with our university organization. And it illustrates the ready adaptability of this organization to new requirements. It illustrates, further, the capacity of the California spirit to apprehend and respond to the demands as they arise of intellectual, social, and industrial progress.

The University of California has ever striven to minister to the intellectual needs of the community and to the two leading industries of the State—agriculture and mining. It has likewise aimed to educate skilled engineers and to nourish and promote science in many of its departments. It has attempted, directly and indirectly, to contribute to the rational solution of great social questions. But the prominent sides of its activity have been in the historical discussion of science, whether natural or social, and in the application of science, especially physical, to the practical utilities of life. Each of its existing colleges may be said to have a twofold purpose: (1) To organize, teach, and promote the knowledges specially under its charge; and (2) so to train men and women that they will be able to use these several knowledges as a means of their own livelihood and for the betterment of society.

Now, the college of commerce has the same twofold purpose. Under its faculty will fall the exploitation of all the subjects that come under the larger name of commerce, as well as the duty of equipping and training the persons that are to engage in commercial life. It has taken upon itself a duty of supreme importance. Looking at the organization and spirit of the University of California, we do not see how it could have evaded the responsibility of taking hold of this side of social life. But, in undertaking this work, it undertakes, in large measure, to answer for the future.

Commerce lies at the root of social conditions. All our modern society rests upon modern commercialism. The amendment of commercialism will be the measure of social improvement. The university that establishes a department of commerce throws itself right upon the battle-lines of the contending forces—strangling conservatism and far-reaching revolution. Universities have contributed much to emancipation of thought and to political freedom. But real political—not to say general social—freedom cannot subsist together with economic enslavement. A university that supports a college of commerce undertakes the work of economic emancipation.

WILLIAM CAREY JONES.

*The University of California.*

## THE MORALITY OF CO-OPERATION.

NO line of thought or work is isolated; no question stands alone. Interwoven through the vast fabric of human affairs the diverse threads of thought come together in varying relations; and, though seeming but a tangle at close range, this wonderful weave expands to larger view into the harmonious design of evolution. The labor question is no exception to this rule. As provision for physical wants is the fundamental problem of material existence, and culture and development of the higher nature are limited to the margin of time free from the struggle for bread, this struggle so interpenetrates all other spheres of influence that it exceeds the limits of the economists and becomes a moral and religious theme for those who would uplift humanity: surely not least of all for ministers of the Christ who provided as well for the material as the spiritual needs of his hearers. He did not forget the multitude's hunger, or expect to satisfy it with hope of heaven, but supplemented lessons of love and faith with loaves and fishes. "Shall the servant be greater than his Lord?" The importance of their divine calling did not blind the Apostles to the significance of the labor problem when they said: "Neither did we eat any man's bread for naught, but wrought with labor and travail night and day that we might not be chargeable to any of you. Not because we have not power, but to make ourselves an example unto you to follow us."

It is the economic condition—the means by which men get their bread—which, more than anything else, influences their characters, individually and nationally. The pages of history, presenting a moving picture of humanity's condition under a varying status of progress and civilization, show everywhere the imprint of the toiler's hand. Indeed, the industrial question so modifies all other features as to become the expression upon the face of life.

Never since the passage of that first labor law, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread," has man so nearly worked out



his material salvation as to-day, with an abundant earth yielding food, clothing, and shelter, with rapid transportation bringing the ends of the earth together, and with the aid of increasing perfection of labor-saving machinery. But, when to the gains of science we add vast sums and improved methods for reform and charitable work, and yet fail to keep pace with increasing ignorance, degradation, and want, we seem to be "ever learning but never able to come to a knowledge of the truth." Evidently our efforts to educate, uplift, and relieve are but pruning off the branches of the fault and leaving the root untouched. The discouraging failure of Christianity to *Christianise* is largely influenced by the neutralizing effect of the bread-struggle upon its teachings. It is vain to preach the Golden Rule one day in the week while the competitive scramble the other six overshadows the higher teaching and becomes the accepted standard. Business men frankly assert that the Golden Rule is impracticable, forgetting that the rulings of Christ do not admit of amendment, and that faulty, changing human law must give way when it conflicts with the unalterable principles of Divine teaching. It is well to preach the law whose whole fulfilment is "loving one another;" but also to use voice and vote to establish industrial conditions wherein one can afford to love his neighbor is still better.

In abnormal social as in diseased physical conditions, confusion arises from mistaking symptoms for the organic fault; while a knowledge of the underlying principles of pathology—as simple as comprehensive—explains the apparent contradictions of superficial symptoms by showing they have a relative, not fundamental, value in the case. The vexed question of want in the midst of plenty is unanswered by changes in the tariff, or in the money system, or by restricted immigration, or by limiting production, or other panaceas of the politicians; it is merely a problem of simple division and just distribution. It is necessary to know the principles of simple division before attempting the higher arithmetic. If, given a definite number of people and enough to supply their wants, we fail to work out the simple problem, why wonder at failure to handle the un-

known quantities of a spiritual world with whose basic principles of love we are proved ignorant by our brother's need? The present laws of distribution are neither mathematical nor divine, and by encouraging the stronger man to take his brother's coat and cloak, without asking, they are essentially immoral. Duty demands that each man array himself positively upon the humanitarian side, for, by neutrally avoiding a decision, they "who are not for it are against it."

In this enlightened age one may no longer hope that contemplation of another world will excuse his neglect of this. Man's threefold nature requires development along the triple planes of physical, mental, and spiritual being; but he must perfect the lower nature if he would free the higher from its overwhelming influence. Vain will be the speculations about the "God whom he has not seen" until he learns to love the "brother whom he has seen." There is no question without an answer—no problem without a solution; and the sincere need but ask to receive, and but seek to find. The problems of this world are neither beneath our notice nor beyond our comprehension, and they will wait upon our attention. "Know ye not that we shall judge angels? how much more things that pertain to this life?" It is not the caprice of a loving Father that produces so much material suffering, but the breaking of divine laws of love and justice. The want and injustice upon this fair green earth are made by man, and by him must they be unmade, for he "must work out his own salvation." What is life for if not to learn? And why try to evade the lesson of our day, when only by knowledge of and harmony with the divine law can we overcome suffering? Of what use are the capabilities of the human mind and heart if not to right the wrongs produced by human ignorance and selfishness? And upon what planet and at what time are they destined for use if not here and now?

The condition of the laborer has fluctuated throughout the ages, but the broad purposes of evolution are woven through all time in progressive lines. To place men in harmony with the evolutionary action is the secure course for the individual and for society, for the law of evolution is inevitable whether man wisely work with it or foolishly oppose it. His ignorance does

not lessen the suffering produced by inharmony with it, though it blinds him to the cause of his pain. To avoid learning a law offers no protection from its workings, for natural law is impartial and disregards no man, however much he ignores it.

"In the beginning," God completed the creation with man and gave him "dominion over the fish of the sea, the fowl of the air, and over every living thing;" but the injunction to subdue the earth did not mean that he should subjugate his brother. Man's primal inheritance held potentially all that science and invention have or will discover; and freedom from the taskmaster, Ignorance, was to come through Knowledge, which should become an incentive, a pleasure, and a power. "Know ye the truth, and the truth shall make you free," applies alike to material and spiritual things. It is knowledge of the truth of material laws that gives the modern motive-power by chaining the lightning, harnessing Niagara, and making skilled fingers of metal and wood to do man's work. It is a knowledge of the truth that "moreover the profit of the earth is for all" that will yet free men from the unjust laws that allow a selfish minority to control the "profit of the earth" for themselves while their brothers want. And spiritually it is a realizing knowledge that "the kingdom of heaven is within" that will free the sacred silence from the cries of oppressor and oppressed.

Injustice cheats the robbed of his due and the robber in his higher nature, which gains most in loving his "neighbor as himself." Justice is the pivot, with human selfishness at one pole and divine sacrifice at the other. Man is not less bound by ties of blood to kin than by the ties of his nature to mankind. He may not separate his interests from the least of his brothers: for though he outdistance the majority intellectually, physically, and financially, it is by the loving hand of help to those below that he will uplift his own spiritual nature.

"The Holy Supper is kept indeed  
In whatso we share with another's need:  
Not what we give, but what we share,  
For the gift without the giver is bare."

One must question the design of the Deity to deny the social organism, or to suppose that any man is superfluous or of less

account than the sparrows—or the speculators. Each individual contributes to the completion of some stage of progress, and advance to higher planes is best secured by helping advance the whole series. The struggle of souls differs not in kind if in degree. He that seeks to gain material benefit by robbing his fellow-men of opportunities to work out the possibilities of their natures stands in his own light spiritually; and the pulpit that sanctions the system quotes the Master in preaching and questions him in practise.

“Man cannot live by bread alone,” and the burden of the hungry cry—consciously or unconsciously—is for food for the higher nature; for liberty to express himself; for a chance to be a man, not a machine bound to a master’s task. What equality of opportunity may do is foreshadowed in the distorted lines of oppressed life from the Old World which have expanded under broader opportunities in the New, and to-day make up the composite of the typical American character—head of the coming race!

No one because of his wealth is free from obligation to the worker, for, in the last analysis, all wealth is the product of labor. A man may be blinded to this truth by a selfish satisfaction with his position and a legal indorsement of it; but a review of the origin of wealth makes it apparent to any seeking mind. The earth contains the elements, which are changed and rearranged until they reach the states of grain and flesh and cotton and wool and metal and wood; but they are food, clothing, and shelter only when human labor-power has brought them into service. The force of Niagara is a fact of countless years; its *value* dates from the application of human labor-power, which in this generation makes it turn the wheels of the modern machine. The human labor-power embodied in the air-brake has put a value on the atmosphere, which was called the freest of things. Fortunate mining operations may pay a thousand per cent. on the capital invested, but the value of the precious metals depends upon the labor expended in seeking them; and the price is not set by the lucky finder, but is averaged by the labor of the unsuccessful miner. The workers in mills, factories, etc., add to the value of the raw material by

their labor. The inheritance of wealth does not change its origin, whether it was produced by agriculture, manufacturing, mining—or even by the sale of slaves. The virgin soil, the closed manufactory, the unworked mine, and the idle slave prove a source of outlay rather than income: it is the active human labor-power that produces value. The salaried positions are supported by wealth originated in useful toil. The boasted independence of higher education rests upon a debt to labor, which provided students with food, clothing, shelter, and books, and kept the roads in good condition while they journeyed through college. The cooks and clothiers and carpenters and printers were too busy earning a living to go to college; nor could they afford to enjoy the best of their own products; and their wages were paid only because that much wealth had been produced by some other worker—whether an industrial ancestor or a contemporary toiler matters not. The surgeon's knife, the teacher's pen, and the speaker's eloquence are entitled to their reward, for "the laborer is worthy of his hire;" but they are *sharing*, not producing, the wealth that toil has taken from the earth.

Change is the law of progress. All Nature shows the instability of material forms. The particles of mineral, taken up into the plant to be absorbed by the animal, may produce muscular power or nourish the brain: and the inert earth becomes indeed "food for thought." But the harmonious progress in Nature's kingdom, blindly following the laws and the leadership of the divine Mind, contrasts with the strife of conscious man, who uses his privilege of free-will so selfishly as to obstruct the progress of his fellow-men. Through human institutions of government, learning, religion, industry, runs the wider purpose of mankind's growth; but at every step are seen his pitiful attempts to stay its progress—because his ignorance fills him with fear of the unknown change. The existing condition of things is neither sacred nor permanent; and the disproportion resulting from efforts to restrict society to the measures of an outgrown system produces the familiar phenomena of paralytic pain and irritability in the social organism. The antiquity of an error, instead of indorsing,

should the more condemn it. The first murderer's protest against being his "brother's keeper" is to-day no justification of a system that slays the "sweetness and light" in the lives of many toiling brothers.

The days of Roman slavery, of feudalism, of tenantry, belong to the past. The present industrial unrest means the passing away also of the wage system. Why prolong the agony of its death-struggle when a better condition of things needs but recognition to be adopted? The new mechanical power placed in competition with the workers from 1880 to 1890 was equal to the labor-power of forty million men. Every day sees other inventions and discoveries to free man from the burden of toil and give leisure for the cultivation of his higher nature; but, instead of operating as a blessing, selfishness would pervert it to a curse for the laborers. As we know to-day, men's ignorance and filth caused the old-time plagues, which were ascribed to the mysterious workings of Providence; so the modern suffering and want are due to unjust human laws, for "God is not the author of confusion, but of peace." That the ever-present army of unemployed should calmly submit to starvation is unlikely; that so tremendous a force should be left unguided is unwise. Since the only remedy—shortening the length of the labor day, and so employing all—will never be conceded under private ownership of natural resources and instruments of production and distribution, evidently only in collective ownership can the amount of necessary labor be harmonized with human wants. And in the resulting leisure men will expand into the solution of other problems, for "love worketh no ill;" and coöperation is industrially the counterpart of the moral law, which is fulfilled in one phrase: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." It is folly to expect man's spiritual nature to increase in personal harmony while it continues in social discord.

Competition means a struggle for victory over fellow-competitors: coöperation means a united struggle for victory over toil and sorrow and ignorance—mankind's common foes. The wonderful material progress of our day comes from a knowledge of the laws governing heat, light, sound, etc., and

Nature's secrets are traced to the fountain-head of physical force. But power is ever a responsibility; and the tremendous forces in man's hand, if used for humanity, will work miracles of good—but, equally powerful, if used selfishly they will react to his destruction. The time is ripe to adopt an industrial system that shall reckon upon the spiritual side of the case.

The pessimists say that to-day's problems are world-old; yes, but all these ages humanity has traveled, be it never so blindly, toward the truth, and the slow, sorrowful, weary journey has not been in vain. Never before has man been able to press the button of science and call upon Nature to do his drudgery. But, wonderful as the gain has been, it might be multiplied were the common ambition for the common good, instead of for the almighty dollar under a system tending to produce a homeless poor and a heartless rich. Why pray so fervently for abundant outpouring of the Spirit, and fail to prepare the favorable earthly conditions upon which it is ever ready to descend—and never more so than now?

The law of the survival of the fittest originated in the jungle. Applied to the competitive system, it results in a preservation of the commercial adept, whose success too often depends upon the contribution to business of time, money, brains, energy, and conscience; and the survival of the financially fit may be the preservation of the morally unfit. That the survivor has done business strictly within the limits of the law but points out anew that legality is not justice, and shows that a legal indorsement of conditions that sacrifice the sentiments of humanity and justice to business success stamps both the system and the law as detrimental to the race.

The trusts and monopolies are here in their proper time and place to emphasize the wrongs of the present system and to teach the value of coöperation in a still broader way. They demonstrate that combinations of money, brains, and energy can produce at lower figures than the same capital under individual production; but that the Standard Oil Company, by controlling the supply, has made oil cheaper than ever before should confuse no one. The point is, if the company selling oil at ten cents a gallon makes multi-millionaires of its owners,

these additional millions may be used to benefit the millions of consumers under a coöperative system. The picture of richly endowed universities, much of the money coming in pennies from the poor whose children perforce must leave the common schools to begin the bread-struggle, is typical of the system whose workings continually sacrifice the interests of the helpless majority. To think that devoting a portion of the spoils to so worthy an object justifies the system is to forget that "I the Lord love judgment; I hate robbery for burnt offering."

It is often remarked that there is "always room at the top;" but the shining example of Gould beginning as a brakeman has neither inspiration nor consolation to the unemployed brakeman unable to get work. The top of everything—except castles in Spain—must have adequate foundation; and, as it is not suitable or possible for the masses of the social structure to reach the top, the main problem concerns the possibilities of those below it. In saying that Gould or any other successful financier succeeded because of his own efforts, and that any other energetic man might have done the same, one forgets that the opportunity was not open to every other man or even one hundred other men; for the profitable manipulation of stocks or the controlled market for goods depends upon other men's losses: and the limitations of the market—the demand—could not have been extended a hundredfold by as many equally competent competitors. The market for the various lines of goods will absorb but a certain average amount; and success of the few who control it is not to be counted as in spite of other competitors' failures but largely because of them. The growth of the large department stores is fed by the failures of the smaller concerns; the increasing acreage of the farms depends upon the disappearance of the smaller holdings, with the significant change that the small farmer is a tenant or an employee where he had built his own hearthstone. But the new owners are not secure, for the system by which they displaced the poorer man will in time victimize them with a larger fortune: "He taketh the wise in his own craftiness." The commercially fit, whose capital of ten millions makes it survive smaller competitors to-day, must to-morrow give way before the capital of one hun-



dred millions. And so on, until all business is controlled by a few, and the many will be as free to succeed as they are free to fly; for to overcome the law of gravitation is no more difficult than to rise with the paralysis of no opportunity. "But if ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another," is a timely warning for the successful leaders of the competitive system, who give their employees but a portion of what they earn and yet hope the market—of which the workers form the major part—will absorb the goods produced, though the wages paid for labor are less than one-half the retail price of the goods. No wonder the scramble to produce low and sell high results in overproduction! And it grows plain that, in the interdependence of men in the complex conditions of our highly organized civilization, it is only through a system giving the greatest good to the greatest number that coöperation can bring order out of the present competitive chaos.

The labor question may no longer be regarded merely as an interesting study for economists and a personal problem for day laborers. It closely concerns all men. The idle rich, whose unearned dividends are spent to exclude the stress and strain and struggle of life, thereby lose much of its meaning; for the law of action and reaction is satisfied in a system that cheats the rich victims out of the deeper meanings of life and brotherhood, while it robs the poor sufferers of the means of living.

The children of the fortunate middle class, who graduate from college to take up some of the world's work, find it difficult to locate favorably. They are well equipped as teachers, ministers, lawyers, doctors, architects, engineers, journalists, or manufacturers, but everywhere are the ranks already crowded; while ignorance, vice, injustice, disease, unsanitary buildings, poor roads, unreliable newspapers, and shabby clothing cry for relief on every hand. Here is overproduction, indeed, alike of wants and of means to supply them! And this discord can become harmony only through equality of opportunity—opportunity for each to contribute his quota to the necessary work of the world, with no princely or beggarly idleness; opportunity for each to cease work when he has earned his living, and not toil through weary hours for another's profit; opportunity to

see and know more of the beautiful green earth, which symbolizes even better things: to see with the clear, calm gaze of health and intelligence, not dulled or brutalized or embittered by want and ignorance and oppression; opportunity for the children to come into their inheritance of the progress of all the past and to add to it; opportunity for the geniuses who starve in garrets to find better inventions, and, inspired by the poise and power of a well-nourished brain, to find ennobled ambition more responsive to the sight of the laurel than necessity had reacted to the lash-string of poverty; opportunity for all men to enrich their own natures by working for the common good; opportunity to learn that from Life, which will ever be a struggle, one may wrest more enduring and better things than mere bread.

If the competitive system is immoral, it is immoral for the employee who acquiesces in it by silently accepting less than his due; immoral for the employer who wrongs the worker and his own better self, and immoral for the preacher who talks patience and submission to one and charity, not justice, to the other.

This is not a credulous age, but, if its thinking is more broad than formerly, it is still superficial, and difficult conclusions are left to the many specialists in various lines of thought. As the interpreter of Christianity, the pastor's deductions are accepted by many hearers, and it is his high privilege to teach them aright. "Therefore, to him that knoweth to do good and doeth it not, to him it is sin." The struggle for bread, the cares of business, the unconscious bias of interested minds and pocket-books, and the lack of mental training make it difficult for the average parishioner clearly to see the truth of the vexed industrial problem. But the minister whose mind and heart are fitted for his sacred calling, conscious that his brain and time are free for his work of culture and inspiration and power because dulled and weary and less fortunate workers are making his bread, must, in conscience, feel the force of the truth: "Freely ye have received, freely give," and preach the gospel of righteousness, justice, and humanity in our social and industrial relations, if he would make living words of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.

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## STRIKES, TRUSTS, BOYCOTTS, AND BLACK-LISTS.

**I**N a state of slavery it is impossible for a man to change his occupation. The very existence of such a state of society depends upon the denial of the right of the workman to leave his master. In proportion as this right is denied, the laborer is still a slave. Even under the present wage-system, this right is hedged about with restrictions, and when exercised is often found to be but stepping out of the frying-pan into the fire. Certain economic conditions make the lot of workmen under one employer very much like that of similar workers under other men. If one man of a humane disposition treats his workmen better than other employers, natural selection soon causes the more industrious and competent workmen to seek his employment—or else it drives him out of business altogether.

One of the most important factors in determining the condition of the laborer is the supply of labor in relation to the demand. Realizing the overwhelming force of such economic conditions and the futility of changing masters, the worker gradually awakes to the idea of stopping work altogether until his demands are granted. To do this singly and in an unorganized manner is suicidal. Concerted action then becomes imperative. A large number of men stopping work simultaneously can often demand successfully, while isolated individuals might beg in vain. But as soon as they do this, a cry of “conspiracy” is raised against them. The men who are told that, if the conditions of their service do not suit them, they may leave their employers, are told that they have no right to leave *in a body*.

Laws against conspiracy have for centuries been enacted in widely scattered countries, in order to prevent strikes and other labor troubles. Originally the word *conspiracy* meant merely “working together”—coöperation. It is only in comparatively recent times that it has come to mean working together for

some bad end. The nature of a conspiracy depends upon the object conspired for, not upon the fact of conspiring. The philanthropic people of a city form themselves into a Charity Organization Society. They conspire systematically to relieve distress and to protect themselves from imposition. Are they to be judged criminal because they work together for a common end? Criminality must depend upon the nature of the act committed, not upon the number of people committing that act, nor upon whether they work together or singly. If an act is wrong in itself, it is wrong for men to associate themselves to commit that act; but if it is not wrong when committed by one individual, it cannot be wrong for several to coöperate to commit it.

The problem, then, is, Have men the right to form themselves into labor unions? The question of legality may be passed over altogether. In the present day nearly every one is a reformer to the extent of declaring the law wrong in one or two particulars. To do this is to deny the infallibility of the law. The freethinker does not necessarily declare all biblical precepts to be wrong, but the moment he admits the possibility of error in any one of them he denies the infallibility of the Scriptures. So with the reformer—the moment he admits that certain laws are wrong, or even may be wrong, he can no longer say, "This is the law—therefore it is right;" and such a statement has no weight when addressed to him. It is like a biblical argument when addressed to a freethinker. The argument of legality, when directed against the reformer, is begging the question. When used by the reformer, it is nonsense and hypocrisy; for it is an argument in which he does not believe and which he has repudiated in advance. This question, then, is one of ethics, not of law.

The great social principle, to which verbal assent is given by nearly every one, is Spencer's Principle of Equal Freedom, which declares that "Every man has freedom to do all that he wills, provided he infringe not the equal freedom of any other man." This is the principle that underlies all such catch-phrases as "Equal rights for all; special privileges for none."

Yet many persons, while thus indorsing this principle with their lips, have so poor an idea of its meaning that they perpetually advocate legislation directly opposed to it. It is impossible to infringe the liberty of any one by remaining passive. Such infringement can only come from doing something; hence, all forms of compulsory action are at variance with the principle of equal freedom. The law may say "Thou shalt not," but it must never say "Thou shalt." Unfortunately, our language is such that any proposition may be stated either negatively or positively. It is as easy to say "Thou shalt not eat anything but meat," as to say "Thou shalt eat only meat." While this adds to the confusion of those unaccustomed to careful methods of thought, it can in no wise affect the difference between doing something and remaining passive. But while the law must confine itself to prohibition of action, it must only prohibit those acts that infringe the liberty of others.

Now, a labor union is an association of men, engaged in the same occupation, to enable them to treat with their employers collectively instead of individually. This, in itself, is not invasive of the rights of others. So long as labor unions confine themselves to non-invasive action, they have a perfect right to existence. Invasion necessarily implies action. A refusal to work for another man cannot by any means be considered an invasion of his liberty. Neither can the agreement of the members of a union not to work for any particular man be considered wrong; yet this is practically all that constitutes a strike. Violence and aggression may grow out of a strike, and these are wrong. But the strike itself is purely a question of passive resistance and is usually much more effective when unaccompanied with violence. The right of men to strike is but a deduction from the right of men to leave their employers; and this right is the only thing that separates the wage-system from slavery.

The laws of nearly all countries contain numerous examples of direct and indirect prohibitions of strikes, or any form of organized effort on the part of workingmen to better their condition by concerted action. As the government is neces-

sarily dependent for its existence upon compulsory service, it is not surprising to find that this right is least recognized in the industries under its immediate control. Even to-day the attempt of a soldier or sailor to leave his work is a punishable offense. Recently Edward Atkinson was accused of treason and his mail seized by a governmental post-office, merely because he dared to tell our soldiers in the Philippines that their legal term of service had expired. Compulsory military service is in vogue in all the Continental countries of Europe—not excepting referendum Switzerland—and is even known in this country, in the form of the “draft.” In 1890 the postmen and police of London were denied the right even to form a labor union.

By slow degrees, however, the right to strike is becoming recognized as the laboring classes increase in strength and intelligence. This is one of the most important and most dearly won victories that the labor movement has achieved. In fact the history of the labor movement might almost be called the history of the struggle for the right to strike. It is an important victory because it is a victory for freedom, and one that makes future victories more easy of achievement. To say that a certain body of men may not refuse to work for certain employers is to compel them to work for those employers. Can any greater violation of freedom than this be conceived?

The question of the boycott is exactly similar. If a man has the right not to work, he also has the right not to have anything to do with any man whom he dislikes. Further than this, he has the right to persuade others to do as he does. This is a fundamental principle of labor unions. If a man does not belong to the union, the members of that union will not work with him. If an employer does not hire union labor, union men will not buy his goods. Here again is the right of a man to do what he wills with his own. To prohibit a man from refusing to buy the goods offered for sale by another is to compel him to buy those goods. To restrain a union man from refusing to work with non-union men is to coerce him into working against his will; it makes a slave of him outright. The boycott is the corner-stone of the labor union. To suppress

the latter is to kill the former, for the strike is a form of boycott.

In times of war the opposing armies fight in accordance with the same general principles. Each fires its guns according to similar mathematical calculations. They have the same theories of fortification; they employ the same principles of strategy and tactics. So, in the great industrial conflict between capital and labor, each side employs very much the same methods. While the laborer relies upon the union and the boycott, the capitalist uses the trust and the black-list. The boycott, in labor troubles, usually takes the form of an organized determination on the part of the workers to refuse to purchase the goods offered for sale by certain employers of labor. The black-list is an organized determination on the part of capitalists to refuse to purchase the labor of certain workmen. Both are different forms of boycott and are identical in their nature. When either party finds the other is more than ordinarily successful, it immediately attempts to overcome its adversary by invoking the strong arm of the law.

The capitalist claims that he has an inalienable right to sell his goods. The boycott prevents him from doing this; therefore, it is inimical to his inalienable rights. The laborer maintains, with equal force, that he has a right to sell his labor. The black-list prevents this; therefore, the black-list is opposed to the rights of the workers. Both of these arguments are specious. They each neglect the important fact that it takes at least two to make a bargain. Every one has a right to sell anything that is his—provided he can find a purchaser. If he cannot find a purchaser, it is the height of tyranny to try to create one by law. To say that men may not refuse to purchase whatever they do not wish to buy is to compel them to purchase that which they do not want. Such action denies freedom of the market and freedom of contract. To say that certain men may not refuse to employ certain workmen is to compel them to hire those whom they do not want, and is in direct violation of every principle of freedom.

The self-same arguments apply to trusts. If each man may

try to sell his goods at the highest price he can get for them, a number of men may coöperate to do the same thing. To be sure, trusts often resort to special legislation and many invasive acts, just as labor unions sometimes do. These things are no worse in the one case than in the other. The sin is in the special legislation and the invasive action, not in the trust or the labor union. Each party has plenty of these sins of its own, without throwing mud at the other for pursuing a similar line of action. No sooner, however, do the working classes obtain sufficient strength to demand their own rights than they try to exercise that power to deny similar rights to their employers. Instead of directing their energies further to extend their own liberties, they waste themselves trying to play tyrant in turn over their employers. This denial of freedom is bound to react upon their own heads. The labor union and the trust, the boycott and the black-list, are so similar that it is impossible to legislate against one without also prohibiting the other. While the laws are made by the legislative department of the government, they are interpreted and enforced by the judiciary. The working classes have often gained a good deal of control over the former, but when have they had control of the latter? At the time the Supreme Court declared a combination of the leading railroads an illegal association, the labor leaders claimed a great victory. At the same time, however, the question of the legality of labor unions was freely discussed in the light of that decision. Judging from its past history, who can doubt what the Supreme Court will decide if this question be ever brought before it?

Two years ago the labor unions in Colorado introduced a bill in the State legislature to prohibit black-listing. It was finally passed with an amendment prohibiting boycotts. At the session just passed, the clause concerning boycotts was repealed, but the repeal bill was vetoed by the Governor. In his veto message, Governor Thomas says: "The boycott and black-list are slightly different means of accomplishing the same result. Each is a method of coercion and punishment. Both are based on previous agreement, and depend for their success upon concert of action by those interested." And again: "Those of our



citizens who demand the suppression of the black-list and the freedom of the boycott should reflect that every argument they urge against the one applies to the other."

These two examples suffice to show that the tendency of all legislation against such action on the part of employers is to react upon the workingmen and to deprive them of their most dearly bought liberties. Nor is this all. Trusts and black-lists require concerted action on the part of a comparatively small number of individuals, while labor unions and boycotts require the coöperation of a very large number. The smaller the number of people required in such cases the more cohesive does the organization become; its actions are more secret, and the harder grows the task of conviction under the law. To quote once more from Governor Thomas's veto of the boycott-repeal bill:

"The most serious fact urged in behalf of this bill is that some of the great companies in the State disregard and violate the black-list section with impunity, while labor organizations are held to a strict accountability under the other. This is said to result from the difficulty of detecting the one and concealing the operation of the other. There is, unfortunately, too much truth in this statement. Those who cry loudest against lawlessness and anarchy are frequently unmindful of their civic duties and the mandates of legislation. The strong syndicate, intrenched in power and authority, overrides prohibitions and penalties, snaps its fingers in the faces of the people, and sets at naught the limitations of statutes and Constitutions. Labor is initiative. It cannot understand why obligations should be unequal or retaliation should not be fair. Its mistakes and its offenses have been copied from the conduct of those above it, and it is not surprising that it sometimes seeks to better the instruction."

So not only does anti-trust and anti-black-list legislation react against the laborer, but it is far more easily enforced against him than against the capitalist.

Yet another fact remains to be considered, and that is the cost of litigation. It is a notorious fact that the rich man is able to carry his case from court to court, until he can secure a verdict in his favor, while the poor man must succumb under the first adverse ruling.

But what of the poor workman who is driven to starvation by the black-list? What of the Irish landlord who is driven from his home by the boycott? These and thousands of others are the soldiers who fall in the battle. They are entitled to the sympathy and, if need be, to the charity of all benevolent people. But this sympathy and charity must not be permitted to interfere with right thinking upon the subject. Justice should be the aim of legislation, while charity should be left to the spontaneous generosity of the individual. If perfect justice can be obtained, there will be small need for charity, and those who wish to bestow it will be the better able to do so. What would be thought of a general who refused to perform some necessary military operation because some of his men and some of his enemies would suffer thereby? The question for him to solve is what operation he shall undertake, so as to achieve the victory with the smallest loss. The question for the sociologist is how to bring about a better social condition with the least attendant suffering. But neither the soldier nor the sociologist must hesitate to take a step that he sees to be necessary because some of his men will suffer. If he does, he will find his purpose defeated and the suffering will be a thousand times greater.

Is there no help, then, for these poor unfortunates? There is help, but it must be sought in other directions than through legislation. Legislative help is so slow and so costly that it defeats its own object and often brings greater disaster in its train. While in a few isolated cases judgments have been secured against black-listing corporations, yet these judgments could only have been obtained by protracted litigation. This costs great sums of money, and those who were able to bear this expense could in no wise be considered destitute and in sore need of the saving help of the law. It is the poor man, who has not the money to meet these expenses, who is most in need of that help, and he is consequently deprived of it. As a matter of fact, most men are capable of performing several different kinds of labor. If they find themselves shut out from one occupation by a black-list or a boycott, they are in no worse condition than thousands of non-union men. Either they must adjust

themselves to these conditions or they must seek "green fields and pastures new." That this is but poor consolation may be freely admitted, but, owing to the lack of harmony in social relations, it is the least injurious solution of the problem. If this fails, nothing remains but charity, unless a cure is sought in those remedies that are worse than the disease. This is true, whether there be laws to aid them or not, for, as stated above, their very necessity deprives them of the opportunity to seek relief through those laws.

The economic question is the great problem of modern life. So long as that question remains unsolved, misery and strife are bound to result. The economic structure of society is sadly out of joint. To attempt to remedy some of the manifestations of this ill-adjustment, leaving the cause intact, is worse than futile. It often does more harm than good to those for whose benefit it is tried, and further diverts men's attention from the main issue. Nearly all of this so-called remedial legislation is guess-work. It is directed against effects but ignores the cause. It is nearly always at variance with those principles of social science that are beginning to be generally accepted as true. So far as this is the case, the result must necessarily be disappointing; fresh complications will inevitably arise, and, before society can be reorganized in accordance with the principles of freedom and justice, the evil effects of this quack treatment must be eradicated. Such remedies cannot ameliorate in the present, and they render the disease more difficult to cure in the future.

Social progress can only be made one step at a time. It would be the height of folly to refuse to take those single steps because they carry the world along only a short way. But care must ever be taken that such steps are in the right direction and lead toward, not away from, the desired goal. For, as John Morley says—

"a small and temporary improvement may really be the worst enemy of a great and permanent improvement—unless the first is made on the lines and in the direction of the second. In such a case as this—and our legislation presents instances of the

kind—the small reform, if it be not made with reference to some large, progressive principle, and with a view to further extension of its scope, makes it all the more difficult to return to the right line and direction when improvement is again demanded.”

Every one, or nearly every one, claims to desire a state of society founded in accordance with the principle of Equal Freedom. When this is achieved strikes, boycotts, trusts, and black-lists will seldom if ever be resorted to. With the declaration of peace, the horrors of war become things of the past. If such social conditions are ever to be instituted, every proposed reform must be judged in the light of Equal Freedom. Any that are found to be at variance with this principle must be defeated, no matter how promising they may be at first glance. Justice can never grow out of unjust legislation, nor can the world become free while demanding tyranny.

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## HOW WAR HELPS TRADE.

**T**HAT a period of good trade invariably follows war, especially a successful war, is a well authenticated and generally acknowledged fact. It appears strange that prosperity should result from the vast waste of wealth that a war involves. But, although it may be "good for the trade," it by no means follows that it is equally good for the masses who are called upon to make the terrible sacrifices that war entails.

It is no exaggeration to say that within three years from now not less than a thousand million dollars shall have been expended in carrying on the Spanish-American war and in the pacification of our newly acquired "colonies." This immense sum will have to be raised by the government, either by taxation or loans. It means that each one of the fourteen million families that exist in the United States will have to contribute, directly or indirectly, an average of not less than \$70, and that not one in a hundred will derive any return from the outlay. All the money will be spent in maintaining the army and navy and a horde of government officials in doing unproductive work.

Before we consider the thousand million dollars expended in war, let us see what would have become of this money had it not been so spent. Of the families contributing an average of \$70 each toward this sum very few indeed would have added it to their savings. It is safe to say that not over five per cent., or say fifty million dollars, would have been so saved and added to the national wealth. The remainder would have been expended on comforts or luxuries, of which such families will now have to deprive themselves. With the war, however, the money goes into other channels, where it will naturally be saved and made available for reinvestment to a far greater extent. Thousands of army and navy officers, and not a few private and government officials, will find their incomes considerably and suddenly increased. The greater part of this in-

crease will be loaned to banks and thus made available for the extension of trade; or it will be invested in securities, the sellers of which will have the money ready for some other enterprise. Army contractors and manufacturers will also make and save fortunes, to be again employed in increasing their capital and business. Probably one-fourth of the war expenditure will be so saved—or an accumulation of two hundred million dollars more available capital than if there had been no war. Thus war becomes an expensive method of enforcing national thrift.

With this accession of capital seeking investment, which has already made its influence felt, we shall have what the trading classes call “good times.” Moreover, not the least result of this successful war is the general belief that good times must follow. This belief inspires confidence alike among investors of capital and employers of labor, which is justified by the current wave of prosperity.

It will readily be seen that the people who derive the greatest benefit from the war are those directly enabled to save money out of it. But all who seek work, and our trading classes generally, are likewise benefited by the employment of this capital in new and productive enterprises. The farmer alone is without any corresponding advantage. Taxation falls the heaviest upon him, because he is unable to shift any part of the burden upon the shoulders of the consumer, who will still continue to pay him only the market price of the world for his farm produce. There have been wars in which so large a portion of the male population on both sides has been engaged that agriculture has been neglected and stocks of food allowed to run down. Such wars have been followed by high prices for agricultural products. But in the present case the free importation of tobacco, sugar, fruit, and early vegetables from Cuba, etc., will have the opposite effect. On account of the superior soil, a more congenial climate, and cheaper labor, all the crops can be raised at a lower price in our newly acquired “colonies;” consequently, it will no longer pay to grow them in this country, and our farmers will have to abandon them for some other crop. The competition that will ensue will bring

about a general lowering of agricultural prices, in which one and all will suffer. With increased taxation, new competitors in the field, and no counterbalancing advantages, the farmer may well view the situation with alarm.

It would seem that war enriches the few at the expense of the many. These latter, however, with the exception of the poor farmer, are in part compensated by the fact that a large portion of the money gained by the few is saved and employed as capital, whereby the profits of both labor and trade are increased. On the whole, it is somewhat doubtful if these workers and traders are in any way impoverished in the long run. War has obliged them to accumulate capital, although some one else holds the savings-box and the farmer "pays the piper." It is, however, quite certain that far better results for all concerned could be secured by methods less burdensome and entailing less sacrifice.

The expenditure of a thousand million dollars in cash, to say nothing of the sacrifice of life and health, in a prolonged war—for we are still at war—seems a rather round-about way to save two hundred millions of capital. It reminds one of the Chinamen who used to burn down their houses to get a meal of roast pig. It must strike any thinking man that, instead of taxing each family \$70 to carry on a war, it would be better to tax each family only \$14, or rather to make a forced loan, bearing three per cent. interest, to this extent, and so raise the required two hundred millions. The government might then expend it in irrigation works, railroads, homesteads, or some other profitable investment. This would be equally "good for trade," and we should all have something to show for our money. By the expenditure of these two hundred millions in irrigation works, homes of forty acres each could be found and reclaimed in the United States for over 300,000 families, or 1,500,000 people, which is a hundredfold more than will ever find homes in our tropical "colonies." A forced loan of \$5 every year from each family would be a good thing for most of them, and the seventy millions so raised would give employment to some 350,000 men now idle.

Such a solution of the "hard times" problem when it shall again recur, may not come under the category of "practical politics," for the masses have not yet been educated up to the point of viewing economic questions in the light of hard facts and figures. They seem to require the thrill of battle and the glamour of "heroic" deeds to fire their imagination and arouse them to acts of self-sacrifice. In the meantime the reasons why prosperous times should follow the awful waste of wealth caused by war may well afford food for serious reflection.

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## THE FIFTH COMMANDMENT.

**I**T is well that existence imposes its first duty upon humanity at that period when reason is but a chaos of desires, and before the phenomena of living have become comprehensible to the vision; for, in the whole category of obligations that man claims from man, what is more unreasonable than thanks for a questionable service or gratitude for a deed (involving all the issues of life) that was conceived in lust and consummated in thoughtlessness? For man to respect his fellow-man it is necessary that reason should harmonize with justice; but for *every* child to revere the parent who bore it there is no requirement possible beyond the most passive obedience.

The reasons for this reverence from child to parent have never yet attained definite shape or countenance. To a very few the pleasure of *being* suffices to insure a degree of thankfulness; to a greater number the bond of sympathy is Nature's balm of healing and forgiveness; but over all is the veil of sentimental reverence that shields the parent with its lustrous glow and protects him from realizing "how sharper than a serpent's tooth it is to have a thankless child."

From the precepts of Moses this veil has descended—a fabric curiously woven with the warp of love; and yet so distorted by the woof of selfishness that its outlines, seen by nobler eyes, seem strangely like the cloak that masks egotism and hypocrisy. Yet the anticipation of reverence, although tacit, is unexplainable—few honest men or women being able conscientiously to say by what right they expect or demand such a sentiment. The question of possession suffices for many, but the *right* of possession becomes then a serious problem.

The suffering and watchfulness of a loving mother claim a reward for martyrdom instead of duty. The forethought and providence of a devoted father seek their compensation in the adoration of offspring rather than in the approval of mind and conscience. The irresponsible (and naturally the most

prolific) father prates of conception as the "divine right of man," and bows his head submissively over his "God-given children;" but the divinity is not so evident to the offspring when they reap in the whirlwind the sins sowed by their progenitor.

The honoring of parents is accepted without argument only by that class of persons that are without understanding, and those others who, for reasons more selfish than holy, are glad to enforce the commandment to its fullest. To others, more thoughtful and more just in their exactments, the "honor" of a child creates perpetual wonder; and to those able to gage accurately the unworthiness of most parents this enforced regard brings a twinge of pity.

Reverence and respect are the results of reason and knowledge—the outcome of familiarity with the noble attributes of another. To the mind of a child such deductions are impossible; the undeveloped brain has no consciousness of superiority, and the awakened affections follow only the first impulse of Nature. Whether a parent is worthy of honor is a question for adult reasoning—a problem to be solved by the child's future condition. Length of days weighs but lightly in the scales of justice, and it is doubtful if this vague promise ever strengthened honor.

That child reverence should not be questioned is a matter of theory, to be decided only by the quality of the results that might follow in the wake of honest experiment. If right be right and wrong be wrong, a similarity of tissues should not delude the judgment; and if virtue should be praised and sin condemned, the mere relation of the family should count as nothing. So long as reverence is bestowed where only regard is merited, the most undeserving mother may bask in the glow of self-complacency; and, while honor remains a staple article in the family, the father may rest at ease upon the throne of content.

Do women honor themselves when they hamper their own progress by the physical burdens of overproduction? Do men reverence the talents in their own possession when they stunt

their development by the narcotic of licentiousness and cramp their own abilities by over-stimulation to exertion? Does either parent, by ignoring the just claims of the unborn, give due homage or gratitude to the marvelous power through which the phenomenon of procreation is possible?

Through a careful inventory of one's faults and graces, and from an honest accounting of one's health and finances, how many can say, honorably, "I am worthy a child," or "It is certain I can conceive without injustice to my offspring?" What percentage of mankind is fit to be fathers, and how many women have sufficient strength of mind or physical energy to equip their daughters? Men that shrink in horror from the theory of extermination rush headlong into the deed of conception without a passing thought of their own inconsistency. The liberation of the spirit from an exhausted body seems to them a deed of most heinous nature; but the incarceration of a soul in mortal flesh is an act that receives scant consideration.

What compensation can a man make to a crippled son? What penance can atone for the "gift" of insanity to offspring? Is the birthright of poverty, disease, or ignorance the vehicle through which to generate reverence? It is the most prolific parent who trusts all to chance, or "casts his cares on God," in this most vital undertaking. The thoughtful man considers well his deeds, and a keen recognition of his own responsibility makes him ever more just toward each unborn claimant. But as yet of the thoughtful there is but a small minority—a handful who are worthy or who approximate worthiness.

That the placid acceptance of homage is responsible for this seems probable when one considers the virtue of incentive. The brutal propagator of an unkempt herd has little ambition above his routine of drudgery, and with each increase in his numbers sinks lower and lower into the fatal slough where his children may follow him. Yet such a human animal, in all his hideousness, demands the "reverence" of his child; and the courts of justice, while they protect the victim, encourage and endorse the exactment of the father!

The mother of the slums, in her uncleanness and alleged

viciousness, and the wealthy woman in her brownstone home, with her petty vanities and ignoble ambitions, are alike the recipients of reverence from children. That this reverence is merely the glamour of sentiment makes it no less grateful or no less complete and wonderful in its achievements. That its power for evil is as potent as for good impairs no vestige of its triumphal glory; and that it protects on the one hand what it condemns on the other seems in no wise to detract from the luster of its holiness. When judgment and reason fail, sentiment guards and cherishes; when example and precept are not forthcoming, honor blinds and finds excuses.

Across a chasm of errors reverence throws a stable bridge, but it is doubtful if the structure leads directly toward improvement. Less affectionate delusion might arouse the sluggard and act as an incentive to the unambitious father. Less unmerited homage and reverence toward the mother might kindle to healthy glow the fires of justice and awaken a desire to be called more worthy.

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## THE VEDANTA PHILOSOPHY.

### I. TEACHINGS OF THE VEDAS.

THE article by Horatio W. Dresser, in *THE ARENA* for October, 1899, entitled "An Interpretation of the Vedanta," interested me as a student of that comprehensive philosophy, and also because of the logical deductions based on his conception of the outcome of the Hindu metaphysical system as expounded in many passages quoted from learned authorities. While his conclusions are different from my own, I admit that they are amply warranted if the Vedas are to be judged from his point of view. It has ever been a peculiarity of Hindu teachers, notably of the writers of their sacred books, to hide the real truth within the mere letter, while seeming to give out deepest wisdom. This arises from various causes, all of which appeal but faintly to us in the West. A circumlocutory style, replete with mystery and symbolism, is born from the belief that certain truths should not be given out promiscuously—that they should at least be wrestled for; thus insuring appreciation on the part of the victor, whose intuitive faculties, strengthened thereby, shall enable him to proceed to higher, deeper, and broader truths that are otherwise unattainable. This national trait has caused even that eminent scholar, Max Müller, to look on some of the Upanishads as the childish fables of an immature age; yet those passages, so lightly esteemed, are said to conceal the deepest occult wisdom.

I will endeavor to outline, as concisely as may be, some of the underlying meanings of the Vedas as expounded by my own teachers. In this attempt I shall avoid, when possible, all technical terms and metaphysical subtleties, believing that simplicity and clearness are of greater moment than any pedantic show of learning, which so often tends to mystify and fatigue rather than to elucidate.

In the great epic of India, "The Mahâbhârata," said to have been written or compiled by the sage Vyasa, occurs that episod-

ical work, "The Bhagavad Gitâ," the book of devotion—a work held in great esteem by all sects in Hindustan. Its eighteen chapters are the record of an extended colloquy between Krishna, who represents the supreme Spirit, and Arjuna, the human monad, or man. Herein the principal systems or thought then current in India are shown to be essentially the same in purpose and effect, notwithstanding that surface appearances would indicate the contrary. In the tenth chapter Krishna postulates the fundamental conception of Vedanta in these words: "I establish the whole universe with a single portion of myself and remain separate"—words similar in meaning to the saying of Plato: "The Universe is composed of the Same and the Other." Now, what relation does the Same sustain to the Other in the Hindu system, which denies the creative act as we understand it?—for therein to "create" is but to *veil* or *unveil* that primordial Substance which never was not, and which stands and shall stand.

Let us conceive of the manifested universe as a conglomeration of sentient, vibrating atoms, each passing through its own peculiar evolutionary process and urged onward throughout the eternities by some unceasing force. The Unmanifested is that which fulfils and transcends all we can imagine of Wisdom, Love, and Power. It is perhaps better to consider the Unmanifested as attributeless; for so the Vedantists have escaped the gross idea which the ancient Hebrews formed of their Jehovah—an idea from which we at this day are but partially free; for our highest conceptions of love, for example, are tinged with some human element of partiality.

The unmanifested Brahm and the manifested Brahma are in their totality "That" which is uncreate and unending. The ever-unmanifested permeates every atom of the manifested, but is unperceived and unperceivable by means of the senses thereof; it is, therefore, said to remain separate, but in fact it upholds and sustains the manifested, which is at-one-ment with it in essence and potentiality. The manifested universe sprang into being through the reawakening of desire, which had slept, even as do *our* feverish and restless desires after the day's

activity. Universes have been: a new universe is to be—when the stupendous night is ended whose eve shall see the extinction and dissolution of the great central suns of our stellar systems.

Was the great driving force, Desire, something inherent within the undeveloped atoms, or monads; or was it “breathed” into them—to become their breath of manifested life? This is a moot question, though it seems probable that the former view is correct. The Absolute, the Perfect, the Forever Concealed, surely cannot be subject to the ebb and flow of any attribute; therefore, when we are told that Brahma feels a desire to create worlds, the hidden meaning is that desire has reawakened within the unperfected atoms. This desire was exhausted but not annihilated by friction. Not until the atom is able to move in harmonious course with every other atom can its force be preserved intact. There is no being in the manifested universe that moves free and unobstructed in perfect harmony with every part thereof; therefore, all things, even the most highly evolved intelligences, are subject to change of condition due to weakened power. The universal reawakened energies are symbolized by the out-breathing of Brahm: their final weakening by his in-breathing.

The friction of two bits of wood or metal produces an evanescent spark: so worlds and all creatures are born of primal fire, and owe their temporary objectivity to the mutual friction and resulting vibration of particles. This friction and this vibration are due to the illusion of separateness, which causes even in the mineral kingdom those antagonisms noted by the chemist, and all those “natural enmities” we observe in the animal kingdom—enmities to which man, alas! is by nature prone. The great lessons this philosophy strives to inculcate are: (1) the cultivation of equal-mindedness—in other words, avoidance of all the repulsions of hate and those attractions that circumscribe the soul; (2) the consequent lessening of friction; and (3) the ultimate conservation of energy. This desideratum cannot be attained by imitating the oyster or tortoise, which at every alarm seeks safety within its shell. In the “Gitâ,” Krishna says: “Children only, and not the wise,

speak of renunciation of action and of right performance of action as being different; he who perfectly practises the one receives the fruit of both." Again: "A man enjoyeth not freedom from action from the non-commencement of that which he hath to do, nor doth he obtain happiness from the total abandonment of action." "Know that action comes from the supreme Spirit, who is One." "There is nothing, O son of Pritha, in the three regions of the universe that it is necessary for me to perform, nor anything possible to obtain that I have not obtained; yet I am constantly in action. If I were not indefatigable in action, all men would presently follow my example, O son of Pritha. If I did not perform actions these creatures would perish."

It was known to the elaborators of the Vedas, and to all the great sages of India, that the bodily appetites and passions of man are physical manifestations of eternal forces that cannot be annihilated by the chilling touch of old age—nor even by the disruption of soul and body. Satiated and deadened for a time, these desires must eventually reassert their mastery, and, blinding the weak-willed and yielding soul, tempt it into its old conditions of time and space; for, according to this philosophy, time and space are finite limitations arbitrarily imposed upon the one indivisible Reality, and owe their phenomenal existence to the operations of selfish, deluding desire, which, although the cause of the idea of separateness, would hold the soul to its own peculiar environment, however gross, by its innate love of possession. Rebirth is therefore the logical result; and yet that which would disgrace the ego is in truth the soiled insignia of its Godhood. If the eternal energies in man can be brutalized, so on the other hand they can be transmuted into every beatific virtue; for this latter alone they exist. To help man to overcome—to show him the way to bliss—every world-savior came each in his appointed time. If that which in reality is immaterial becomes material or apprehensible to the senses—themselves the product of vibration and friction—through the vibrations and frictions of crude desire, it follows that a permanent condition above vicissitude can only be obtained by any form



of manifested life through the refining and uplifting of every form of desire. This I apprehend to be the great central lesson of the Vedas. It means freedom from the *cause* of rebirth—ability on the part of the soul to sustain itself at lofty heights. Rebirth becomes even a matter of deliberate choice to the great souls whose comings have blessed the ages.

The four Vedas—the Rig (or Veda of verses), the Sama (or Veda of chants), the Yajur (or Veda of sacrificial sentences), and the Atharva (or Veda of magical incantations)—are the repositories of a great threefold system of Science, Religion, and Philosophy. Within the apparently meaningless rigmaroles and childish fables of some of the Upanishads lies an explanation of the mysterious cause of the Newtonian law of gravitation, many hints concerning the nature of an opposing law of repulsion, and the means by which it can be brought into operation. Beneath the Hindu cosmogony can be found the nebular hypothesis of Laplace, and the key to many a treasury of knowledge which, to our modern materialistic science, still remains unlocked. To the authors of the Vedas science existed not for itself; they subordinated everything to the soul and its eternal well-being. For it alone their indivisible trinity of Science, Religion, and Philosophy grew from the heart of things. By the Indian sages—and the Hindu thinker of to-day has not altogether retrograded from the lofty position of his ancestors—all attempts to divide that essential Unity and to treat its components as separate departments of knowledge and investigation were deemed profane and sacrilegious.

If we apply to the many-sided but withal symmetric whole of Vedic philosophy, or even to that small part which I have touched upon, Professor James's test question, "What effect does it have upon conduct?" the reply, it seems to me, can be not otherwise than a vindication of this system as a sane and useful one. What other religion offers so transcendent a prize? Nothing less than the Universe itself is to be the reward of faithful endeavor. To rest in the bosom of the All! Does this mean loss of individuality? The learned Brahman, Subba Row, in his lectures on the "Gitâ," says in effect that when

a man unites himself with the Logos—that is, attains Nirvana—he experiences the feeling that he has absorbed the Logos within himself. This statement reminds us of the experience of him that sat beneath the sacred Bo-tree and felt the ties of illusion that had bound him part and fall away.

“The universe grows I.” These words of Buddha we should understand if we could comprehend that the Whole can and does focus itself in its every part; for this is the mysterious cause of its oneness. In truth, it focuses itself in the heart of the meanest thing as well as in the heart of the perfected sage. The difference between their contrasting conditions is the difference between ignorance and knowledge. When the Swami Vivekananda, standing beneath the evergreen pine—emblem of constancy and stability—uttered these words: “I am neither body nor changes of body; neither am I senses nor object of the senses; I am Existence Absolute, Bliss Absolute, Knowledge Absolute; I am It; I am It,” he spoke in the language of prophecy, for at the base of his being was the Atma of the universe (his higher Self), awaiting, as it had awaited throughout the ages, his self-conscious recognition. Man is the young Hercules of Divine paternity, but born of Alcmena, or Mary, or Mâyâ—born of illusion, the earth-mother. Trials many and harsh must test his every fiber before he as conqueror may worthily fill his place—where sit the immortal gods.

Although the Vedic philosophy offers the one stupendous prize, it also warns the contestant that the road to attainment is rough and proportionately long, and no one can bear his burden for him. But *pessimism* is, after all, the contrasting minor chord sounding ever and anon in the great Vedic symphony, whose key-note is in the hopeful major mode. In common with every great religion, this one has aroused the innate fanaticism of extremists, who have sought some short and improper way “across lots” to the coveted goal. Some have tried to overcome carnal desires by mutilating the body, and some even have sought to deflect the natural energies from their appropriate channels for the exercise of infernal arts. Others, severing all intercourse with their fellow-men, have led useless lives of mere

meditation on the mystic "Om," not knowing in their blindness and selfish egotism that it is only through the enlargement of man's sympathy with his fellow-man and all creatures that he can come into at-one-ment with them, and so, ever expanding the circle of his attachments, finally encompass the world, aye, the universe, in the all-enfolding arms of Love. Thus only may he understand and reach the "Om." So must he attain who would find the "secondless Eternal," and, finding that Eternal, be one with it in Being, Consciousness, and Bliss.

EDWARD C. FARNSWORTH.

*Portland, Me.*



## II. THE CORRECT INTERPRETATION: A REPLY.

**A**FTER reading Mr. Dresser's article in the October number of THE ARENA, I feel it my duty as a representative of the Vedanta philosophy in America to say a few words, with the Editor's permission, on the same subject. I also wish to correct some of Mr. Dresser's misinterpretations of the Vedanta, for the benefit of the many American students of this philosophy—the grandest the world has ever produced.

In the first place, it is not confined to any book or scripture. It is true that the word *Vedanta* is a Sanskrit compound consisting of "veda" and "anta," and means "end of veda;" but by the word *Veda* is meant "wisdom," not any book or scripture. The etymology of the noun "veda" is the Sanskrit root-verb "Vid," to know—from which the English word *wisdom* is derived. The word *anta* means "end;" therefore, *Vedanta* means "end of wisdom." Hence, secondarily, the Vedanta means the writings that explain what that end is and how it can be attained.

The Vedanta philosophers do not confine themselves to any particular book, but refer to passages from the sayings of the most ancient Vedic sages, so that their opinions may be corroborated by the oldest seers of Truth: since, in writing a phi-

losophy, reference would naturally be made to the sayings of more ancient philosophers, prophets, and spiritual teachers—such as Jesus and Buddha—to show the similarity of ideas or harmony of thought. Professor Max Müller understood this when he wrote: “And here we should mark a curious feature of orthodox Indian philosophy. Though the Vedanta appeals to the Veda, it appeals to it not as having itself grown out of it or as belonging to it, but rather as an independent witness looking back to it for sanction and confirmation.”

The next point in which Mr. Dresser's explanation is in error, and which puzzles most Western minds, is the meaning of the word *Mâyâ*. This term never means “illusion,” in the sense that word is ordinarily used, but means conditional, relative, or phenomenal existence. The world, according to the Vedanta, is not unreal, but conditional in its existence—the name and form of the world being a constantly changeable phase of reality. The most beautiful definition of *Mâyâ* is given by Sankarachârya, the great commentator and exponent of the Vedanta philosophy: “*Mâyâ* is the name of that Divine Energy which is inscrutable and beginningless; which produces the phenomenal name and form, or, in other words, the mental and physical phenomena, and contains the three properties of matter and force—inertia, activity, and equilibrium of various forces, and whose existence can be proved by the inductive method of logic. It is neither absolute reality nor absolute unreality; but it is the conditional, relative, or phenomenal reality.” *Mâyâ* is also called *Prakriti* in the Upanishads and in the Sankhya philosophy. It is the same as *procreatrix* in Latin—the creative energy of the absolute Brahman.

Mr. Dresser says: “Yet the statements of the exponents of the Vedanta are not always consistent.” I am sorry to have to contradict our friend on this point; but I must say—what all exponents of the Vedanta have reiterated—that the purpose of the evolution of *Mâyâ*, or eternal energy, is to help each individual soul or ego to attain to the highest state of spiritual perfection through the realization of its divine nature.

Again, Mr. Dresser says: “We are told that the Vedanta

teaches that the Infinite has become finite." Either Mr. Dresser has been misinformed or he failed to comprehend the meaning of the passage that led him to think thus. The Vedanta never teaches so illogical a doctrine. On the contrary, it refutes all such statements and points out their fallacy. It does not teach that "there is a degree of reality in Mâyâ." It holds that there is a difference of degree in the *expression* of reality, and that difference is because of Mâyâ, or relativity.

Mr. Dresser says: "From the Vedantist's point of view, then, there is no permanent value in finite experience." On the contrary, the Vedanta teaches that *every* experience has a permanent value. Every stage of evolution is necessary for the progress of the individual soul. At every step of our finite experience we are learning something and helping ourselves in unfolding the higher powers latent within us.

"The truth, then, which this doctrine of Mâyâ seeks to express," says Mr. Dresser, "is that all outer or visible things are perishable." What a deep-thinking philosopher he must be who denies the perishable nature of what we taste, or touch, or see, or perceive! Again, he says: "The same illusion or impermanence applies also to rebirth, or reincarnation. It may surprise some to learn that this theory of rebirth, usually deemed a central doctrine of the Vedanta, is not regarded as a part of the real truth of life. It is deemed true only of our sense life." Any student of the Vedanta can see how greatly confused are the ideas in the mind of this writer. The Vedanta never teaches the birth, or death, or rebirth of the Atman, or divine nature of man. It is the individual ego, or soul, that reincarnates, or manifests its latent powers through the different stages of evolution—to fulfil its desires and to gain experience until perfection is reached and the highest state of spiritual realization is attained. The doctrine of reincarnation is not a mere "working hypothesis;" it is as true and demonstrable as the doctrine of evolution. Professor Huxley says: "None but hasty thinkers will reject it on the ground of inherent absurdity. Like the doctrine of evolution itself, that of transmigration has its roots in the world of realities."

Mr. Dresser says: "It is also a noteworthy fact that the pessimistic and fatalistic elements of the Vedanta are left in the back-ground. There is a tendency to adopt the more helpful doctrine of the West." From very ancient times, the Vedanta has taught neither pessimistic nor fatalistic doctrines. Its philosophy has inspired such thinkers as Emerson, Thoreau, Schopenhauer, Paul Deussen, and Max Müller, who says:

"Indian philosophers are by no means dwelling forever on the miseries of life. They are not whining and protesting that life is not worth living. That is not their pessimism. They simply state that they received the first impulse to philosophic reflection from the fact that there is suffering in the world. They evidently thought that in a perfect world suffering had no place; that it is something anomalous, something that ought at all events to be accounted for, and if possible overcome. Pain certainly seems to be an imperfection, and, as such, may well have caused the question why it existed and how it could be annihilated. But this is not the disposition which we are accustomed to call *pessimism*. Indian philosophy contains no outcry against divine injustice, and in no way encourages suicidal expedients."

The Vedanta philosophy teaches how to enjoy eternal happiness in this life—by living the life of perfection and spiritual realization. As regards the fatalistic doctrines, the true student knows very well that the Vedanta teaches that we create our own fate, our own destiny, by our own works. This doctrine is not responsible for the pessimistic ideas of Buddhism, nor for Schopenhauer's opinions regarding the "will to live."

Mr. Dresser says: "Max Müller, in his lectures on the Vedanta says that the Self of the Vedanta has but three qualities: it is; it perceives; it rejoices. The Anglo-Saxon believes that the Self also *acts* and *progresses*; that the world belongs to the energetic man, as Emerson puts it." Mr. Dresser ought to learn the difference between the meaning of the Self that Max Müller speaks of and that of the Anglo-Saxon "self." Let the Professor explain what he meant:

"When we speak of the *Self*—in Sanskrit *Atman*—we should always remember that it is not what is commonly meant

by the Ego, but that it lies far beyond it. What we commonly call our Ego is determined by space and time, by birth and death, by the environment in which we live, by our body, our senses, our memory, by our language, nationality, character, prejudices, and many other things. All these make up our Ego, or character; but they have nothing to do with our *Self*."

Thus we can understand that the Atman, or Self, or Divine Spirit of the Vedanta, is not the same as the Anglo-Saxon self, or ego, that "acts and progresses." The Vedanta philosophy leaves plenty of room for the activity and progress of the Anglo-Saxon self, which is not the perfect and absolute Atman. This, according to the Vedanta, is one with Brahman, or Divine Spirit of the universe.

Says Mr. Dresser: "If I have once accepted the Advaita or non-dualistic philosophy that there is only 'one without a second,' and that I am he, there is no incentive to finite action; no room is left for individual existence regarded as a life of ultimate ethical and spiritual value." According to Vedanta philosophers it is not easy to accept the non-dualistic position that the Vedanta teaches as the goal of all religions. It is not easy for an ordinary mortal, surrounded by all kinds of imperfections resulting from a life of worldliness and selfishness, to realize that non-dualistic spiritual state that enabled Jesus to declare, "I and my Father are one," and a Vedantic sage to say, "I am Brahman," or "I am one with absolute Spirit divine." Max Müller says:

"And yet, after lifting the *Self* above body and soul, after uniting heaven and earth, God and man, Brahman and Atman, these Vedanta philosophers have destroyed nothing in the life of the phenomenal beings who have to act and to fulfil their duties in this phenomenal world. On the contrary, they have shown that there can be nothing phenomenal without something that is real, and that goodness and virtue, faith and works, are necessary as a preparation, nay, as a *sine quâ non* for the attainment of that highest knowledge which brings the soul back to its source and to its home and restores it to its true nature—to its true Selfhood in Brahman."

The same authority says elsewhere: "So much to show

that the Vedanta philosophy, abstruse as its metaphysics are, has not neglected the important sphere of Ethics; but that, on the contrary, we find ethics in the beginning, ethics in the middle, and ethics in the end, to say nothing of the fact that minds so engrossed with divine things as are the Vedanta philosophers are not likely to fall victims to the ordinary temptations of the world, the flesh, and other powers."

The Vedanta philosophy holds as much inducement to the "human heart eager for personal fellowship, love, and marriage," as Christ held by his life and teachings. Moreover, it encourages "scientific interest," and stimulates the "traveler's spirit, inventive genius, and creative impulse;" but at the same time it tells sincere seekers after the highest spiritual Truth that all these are on the lower plane of phenomenal appearances.

The Vedanta does not say "unqualifiedly that you and I are God;" but it teaches that the divine essence in Man is the same as the divine essence of the Universe. This is also the meaning of the formula "Tat tvam asi"—that thou art. Mr. Dresser says: "It is thus pure monism, or pantheism, the absolute identification of subject and object, with no room for the splendidly elaborate system of Nature as the realm of divine manifestation," etc. Here he has some difficulty in understanding the difference between what he calls "pure monism" and pantheism. The purely monistic Vedanta does not teach that everything is God, but that the reality of every phenomenal object in the universe is one absolute existence. To quote again from Max Müller: "It is easy for us to call those ancient explorers reckless adventurers, or dispose of them with the help of other names, such as mystic or pantheist—often but half understood by those who employ them." The Vedanta philosophy teaches that everything in the universe lives and has its existence in God. It holds that the divine reality manifests through the various stages of the evolution of Nature, or Prakriti, or Mâyâ, or Divine Energy. The essence of the subject and the essence of the object are one on the highest spiritual plane alone, the fundamental principle being unity in variety



of manifestation. Thus the absolute monism of the Vedanta is not the same as pantheism, which teaches that everything is God, or that God has become matter and force.

The Vedanta philosophy subordinates false reasoning—the result of imperfect understanding of the true nature of things—to that reason which leads to the realization of the ultimate Truth that is absolute and *one*. According to it, the “unknown and unknowable” reality of Herbert Spencer’s philosophy can be realized by the Atman, or Divine Spirit, but it will always remain unknown and unknowable by the *mind*.

Mr. Dresser grasps, to a certain extent, the qualified non-dualistic interpretation of the Vedanta philosophy by Ramanuja; but when he says that “the destruction of which [self-consciousness] is the one lesson of the Upanishads” our friend is utterly mistaken. The one theme of the Upanishads and the Vedanta philosophy is to establish, through reason, logic, and science, the divine origin of self-consciousness and bring every individual soul back to its divine Source and make it realize its true divine nature. Frederick Schlegel said:

“The divine origin of man [as taught by the Vedanta] is continually inculcated to stimulate his efforts to return, to animate him in the struggle, and incite him to consider a reunion and reincorporation with divinity as the one primary object of every action and reaction. . . . Even the loftiest philosophy of the Europeans, the idealism of reason as it is set forth by Greek philosophers, appears in comparison with the abundant light and vigor of Oriental idealism like a feeble Promethean spark in the full flood of heavenly glory of the noonday sun—faltering and feeble and ever ready to be extinguished.”

Victor Cousin says:

“When we read with attention the poetical and philosophical monuments of the East, above all those of India which are beginning to spread in Europe, we discover there many a truth and truths so profound, and which make such a contrast with the meanness of the results at which the European genius has sometimes stopped, that we are constrained to bend the knee before the philosophy of the East, and to see in this cradle of the human race the native land of the highest philosophy.”

SWAMI ABHEDANANDA.

*New York.*

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.  
They master us and force us into the arena,  
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*  
—HEINE.

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# The ARENA

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## THE MILITARY PROBLEM IN CONGRESS.

### I. REORGANIZATION OF THE NATIONAL GUARD.

A THOUGHTFUL, conservative body of representative American citizens assembled in convention in the city of Indianapolis, Ind., during the latter part of December. Delegates from nearly every State in the Union were present. It was not a political convention, nor were questions of a partizan character discussed. It was a gathering of men deeply interested in the welfare of the National Guard of the country. Its needs, and the best methods of supplying those needs, were the matters principally considered. As a result of that convention concerted action will be taken to bring to the attention of Congress, and the Legislatures of the various States, the necessity of increasing the efficiency and usefulness of our organized State militia. These gentlemen formulated many valuable suggestions, which will doubtless receive the deliberate consideration of those clothed with legislative authority.

At the outset of this article, I refer to this convention as an evidence of the awakened interest in everything that concerns the future of the National Guard. This aroused public

sentiment is not confined to any particular section of the country, nor to any particular body of our citizens. It is a sentiment prevalent everywhere, and among all classes of thoughtful citizens. Already several bills have been introduced in Congress concerning the National Guard. These have been referred to the Committee on Militia, and will at the proper time receive the attention their importance demands. It is not within the scope of this article to go into details concerning the various militia bills now awaiting action by Congress. It is sufficient to say that all have one object in view, namely, the building up of the National Guard into a large, well-equipped, well-organized, and thoroughly disciplined body of soldiers—a sort of reserve army.

No more valuable lesson was taught by the Spanish-American war than the importance of the questions involved in this discussion. It is true that the members of the National Guard of the whole country did noble service during that conflict. Their gallantry on the field won for them the undying appreciation of their fellow-countrymen. Wherever duty called them they went bravely and fearlessly, and, whether in the field or in the camp, the same unselfish patriotism characterized their conduct. Yet, while not unmindful of the services rendered by these brave fellows, our admiration for their courage and self-sacrifice must not blind us to the defects of the National Guard system made apparent by that war. In pointing out these defects I wish to say that I refer to the system, not to the men who constitute the Guard. They did their duty, and are entitled to the gratitude of a patriotic people.

It is my present purpose to discuss the National Guard only in a general way. I do not propose to discuss it from a purely military point of view, nor to make any suggestions dealing distinctively with the military formation of the Guard. We hear much discussion these days concerning a large, permanent military establishment. It seems to me that the best sentiment of all thoughtful citizens is strenuously opposed to such an establishment. It is contrary to the established prin-

ciples of our institutions. It is an unnecessary burden upon a peaceful, law-abiding people. Unparalleled increase in the expense of government must necessarily result from such a policy. Increased expenses mean heavier taxation, and heavy taxation breeds discontent and unrest. Of course, the results of the war with Spain made it incumbent upon us as a nation to assume certain obligations toward the people who came to us as a result of that conflict. To maintain any semblance of authority in these possessions and to fulfil our international obligations rendered necessary, for the time being at least, a large increase in our army; but, if the possession of these foreign colonies means the continued existence of so large an army, it is a very serious question whether the people will sustain us in their retention at so frightful an increase in our national expenses.

When a war with Spain was declared it found us ill prepared for the emergency. It is true that the call to arms was bravely answered by our citizens, especially the members of the National Guard; but it is also true that the military establishments of the various States presented many unsatisfactory features. This was no fault of the men: it was due almost entirely to the system. The force was poorly armed and poorly equipped. The men went to the front with obsolete guns, and in their organization they showed a lack of proper military instruction. As a result, months elapsed before they could be brought up to that standard of efficiency which active duty required of them. In a properly equipped and properly disciplined National Guard these deficiencies would not be present. It is to meet such emergencies as presented themselves during the Spanish war, and to avoid such mistakes as then occurred, that I have acceded to THE ARENA's request to say something on this subject.

No thoughtful citizen will deny the imperative necessity of a well-organized and well-equipped National Guard. It is in line with the traditions of our system of government. As a people we are opposed to a cumbersome military institution; but as a people we favor a highly efficient body of citizen-

soldiers. Every instinct of patriotism demands this. Our National Guard system should be guarded as zealously as our system of public school education. Our armories should be nurseries of patriotism. Every inducement should be held out to foster and nourish a sentiment in favor of the National Guard among the young men of the country. The organization should be officered by men thoroughly trained, not only in military science but in the art of handling large bodies of men. It should be their aim to inspire the men under them with a keen appreciation of the true mission of the National Guard. They should not only be taught their duties as soldiers, but they should be inspired with the high sense of duty they owe the State and the nation.

Both the States and the national government owe a duty to the National Guard. The State legislatures should be most liberal in appropriations. The men should be well quartered, and everything done that would add to their comfort. It is incumbent upon the national government to foster in every possible way the State militia organizations. Modern guns and other necessary up-to-date equipment should be supplied. The same arms and equipments that are issued to the regular army should be given to the militia. If the present appropriation of \$400,000 yearly by the Federal government is insufficient to meet the requirements of the militia, that appropriation should be increased to any reasonable amount. Any money expended in making the National Guard an efficient military body is a wise and judicious investment; it is simply preparing to meet an emergency similar to that we were compelled to face when war was declared with Spain.

Right here it is necessary to call attention to the necessity of explicitly defining the status of the National Guard when called into the service of the Federal government. The uncertainty on this important question resulted in many unfortunate controversies at the outbreak of the trouble with Spain. It is true that in a sense the militia is a State body, but when its services are required by the national government it becomes a part of the Federal military establishment. It should

be directly under the orders of the President, and should be prepared to go wherever the emergency of duty called. Of course, when possible, the Guard should be ordered into the United States service as it stands and is constituted under the laws of the respective States. But the exigencies of military service might render this impossible; and, as the first duty of a soldier is obedience, the orders of the President should be obeyed implicitly and without question. If the military status of the militia had been defined without ambiguity, all the confusion and discussion that resulted when the militia was called into service during the late war would have been avoided. The bills now before Congress propose to remedy this defect. The importance of this question cannot be overestimated, and I am glad to observe that men prominent in the National Guard are anxious that it shall be definitely determined.

In speaking of the aid that the national government should extend to the militia, one suggestion occurs to me. I think that the scope of the Military Academy at West Point should be largely increased. Every year there should go forth from that superb institution a large body of young men, trained in the art and science of war, who would not be commissioned in the regular army but would constitute a sort of reserve body of officers. These young men would naturally seek service in the militia organizations of the various States. Their West Point training would admirably fit them for that duty, and they would thus be able to give to the men in the organizations they would join the advantages of their military schooling. I think this would go a long way toward increasing the efficiency of the militia. We saw during the war with Spain the advantages of such a system. Many of the volunteers who received commissions in State organizations were educated at West Point but afterward left the army. Gallant and meritorious service was performed by them. They not only did excellent work themselves, but being well versed in the rudiments of their profession they were able to discipline and make efficient the men who served under them. It

would be a very simple matter to draft legislation that would enable each State, in addition to those already allowed by law, to send a certain number of students to West Point each year to get the training that would fit them for service in its militia organization. The result of this, I believe, would amply justify the increased outlay required to support the Academy at West Point and make it equal to these new demands. I am in hopes that legislation along this line will result from the present efforts in behalf of our National Guard system.

It is almost impossible to get complete returns of the present condition of the National Guard throughout the country. Many of the States have not reorganized their militia since the end of the Spanish-American war, and many have sent in very incomplete returns. To show, however, the necessity of increasing the National Guard, I will briefly refer to returns made by some of the States. New York, including generals and staff officers, has about 14,000 men in service, out of a total of 1,300,000 men liable to military duty. The total military strength of that State authorized by law is 15,000. Massachusetts, out of a total of 499,000 subject to duty, has only something like an authorized strength of 6,000 men. Illinois, out of a total of 853,000, authorizes about 10,000. Pennsylvania, out of 1,043,000 subject to service, authorizes the enlistment of 10,878 men. The other States, in comparison to the number of men liable to service, allow a military establishment nearly in the same proportion as the States enumerated above.

It is thus apparent that there is room for a big increase in the military organizations of all the States. The limit set by the States is out of all proportion to the number liable to duty. In many of the States the organizations fall far short of the number allowed by law. In New York the full quota is nearly always maintained: this should be so in all the States. No question is of greater importance than keeping up the standard of the State militia. When the strength of the organizations decreases it shows that something is lacking in the control of

the military bodies. With proper officers, imbued with the proper spirit, and with the men thoroughly equipped, there is no reason why any State organization should not always have its full strength. When we have a large, well-officered, well-disciplined, and well-trained body of militia ready for service at a moment's notice, the necessity for a large standing army will be materially decreased. No better way of opposing this sentiment can be found than the advocacy of a more efficient and a larger National Guard. I shall do everything in my power to further the interests of the militia in all the States. I believe that the same spirit animates nearly every member of Congress. It is a question disassociated from politics, and is one upon which members of both parties can unite for thoughtful deliberation.

The meritorious service rendered during the late war by the militia entitles it to considerate treatment at the hands of both Federal and State legislators. The sentiment of the people sustains the National Guard in its demand for better recognition. During the great Dewey Day celebration in New York City, the claims of the National Guard on the affections of the people were most emphatically manifested. All along the line of march the men were enthusiastically greeted. Their superb bearing was a credit to the country. The recollection of that great gathering of regulars and militia and the applause that heralded their coming were emblematic of the aroused interest in all that concerns their welfare as military organizations.

In conclusion, let me say that anything I can do, as a member of the Committee on Militia, to give the United States a larger, a better equipped, and a more efficient Guard will be done most cheerfully. I can conceive of no duty more important to the highest and best interests of all the people. THE ARENA, in opening its pages to this discussion, performs a great public service, and it will, I am certain, meet with most cordial approval.

JACOB RUPPERT, JR.

*Washington, D. C.*



## II. THE ARMY SYSTEM: DEFECTS AND REMEDIES.

THE last twenty years have seen the creation of the new navy of the United States; yet that period, the most active in naval improvement in our history, has been the most stagnant for the army. There is no disguising the fact that the navy is the most popular branch of the service in the public mind. It is always easy to secure legislation for the navy, but almost impossible to excite enough interest in Congress or in the country to pass the most meritorious bill for the good of the army. Important as the navy may be for our national welfare, a modern army is of more vital necessity.

It is astounding that, as the years come and go, we fight our battles and win them without ever profiting by the experience of active warfare. After the Revolution the army was to all intents and purposes abolished. The war of 1812 found us unprepared. Had we then possessed even an apology for an army, British America might to-day be part of the Union. The weakness of Mexico counterbalanced our own lack of foresight. A properly organized first line of defense would have brought the civil war to a close within six months. The Spanish war is of so recent a date that it is as needless as it is painful to refer to the dreary series of blunders, to the lack of preparation, and to the incompetence in high places as proof that we were not ready to meet the enemy.

Modern wars, where modern armies are engaged, are very soon over. Should we ever be under the unhappy necessity of going to war with any of the great nations of Europe, we must be able rapidly to mobilize a first line of defense, or the consequences may be fatal. The institutions of the Republic and the sentiments of our people will never permit of the maintenance in time of peace of a large standing army, nor is a large army necessary. The problem presented to us for solution is clearly defined. It is this: How shall we organize our army with the smallest number of men in time of peace so that it will be capable of sufficient expansion in time of

war to furnish a first line of defense or offense behind which we can organize our volunteer regiments to constitute the second line?

The organization of the army of the United States is to-day almost the same that it was in 1865. The world has advanced while we have stood still. We have adopted modern arms and modern material of war, but we have not adopted modern methods in their use. At the close of the civil war almost all the officers in the so-called Staff Departments had seen active service in the field. To-day many of them have made their records as soldiers almost entirely at their desks. A bureaucracy, hampered by red tape and obsolete traditions, can scarcely be expected to keep up with the wonderful march of events during the last few years.

The great defect in our system is divided responsibility. We have a Major-General Commanding the Army who, by departmental regulations, is not permitted to issue an order involving the expenditure of a cent unless he first obtain the consent of the so-called Staff Department having the expenditure under its jurisdiction. The so-called Staff Departments are independent of one another, and report directly to the Secretary of War; so that the actual effective command of the General of the Army is limited to his personal aides-de-camp and his headquarters' orderly, provided always that in commanding them he does not incur any expenditure. The Adjutant General's Department, presided over by its present most competent chief, is as efficient as the law will permit it to be; but it is held responsible by the public for much that it is powerless to prevent or correct. We have no General Staff. The only other modern army on earth that has none is the British, and the lack of success of the British arms in South Africa may be directly traced to this fact.

The General Staff of an army is under the General commanding—the directing force of the army. It supervises the discipline, the organization, the equipment, and the recruiting of the army. It educates and furnishes staff officers to the various subdivisions of the army and military attachés. It

proposes plans of campaign and mobilization. It is charged with the duty of being familiar with the resources and the topography, not only of its own country but so far as possible of every foreign country with which it is liable to come in conflict. It is, in short, theoretically supposed to be omniscient, and is in fact almost omnipotent. For five years I have been waging almost single-handed the fight for a General Staff. It is a most hopeful sign that the present able Secretary of War, in his first report, recommended the organization of what he calls a "War College," which, according to his explanation, is nothing more nor less than a General Staff.

In determining the size of the field army in time of peace the fortress artillery ought not to be considered. We have already in position on our coast 202 eight, ten, and twelve inch rifles, 221 twelve-inch mortars, and 41 large rapid-fire guns. In addition to these there have been ordered, and in less than two years will be in place, 289 eight, ten, and twelve inch rifles and 352 twelve-inch mortars—making a total of 491 great guns and 573 twelve-inch mortars, besides rapid-fire guns, to be cared for within two years. The modern great gun is a delicate piece of machinery that requires for its handling not fighting men so much as skilled machinists. The crew of a twelve-inch gun is thirty-five men, of a ten-inch gun thirty men, of an eight-inch gun twenty-five men, and of a twelve-inch mortar thirty men. These are the smallest numbers of men with which it is possible to keep the machinery of the guns in perfect order, and from which to furnish details for cooks and special duty and one shift for gunnery practise. As a matter of national economy—if we do not wish to let our guns rust and become useless; if we do not wish to waste the millions of dollars expended in their construction and emplacement; if we wish to be prepared to use those guns in case of necessity—we must provide a fixed minimum of men to man them. This fixed minimum, the smallest number that military authorities consider can possibly answer, is 18,000. In time of war that number must be doubled, as a shift must constantly be on duty.

In considering the organization of the units of our field army we should bear in mind that it requires far more time to instruct a recruit in certain branches of the service than it does in others. An infantryman can be made much more quickly than a cavalryman, and a cavalryman more quickly than an artilleryman. In other words, our field artillery and cavalry units should be kept nearer the war strength than the infantry. The cavalry and field artillery regiments should be proportionately stronger than the infantry regiments.

I believe that the correct solution of our problem of line reorganization lies in the organization of infantry regiments with companies small enough to be greatly expanded in time of war, and in the organization of fortress artillery and cavalry regiments composed of two field batteries or squadrons, and one depot battalion or squadron—the latter to consist in time of peace of a full complement of officers but no men, to be expanded in time of war by transfers and recruitment to full strength.

Whatever may be our political opinions—whether we believe in a large standing army or not—there should be no difference upon the question of making our army as efficient as possible. I for one would much prefer to see the United States take the field with a small, perfectly organized army than a vast, badly organized rabble.

GEORGE B. McCLELLAN.

*Washington, D. C.*

## THE ANGLO-BOER STRUGGLE.\*

### I. INFLUENCE OF DEMOCRATIC IDEALS.

**I**T is fitting that the people of the greatest Republic on earth should send words of cheer to the sorely oppressed people of South Africa. Born as our government was amid the throes of revolution, devoted as we have been and are to the principles of liberty, our hearts should be stirred for these heroic Boers. Centuries ago they invaded the wilderness and rescued a savage land from savage beasts and savage men; and since then they have been contending not so much against these natural adversaries as against the rapacity of the English government.

Having founded the settlement of Cape Town; having caused the wilderness to bloom with industry; having there planted the seeds of empire—the Boers found that, when they had made the land of their adoption attractive and fruitful, the despoiler was at their door, ready to drive them forth. Unable to live as free men in the land they had redeemed from savagery, they moved farther inland. They made their way again across unknown rivers, over trackless plains and steep mountains, and Natal was founded as a Boer settlement. Were they now secure from British greed and oppression? No; again that nation pressed them on, and the alternative was given them a second time: loss of liberty or loss of land and home. They must move farther into the wilderness, or bow their necks to the yoke. Again they took their choice as liberty-loving, patriotic, brave, patient men—farther into the wilderness they went, across other rivers and over other deserts. The Orange Free State was founded. That in part was despoiled, and many of its founders were driven thence into the Transvaal; and now their last stand is taken. They are upon their last heath; they are battling for their last foothold upon earth. Shall they maintain their liberty and homes? This Transvaal country—fourth of their

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\*See note on page 240.

selection, fourth that they had chosen as their abiding-place, having been driven from three—shall they be driven from this last? That is the issue now being fought out in South Africa.

It is often said that we should be nearer to the English because we speak the same language. But there is a language sweeter and dearer—the language of heart and soul. Tongues may differ; yet this universal language, this language of freedom, makes a universal brotherhood by whom are cherished the prize of freedom and the love of liberty. Liberty to-day makes the language of the far-off Republics of South Africa our language, and that of all people who love liberty.

We ourselves are a nation made up of refugees from tyranny. Most of those who settled this land and developed it came here because they were forced from the lands of their nativity—because tyranny pressed its iron heel upon them too heavily and too often for the spirit of brave men to endure the infliction. In this land we have millions of such refugees and their descendants; and there is no language that can ally us to tyranny above freedom and liberty. A blow at liberty in one corner of the earth may wound to its remotest extremity. It is a blow at the universal body politic. Liberty is at once the dream and the aspiration of right, as well as the hope of the noblest who have suffered and died in the holy cause. If liberty can be crushed in the Transvaal, encouragement will be given to tyrants to attempt to crush it elsewhere. The world-old battle, which will endure until the world ends in the triumph of liberty or its overthrow, is now at the objective point, and the Boer is now in the breach in the far-off Transvaal. Our own liberties will not be so secure if liberty can be stricken down anywhere. In sympathizing with the Boers, and aiding them as far as we may, we are not only performing a magnanimous act; we are helping not only them but ourselves. For there are those in our own land who, while they do not proclaim their purpose, would be glad enough to see caste and privilege emphasized and confirmed, and ordinary humanity crushed in the dust.

Liberty is the birthright of man. Take this from him and you will have robbed him of that which is dearer to him than all

other things, scarcely excepting life itself. For what is life to the brave and the proud-hearted and the noble to whom liberty is denied? Liberty is the mainspring of exertion, the stimulus to higher achievements, the reward for perils past and of battles won. We stand at the very forefront; it has been given to us Americans, under the providence of God, to lead in the march toward the emancipation of universal man.

As liberty goes forward, tyranny recedes. The battle has been waging for ages—victory perching sometimes on one banner and sometimes on the other. It is an irrepressible conflict—in which we participate whether we be engaged in actual warfare or peace blesses our land. We are the exemplification, if not the instrumentality, under the providence of God, of the splendid principles involved in a government by man for man. How the war in that far-off field will end is not for us to know. How it *ought* to end, every man who is free and loves freedom—every man who appreciates the spirit of liberty, every man who has generosity and nobility in his heart, every man who aspires toward noble influences for himself and for humankind—ought to know.

What excuse is there for crushing out those brave people—the Boers of South Africa? Why deprive them of life, or of liberty? Whom have they disturbed in that far-away land of theirs? They have reared aloft the ensign upon which liberty is engraved, and have erected an altar to the divine genius of freedom. None but an enemy of the human race, a foe of human progress, a tyrant, can desire to strike them down. I would that on the wings of the lightning, as Nature's batteries let it loose in the heavens, word might be carried to every soldier in the Burgher ranks—to every embattled hero of freedom on the African veldt—that the day cannot be far distant when the potent voice of republican and democratic free America will be raised in protest following entreaty for the stopping of this unholy war. The hearts of the American people are right; the American people always know what they are for and what they are against. Why should we not make known to the English, to the Boers, and to the world at large that we sympathize with freedom, and that any

influence that we have will be exerted to the utmost to bring about peace in that unhappy land—with the preservation of liberty and the perpetuity of the South African Republics?

There has been much said of late years—or of late days, for it is comparatively recent—about the propriety and the necessity of the United States and Great Britain having a good “understanding” and being on a friendly footing. Why do we need a good understanding with anybody except that which comes in accordance with complete independence for ourselves—demanding nothing more than is our right, and defending our right against every foe? Independent ourselves and confident in our strength, in our geographical position, and in the genius and valor of our people, what need have we for entangling alliances? How can liberty in this land or in any other be furthered by such alliances? They would not make America more republican, more democratic, or more free; nor can we introduce our institutions and ideals into the world abroad by entangling alliances with those who are bitterly and unalterably opposed to them. By sympathy for the down-trodden; by keeping our gates open to the gallant oppressed of all lands; by flying high and untarnished the standard of liberty in *this* land; by sending our good wishes and our substantial support to freedom wherever beleagured, and to liberty wherever assailed—thus shall we best perform our part, both in defending ourselves and in advancing the holy cause of man the wide world over. *No British alliance for us!*

I shall indulge in no words of denunciation. I recognize that in Great Britain there are now, and have been in all her history, many great and noble men. Yet in every crucial period of our history—in the dark days of our birth and in the bloody days beginning with 1812 and ending with the magnificent victory at New Orleans in 1815—Great Britain has been our foe. And to-day she is our rival. At Halifax, in the Bermudas, and at Vancouver, she is erecting great fortresses—against whom? Her guns are pointed toward us; she recognizes in us the mighty power that she may some day, not far off, have to meet in the shock of battle: unless, perchance, by the growth



of the namby-pamby spirit of these latter days, she can wheedle us into an alliance and draw our teeth.

It is the prayer of free men that success may crown the efforts of the South African republicans to defend freedom; that liberty may be preserved; that the South African Republics may live, and that the United States of America may lend her sympathy and her good offices toward bringing peace with honor and freedom; also, that we may proceed on our own career, according to our own devices, unhampered and unchecked by any alliance with the mighty power that has been our foe and has crushed freedom through the centuries in every quarter of the world.

DAVID A. DE ARMOND.

*Washington, D. C.*

[NOTE.—The foregoing article and the one following are synopses of addresses delivered at the great pro-Boer meeting held in New York on January 29th.—Ed.]

## II. "THE MOTHER OF CIVILIZATION."\*

THE patriotic Boers of South Africa are fighting the battle of all humanity. The war involves at once the most sacred precepts of liberty and the most hateful aspects of tyranny. In all the annals of the race—blood-stained as they are, accursed as past generations have been by the sins of princes and of governments—no chapter ever written is as sad and unbelievable as the history of the South African people.

About two hundred and fifty years ago the Dutch East India Company established at the Cape of Good Hope a feeble settlement of Dutch farmers—for the purpose of furnishing passing ships with fresh supplies of food and for the general accommodation of the seafaring world. But this was not the only office that this struggling settlement, founded in the midst of barbarism, was destined to perform. It became an asylum for many who were driven from other countries in the succeeding century by religious persecution—men of the best blood, the best brain, and the best conscience of Europe. Dutch, and

\*See note above.

a large contingent of French Huguenots, formed the population found there in 1806, when Great Britain first acquired dominion over that part of the world.

The great Joubert, who to-day stands in the estimation of the world where George Washington stood a hundred years ago, is the descendant of a French Huguenot family. As a spoil of war, during the reign of Napoleon in 1806, the little colony passed under the dominion of Great Britain. The seeds of liberty had been sown, and aspirations for freedom had been so indoctrinated in the people that they would not willingly suffer alien control; but they did not revolt. They endeavored faithfully to render allegiance to the new sovereign.

Space forbids that I should indulge in details of the petty and merciless persecution which at last drove them to leave their farms, their homes, and many of their kinsmen who lingered behind, and attempt the founding of a new State. In the establishment of the State of Natal over twelve hundred of them perished at the hands of savages. In one onslaught the natives killed old men, women, and children to the number of five hundred and seventy. The leader of the great "trek" of 1834 was assassinated by a savage chief. In the midst of that great trial, when the very stones should have wept in sympathy with that brave people, what office did Great Britain, the "mother of civilization," perform? As the little band crept into the shadow of the African wilderness, beleaguered on every hand by savage foes, a contingent of British troops was sent to search them—to see if they had arms with which to defend themselves. But the British officer charged with this infamous commission revolted against its inhumanity, and notified the Boers to conceal their arms before the search began—and went back empty-handed. Had it not been for that, the poor Boer would have entered the African wilderness without a single gun to defend his wife and babies from assassination. This is the country that, we have been told by some of the newspapers and not a few of our statesmen, has become our partner in spreading civilization abroad!

Soon after this incident British officers appeared and pro-

claimed the annexation of Natal as a British province. A bloody battle was fought between a small contingent of British troops and the Boers, and they crossed a mountain range and founded the Orange Free State. It was annexed, and then they crossed to the Transvaal; and there they stand to-day, with their backs against the wall. There can be no further retreat; there can be no further parley; they have exhausted every means at their command to avoid the conflict, and the battle now being fought by Joubert and his men against the British hosts will determine whether this gallant population shall be exterminated or there shall arise in the Dark Continent another Republic, the duplicate of ours, the United States of South Africa. It is to be determined whether the gallant Boers shall dedicate the Dark Continent to liberty, as the unclad veterans and heroes of Valley Forge dedicated the North American continent to liberty. It is to be determined whether that great country, capable of sustaining a large population and of becoming a highly civilized State, shall be ruled by a monarchy or by the people themselves. How it could ever have been printed in an American newspaper—how it could ever have been said by a single American statesman—that we desire the subjection of South Africa to a monarchy instead of its dedication to republicanism surpasses my comprehension. How it could ever have been printed in a newspaper or asserted by an American that, in the event that Europe should seek to interfere to prevent this unholy sacrifice, we would be at England's side, I cannot understand. But it has been said. It has not been disclaimed in high circles, and it is believed in London. Is there a neighborhood in the United States of America where Tories outnumber patriots? And we are to have an alliance with Great Britain, it is said! Washington's Farewell Address is no longer to be considered. How would it have done to have had an alliance with some great Power in 1812? British men-of-war stopped American ships on the high seas, searched them, and took off British subjects who had been naturalized and thereby had become citizens of this country. How did they justify that proceeding? They said then that a British subject could not so expatriate himself

as to avoid allegiance to the British Crown—and on that pretense went to war with a feeble Republic; a Republic almost fresh from the bloody war of the Revolution; a Republic that, had it been possible, they would then have reduced to the condition to which they now desire to reduce Africa. They claimed that no British subject could expatriate himself and become a citizen of another country in order to escape the obligations of British citizenship—and on that pretense searched our ships. That was when they wanted to fight this Republic. What is their contention in South Africa? They now contend that, when British subjects seek to expatriate themselves and become citizens of a foreign country, if they will only appeal to the mother land, the British will go, sword in hand, and compel such change of the law as will permit it. And this is the “mother of civilization!”

Leaving out of the account those strictly English colonies, Australia and Canada, where has Great Britain promoted civilization? Has she promoted it in India? Cast your eyes to Ireland, the most fertile and beautiful island in all the world—an island whose acres teem with plenty and the hearts of whose people pulsate with song: the unhappy island that for eight hundred years has trodden the stony path of despair with streaming eyes and bleeding feet—and answer the question. The blessings of civilization are everywhere else; yet the scattered sons of Erin, wherever they are, feel as I feel, as one of their defenders—accursed be the power that has spread the desolation of the desert and the gloom of the grave throughout that most fertile country!

Under what conditions does England become the promoter of civilization and the guardian of civil liberty? There is Venezuela, a little country with a small population. Several years ago rich gold mines were discovered there. Until this discovery there had never been any controversy about the boundaries. Great Britain soon found out that her territory extended far enough to take in those mines, and it required an uprising in the United States to prevent England from taking those rich possessions; yet by an arbitration that was disgraceful they did obtain a very large slice of Venezuelan gold mines.

We bought Alaska from the Czar. There was never any controversy about the location of the boundary line until some gold mines were discovered; and it is a crying shame that Great Britain immediately transferred that boundary line so as to include a large part of the territory undoubtedly American, took possession of it, policed it, and has required American miners to pay a toll for going into it ever since. And the present Administration have said that somehow they are going to settle that—some time!

There never was any attempt to interfere with the Transvaal or the Orange Free State after England acknowledged their independence, about fifty years ago—until the diamond mines were discovered along the edge of the latter. Forthwith this “civilizing” nation moved its boundary just far enough to take in the Orange Free State’s mines; and when the enormity of the crime was denounced by the Bishops of the Church, by English statesmen, and by the enlightened press of the world, instead of making restitution of a piece of property worth millions of dollars thus stolen by the freebooters who are at the bottom of the movement to crush South Africa, they actually paid the Orange Free State \$450,000. A great nation commits larceny and then pays one cent on the dollar! The next day it takes up the cheerful song that what it is aiming at in South Africa is liberty and civilization.

A little later the gold mines were discovered there. The exploitation of those mines was somewhat experimental at first, and the tax imposed by the Transvaal government for the occupation of what has proved to be the most lucrative property in the world was placed at one-sixth of what the American miners now pay the British government for the privilege of mining in the Klondike. At first the output of the mines was small; yet none of the miners thought they were being robbed. Then the output got larger, and the poor, despised Uitlanders—who, in the language of the great Boer, Joubert, had obtained fortunes larger than any Boer had or ever will have, by being oppressed—discovered that the taxation was very high. And yet it is said that more money has been made out of the diamond and gold mines of South Africa

by British financiers, during the period in which they have worked those mines, than ever was derived from the mining operations of Christendom before.

In every quarter of the world evidences multiply that capitalism and government are in partnership. When even the American people give voice to the virtuous sentiments of the masses of this civilized century, the whisperings of avarice are more potent with Cabinets; consequently, greed, and not the best motives of mankind, control governmental policies. The real battle in South Africa, therefore, is this: It is an effort to place that country in the keeping and control of the men who operate the mines at Johannesburg and Kimberley. It is an effort to tear from the hands of the men who erected them, and defended them with their lives, the little republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, to the end that capitalism may reign supreme, answerable only to the Cabinet sitting in London—a Cabinet frequently of its own creation. Everything sacred to humanity, every interest dear to mankind, every stake worth the consideration of patriots the world over, is involved in the tragic struggle now taking place in the mountain range that separates the Transvaal and the Orange Free State from their enemies. On Spion Kop the battle of liberty was fought, with a result that rang throughout the world.

I confess that when the gallant Boers—barely half a million—took sword in hand to array themselves against the great Empire, having a population of four hundred millions and possessing probably one-half of all the wealth of the world, I felt there was no chance of success; but in the shock I experienced at the sacrifice about to be made I prayed that at least they might carry on the war long enough to deter England from similar enterprises elsewhere.

In the results of the battles fought in that far-away land we have renewed cause to thank Providence that Utopia is eternal. We have occasion to rejoice and have a right to expect that, no matter how stern the duty devolving upon men made of the stuff that expelled Philip, that drove out Louis XIV., that thwarted the purposes of Marlborough, nothing is

impossible to this race. And it is something to be thankful for that past experience has given them courage. Let us hope, therefore, that the cause of liberty, not the cause of tyranny, will achieve the victory in this unholy war.

Everywhere, in every age, under every form of government, the issue is the same. It is a struggle between concentrated power, in one form or another, and the segregated masses of society. Political power, financial power, incorporated greed—whatever form it may take, the bounden duty of enlightened citizenship is everywhere to call it to account. The function and office of a democratic people are to see to it that they lend no help to the consolidation of forces, here or elsewhere, that are dangerous to popular liberty.

If the Boer people can overthrow the English armies and maintain their integrity, despite this awful assault upon their liberty—if they can achieve a victory in this cruel and unhappy hour—it will be a demonstration that government of the people, by the people, and for the people has been planted in South Africa—there to remain to bless the people. If, on the other hand, the tyrant shall gain temporary ascendancy, the battle of liberty will not have been lost. South Africa is peopled by men of Dutch blood and Dutch courage. One defeat will not overthrow their determination to be free; and while the sacrifice may be one that will appal mankind—while the triumph of such wickedness may cause the weak-hearted to despair of the future—still, the human race ever dries the tears of its sorrows in the sunlight of its hopes, and the love of liberty and willingness to fight and die for its achievement will live as long as men and women live to indulge the dream of freedom. Let us as Americans send a message of good cheer and encouragement to this struggling people; let us give the lie to the brazen charge that in this country, the land of liberty and the home of the Republic, the inspiration and the hope of the world, there is sympathy for the atrocious crime committed against liberty in this unholy crusade!

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## MONROE DOCTRINE REPEAL AND "OUR NEXT WAR."

**A**BOUT the middle of July, 1898, an interesting item from a leading French journal was cabled to the American press. The Powers were said to be considering the policy of eventual intervention in the Philippines. Of their right to do so they seemed to feel no doubt. That right was the "logical outcome," so ran the despatch, "of the Monroe Doctrine, the principle of which will be employed by Europe to protect itself against American interference in the Old World."

The inconsistency between Asiatic annexation and the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine had engaged the writer's attention some time before the appearance of the article just quoted. In a little pamphlet\* he aimed to show that the Monroe Doctrine of "America for Americans" inevitably implies Europe for Europeans and Asia for the Asiatics. Whether or not this view be correct is immaterial; indeed, what our own people may think about it is not very important. The European point of view is the one that concerns us; for obviously, if the other Powers deem Manila and Monroe Doctrine to be radically inconsistent, we may be drifting faster than we at all realize toward what has lately been called "our next war."

There has been a good deal of drift already—and drift at so momentous a period hardly seems the right attitude. Nor will it serve to fall back supinely upon that much-abused word "destiny." Doubtless there is a Providence that shapes the path of men and nations, but all the rough hewing (which is certainly not drift) is left to mankind.

As to this European feeling, no room is left for doubt. No sooner did the cession of the Philippines make its appearance among the articles of the treaty with Spain than the foreign

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\*A monograph published in New York by the Robert Lewis Weed Company, entitled "Manila or Monroe Doctrine?"



press opened in full cry and on the same key. "The Monroe Doctrine is now out of date," a leading French paper is quoted as saying in the despatches of November 30, 1898. "The American Republic, conquering and colonizing, has no longer the right to close to Europe the new continent, since she has herself stepped outside of it." An equally prominent journal of France observes: "The transatlantic democracy has become imperialistic, and a republic founded on federalism has become a conquering one. From an international point of view this means a repudiation of the Monroe Doctrine." The German papers of the same date argue that so far only "international jealousies have prevented Europe from opposing the excessive demands of the Americans," especially "the annexation of the Philippines." On November 30 it was cabled from Paris: "There is no denying that the whole European continent will bitterly resent the American acquisition of the Philippines. As a high French official said to-day, 'the appearance of the Americans in Eastern waters is a disturbing element to the whole of Europe.'" Mr. W. E. Stead, who has just returned from a tour of France, Germany, Belgium, Russia, Austria, Turkey, and Italy, said to a correspondent of the Associated Press: "Outside of England I have not seen a single non-American who was not opposed to the expansion of America. Nor through my whole tour of Europe have I met a European who did not receive the protestations of the genuine sincerity with which Americans entered upon the war with more or less mockery or incredulity." About a month later appeared the article in the Russian journal *Novoe Vremya*, which attracted so much attention as indicating that Russia was beginning a campaign against the Nicaragua canal. "Forgetting the Monroe Doctrine of 'America for the Americans,' which implies the other doctrine that Asiatic dominion must be confined to Asiatics, the Yankees are now entering into open competition with us in China and Corea," observes *Novoe Vremya*. Hence Russian diplomats and financiers are urged to support the Panama canal as against the Nicaraguan, since the former will be a French, or at least an international, enterprise.

Despite the ambiguous position, however, that we now occupy in the eyes of the world, it cannot be seriously imagined that we intend to abandon the Doctrine. The very suggestion some time ago drew from a prominent organ of "expansion" this vigorous disclaimer: "Our people are practically a unit for the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine, and are ready to resent in arms the attempt of any European power to occupy any part of the American continents." If such is the case, what becomes of the singular plea put forth in some quarters that the Doctrine has of late grown obsolete? On the contrary, the immense impulse the war has given to Monroeism ought to be sufficiently obvious. By the acquisition of Cuba, whether in fee or in trust, of Hawaii and Puerto Rico, we have now become open not merely to coast attack, as heretofore, but to invasion of our territory. And in case of war, if twenty-five or fifty thousand Frenchmen or Germans should effect a landing in Cuba or Puerto Rico, at what an outpouring of blood and treasure must the invader be expelled! Then there is the canal that is to link our east and west coasts together. Dispute of our control of this waterway by Europe would be most repugnant to the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine—far more so than foreign aggression could have been before we possessed so vulnerable a point of attack.

There is nothing in Monroeism, however, and nothing that has appeared in the foreign press that limits our right to restore law and order in the Philippines; to indemnify ourselves so far as possible for the sacrifices made; to secure tariff, trading and coaling concessions; or even to sell our right and title if we so desire, under certain safeguards and restrictions. But permanent occupation is a vastly different matter, and it is to permanent occupation that many of our statesmen would finally commit us while they talk of "destiny" or "duty." Yet no duties at Manila can possibly compare with those nearer home—those paramount duties to ourselves and our children, to our neighbors, to our continent, and to the Powers of the Old World that we deliberately assumed when we planted our feet in the paths marked out by Jefferson, Madison, and

Monroe. It is these duties that, as we have seen, all the Powers of Europe believe we mean to trample under foot in our invasion of Asia. England seems no exception to the rule. But a short time ago the *Saturday Review* advised the British government that, as we were evidently preparing to stay in Asia and had thereby repealed the Monroe Doctrine, England should seize the first opportunity that might present itself to take control of South America. When that opportunity shall come, it would be interesting to know what line our diplomats will take. In case of the Germans, with whom our gallant but hot-headed soldiers or sailors are predicting "the next war" is to be, our future policy must be a matter of even greater concern.

Suppose we look at the case a moment through Teutonic spectacles. In 1885 Germany had some thoughts of buying Cuba from Spain. On sounding our government, however, she was informed in effect that the cloak of the Monroe Doctrine covered both of these continents from the Arctic to Cape Horn, and that the Old World Powers were expected to confine themselves to their hemisphere, just as we had confined ourselves to our own. In 1898 Germany, which has recently bought the Carolines of Spain, was apparently planning to acquire the Philippines also. But just then we ourselves broke in on the scene and secured the prize. That the German attitude was unfriendly for a time is not to be denied. Most of our leaders of public opinion and all the imperialists felt, or affected, much surprise and indignation. Of course we had a right to conclude our campaign without hindrance and to restore law and order in the islands. But while tenacious of *our* rights, the "expansionist" from the start has shown a truly imperial disregard for the rights of others and entirely ignored the *international* issue. His answer to that argument—what little was heard of it—and to many others has been, "The flag must never come down!"—just as he now claims that we have gone too far under *his* guidance to retreat.

Before our isthmian canal is built, Germany may wish to purchase the island of St. Thomas from Denmark, or acquire

some other foothold on or near the canal route. There has been talk of it already. The building and defense of that outlying canal and the possession of islands in the Gulf make the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine more vital than ever before in our history—of infinitely more value to the country than the Philippines can ever be, plus all the treasure we have spent or may spend there, and all of Australasia thrown in. But if we stay in Asia, on what ground shall we oppose the transfer of St. Thomas to Germany? On the ground of the Monroe Doctrine especially revived for the occasion? If so, we can hardly wonder that even the friendly Mr. Stead, who like most Englishmen wants us to remain in the Orient, admits that in all Europe he found no man who did not receive the claim of American sincerity and good faith "with mockery and incredulity." Thanks to imperialism, we threaten soon to bestride the earth like a double-faced Colossus, proclaiming to the bewildered Powers: "One law for us, another for you; a Monroe Doctrine for the New World but none for the Old!" This is a far more arrogant position than even England—our imperialist model—ever assumed; and the foreign despatches for weeks have been reflecting all Europe's fear and hatred of English imperialism. So our own imperialists, England's avowed disciples in this respect, will, if we let them, earn for us the undying hate and eventual opposition of European as well as Asiatic.

So far as Germany is concerned, the very recent signs of an *understanding* by the Administration with Germany and England will doubtless be the answer made to any prophet of future trouble for us on this continent with either Power. But such an answer is extremely superficial. No mortal man, not even the most skilled diplomatist, can foretell how long the German Emperor will maintain his present apparently friendly attitude. But a short time ago he was sending telegrams to South Africa that set England ablaze with resentment. The natural enmity of German to Russian may be great, but it can hardly exceed that of German to Briton. "Ignotus," in the *National Review* of August, 1899, and the author of "The

Arch Enemy of England" in the *Contemporary Review* of December, 1898, are but two of various writers to point out clear evidence of a recent combination of Germany and other European powers to overmatch England on the sea and then appropriate her colonies. "The prevention of intervention of European Powers in favor of a weaker [Spain], by the aid of the enormous sea power of one nation [England], and the impossibility of interference when America took not only the West Indian but also the far Asiatic possessions of Spain, are sufficient reasons for a much larger German navy." Such is the official statement of the German administrative organ, and the attention of our own Administration is respectfully drawn to its date—November 4, 1899—some time *after* the first German overtures to England and America.

The combination against England of a year or two ago may or may not exist to-day, but it is certainly liable to spring into existence at any time from an increased German navy or from the ever-shifting relations of the great Powers. From their ceaseless turmoils and hopeless perplexities this country always has and always should hold aloof. Any leaning toward "entangling alliances" is as foolish and reckless to-day as it was a century ago, and it is just as impossible now as then to rely on the motive of the ally or the permanence of the alliance. Indeed, one of the insurmountable objections to staying in Asia is the need of an "understanding" in order to maintain ourselves while the understanding lasts, and the certainty of a conflict *both on that continent and on this* whenever the inevitable *misunderstanding* comes.

These considerations are too important longer to ignore or brush aside. They are of vastly more concern to the Republic than even the Philippine war, whether that be concluded this spring or prolonged for years to come. If we had only been given a chance to discuss at the outset the international factor of our Asiatic problem, it would have been a far simpler one; but we can still find in the Monroe Doctrine a clew that may lead us to the way out of this labyrinth.

As for those of our gallant officers who seem to favor retain-

ing the islands at all costs, it is time to remind ourselves that outside of military matters a military man is not apt to prove a safe or reliable guide. What the country sorely needs is firm and far-sighted statesmanship, and immediate recognition at home as well as abroad of all that Monroeism implies and involves. What party or association will have the courage, honesty, and patriotism to insist that no policy be adopted in the East that shall in any wise impair, imperil, or compromise the ever-essential principles of the Monroe Doctrine?

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## BRITISH RADICALS AND RADICALISM.

**I**F we were to eliminate from English history all those who in their generations were looked upon as radicals and iconoclasts we should have a series of *lacunæ* in the record of that upward movement by which man in the British Islands has risen from a lower to a higher level. Jeremy Bentham, James Mill, Joseph Hume, and William Molesworth, together with the gentler individuality of George Grote, would have to be erased. The fine, chivalric personality of John Stuart Mill (whom we of to-day have ceased to regard as so very extreme a radical) would also have to be expunged. Most of these men were political Ishmaelites in their day whom neither of the two great political divisions cared to shelter. Their names were linked in much of the popular imagination with those of undoubted demagogues and charlatans.

The names of political parties in Great Britain mean hardly more than they do here. "Liberal" and "Conservative" are the convenient designations of political tendencies rather than of political divisions. The Liberal party is usually found a step or two in advance of the Conservative party during any particular phase in the evolution of a reform principle, but this is only a temporary relation of politics and by no means a permanent difference of apprehension. The Liberals have given to Ireland some of the most unpopular Chief Secretaries, such as Mr. William E. Forster; they have adopted as rigorous measures of coercion for Ireland as the Conservatives, and have repeatedly stood as opponents of measures of relief for the working masses, basing such opposition, it may be said in justification, on the *laissez faire* doctrines of the Manchester school. Outside of the two parties, the Radicals have heated and hammered the iron of reform into small swords, which they have placed now in the hands of Joseph Chamberlain or the late Lord Randolph Churchill, and now of Gladstone or Sir William Harcourt. The Radicals have been the advance guard

of the great siege that is being waged against privilege, leaving the fruit and the loot of such victories as have been won to the Liberal army; and this in spite of the fact that many of the Radicals were stanch supporters of the main purposes and policies of the government. It is true that Mr. Labouchere was nominated for office by Mr. Gladstone; but the Queen would not assent, and his name was promptly withdrawn.

The Liberals when in power have not seldom emulated the Tories in retroactive measures, while the Tories out of power have nearly as often favored the enactment of Liberal measures. When, for example, the rumor of Irish-American plots—mostly rumor and nothing more—led Sir William Harcourt to introduce a bill strengthening the Explosives Act, Lord Salisbury in the House of Lords declared that no real reason existed for its passage. Lord Randolph Churchill in the very heart of the Conservative organization built up his Tory Democracy. The bulk of factory laws are the offspring of Tory, not of Liberal, legislation.

It was the merest accident that determined the place of Disraeli in the Conservative party. He was least of all a Conservative. His dream of Imperial federation likens him to James G. Blaine, and he was popular with the masses for the same reason that Mr. Blaine was. By a like accident of politics Parnell was forced to act with the Liberal party, with which he was nowise in sympathy; for neither by temperament nor conviction was Parnell a democrat. It is well known that for the land doctrines of Michael Davitt, which were those identified in America with the teachings of Henry George, he had declared his abhorrence. In the old days Joseph Chamberlain was called a Radical, but a great change has come over Mr. Chamberlain. No one has departed more widely from the course of those brave declarations that in his earlier Parliamentary career, as the political partner of that still uncompromising Radical and far greater man, Sir Charles Dilke, he used as a stepping-stone to his present high official pedestal. All the vices that Mr. Chamberlain, when he was a Radical, attributed to the Tories, he has industriously practised since his conver-



sion to Toryism. There were occasions when he accused the Tories of purposely complicating foreign affairs that attention might be diverted from questions at home. To-day he belittles every home question, applying to it the term "parochial," and insisting that the only questions of permanent interest to the United Kingdom are its foreign and colonial problems. As Lord Salisbury ridiculed "the policy of taking the public into the confidence of the government on the delicate questions that concern foreign and colonial policy," the question arises whether it is the government's intention hopelessly to distract and befog the British people.

To-day this policy governs the Salisbury ministry in the treatment of the Transvaal question. The government is on the eve of dissolution. Domestic problems are pressing to the fore. Almost every by-election has of late resulted in overwhelming Liberal victory. The Conservatives dare not "go to the country" on their record, and especially they dare not face the new questions that are pressing for solution. Mr. Chamberlain is a good politician in the measure of his unscrupulousness. His record—or shall I say his records, since the versatility of his career has identified him with a greater variety of policies than fall to the fortune of most public men with whom politics is a trade rather than a conviction?—has been such as to render him a thorn in the side of the party that adopted him. His Radical atavism they look upon as likely to manifest itself at any time, and of this his party associates stand in wholesome dread.

The preposterous demands of British Imperialism are deliberately adopted as a party policy to avoid the alternative of meeting defeat at the polls. For this policy the Colonial Secretary is responsible. It has been adopted with a twofold purpose: the one that has been stated and another, which is to gain the consent of the English people to increased armaments that the program of British Imperialism may be perfected with additions.

The independence of the Transvaal after the British defeats at Lang's Neck and Majuba Hill was given back to the sturdy

Roers, subject to an indeterminate and cloudy power of suzerainty by the British Crown. By the Convention of 1884 the independence of the Colony received additional confirmation. The name of the South African Republic was bestowed upon it, and its geographical limits were defined. In 1894 the Dutch colony absorbed part of the Zulu country, and to such annexation England offered no objection, though territorial additions have from "immemorial time" been regarded as the highest exercise of the sovereign power of a people. The claim of British suzerainty is thus reduced to a shadowy and unsubstantial pretense. But the Colonial Secretary seeks to construe it to mean a right of dictation to the Volksraad in purely domestic matters—and this in violation of England's most solemn pledges. But to this policy the English Radicals will certainly be opposed with united front; and it is not impossible that the versatile Colonial Secretary has committed the last great blunder of his political career. From the intrepid, public-spirited mayor of Birmingham, having to his credit an administration of public affairs that raised that municipality to a proud eminence among cities of the English-speaking world, to the "jingo" politician goading with bullying threats a brave people into resentment, is a contrast happily not often met with in the lives of men of undoubted qualities of intellect and capacity for public affairs.

The British "jingo" politicians perhaps base too much confidence in the excitableness of the London populace. The cable has told American readers of peace meetings interrupted and disorganized by Chamberlain sympathizers, and of soldiers carried on the shoulders of the mob at Trafalgar Square. But British Imperialism is always more noisy than the opposition, and such boisterous demonstrations are apt to be short lived. The natural bent of the English mind is toward conservatism, and the smothering of the maniacal patient under the cold blanket of reason and calculation is likely to put an end to the paroxysms.

Not all men who call themselves Radicals are such. John Stuart Mill has told us some men were Radicals because

they were not Lords. Many well-known Radicals broke away from Mr. Gladstone, so shocked were their sensitive natures by the Irish Home Rule bill. Mere denunciations of social conditions have long ceased in English politics sharply to define Radical from Conservative. Nor should the Socialistic movement be confounded with the Radical movement in Great Britain. The former is the survival of extinct Chartism, with all the Chartist incoherence; the other is a more or less legitimate successor of that impulse started by Cobden and Bright with the abolition of the Corn Laws, and vaguely foreshadowed in the speeches of some of the great free traders. Careless or ill-informed writers sometimes confound Radicalism with Socialism; but this is not true of Radicalism, of either the British or generic kind. It is largely because British Radicalism recognizes the evils of State interference that it favors disestablishment, home rule for Ireland, and the taxation of ground rents and land values—the latter permitting the abolition of prevailing onerous imposts. Socialists, on the other hand, are often found making party cause with the Conservatives, voting for the continuance of the Established Church and English rule in Ireland and against all progressive measures.

It is not always easy to define what the term *Radical*, as used politically in Great Britain, means. It is first necessary to understand that there is something startlingly frank in the discussion as to whether government by the masses or government by the cultivated classes is best for society. We should shrink from such appalling candor here, because political discussions have less the distinctive mark of sincerity. We veil the same purposes under political euphemisms, but in English politics there is no such dissimulation, speakers of the Conservative party often openly avowing their preference for class government.

One of the chief points of Radical attack in the past has been the House of Lords. The anomalous position of that body in the scheme of British government and its long continuance are a standing wonder to the foreigner, and especially to the

democratic citizen of North America. Fifty years ago and more threats were uttered against the House of Peers. As long ago as 1839 Macaulay prophesied its abolition; but it still continues. To understand this one must understand the English character. Gladstone, had he chosen, might have led a successful attack against it; but Gladstone in all essential things was English—nay, for thirty years *was* England. A campaign against the Lords could wait. It will be remembered that Mr. Gladstone adopted the principle of Home Rule only when it was absolutely demonstrated by the election of 1884 that the majority of the Irish people were in favor of such a policy. The time has not come when England is prepared to sacrifice the House of Lords. There are many reasons for this long sufferance, after allowing for the conservatism of the British intellect. In British politics nothing transpires suddenly. It will be remembered that the first reform bill was passed in 1832, and it was not until 1867 that the second reform bill, establishing household suffrage in boroughs, was passed. And it was not until seventeen years later, in 1884, that such household suffrage was extended to the counties. The House of Lords has repeatedly disclaimed any intention of setting itself in opposition to the public will, and has thus prolonged its life beyond the allotted span of nineteenth-century anachronisms. Why Mr. Gladstone, at a time when the Liberal atmosphere was heavy and stagnant, did not choose to uplift and purify it by carrying out his threat, uttered with oracular solemnity against the Lords, is a secret now buried in the grave with the superb opportunist. This self-restraint, if a weakness, met with punishment; for the defeat of the Home Rule bill left the Liberals dispirited and without a rallying issue. Such to this day they have remained.

The chief point of Radical attack to-day is not the House of Lords, but the existing land system. Whenever the Liberal party has moved in this direction the Radicals have been a little in advance, or, to speak more accurately, have been close at the rear urging forward the Liberals to measures touching land reform more drastic in effect and more explicit in declaration. It is not to be denied that the influence of the teachings of

Henry George has been strongly felt in the trend of British politics. Davitt in the Irish party has not scrupled to avow his adhesion to these principles; and Sir George Trevelyan, nephew and biographer of Lord Macaulay, is an advocate of the taxation of ground rents and land values—two phases that, suggesting the same thing to the American reader, mean two distinct things to the British mind.

How imminent is the great land question in English politics is shown by a suggestive vote in the Commons a few months ago. A proposition to tax the land values of towns was introduced as an amendment to the Queen's speech by Mr. E. J. C. Morton. It was a bolt out of a clear sky. For the first time since this burning question of the land has entered English politics it came before Parliament in definite shape; for the first time, too, the Liberal party became officially committed, by the action of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in naming the official whips as tellers, to the question that must hereafter determine the rise and fall of parties and Parliamentary ambitions. The government could only muster a majority of thirty-four against the measure, though the normal majority is one hundred and forty. The speeches, notably that of Mr. Fletcher Moulton, were vigorous; and the Commons rang with denunciations of the system that gives to those who do not earn the great public value of the Kingdom.

The land question is indeed coming to the front. "We make the money and they spend it" is a saying of the agricultural laborer, and by "they" are meant the ground landlords of England. Various devices have been adopted to head off this agitation, among which has been the effort to inject tariff discussions into the political arena with the intention of holding out delusive hopes to the agricultural voter.

One of the interesting issues to be decided in the next general Parliamentary election is that which centers around the subject of old-age pensions. On the question itself Conservatives, Liberals, and Radicals are practically agreed; it is on the methods by which the funds to pay these pensions shall be raised that they part company. Curiously enough, to both

Conservatives and Liberals are here presented an opportunity and a danger, in a manner that a few paragraphs may serve to make clear.

It was on August 12th of last year that Mr. Henry Chaplin, in a significant speech, "cast an anchor to windward." He proceeded to condemn as extravagant the estimate of certain newspapers that the old-age pension policy would call for a raising of from twelve to twenty million pounds sterling per annum. It is true that such a sum, Mr. Chaplin intimated, might be raised by a duty of five to ten shillings on foreign corn. But he warned the agricultural community not to be led away by such seductive suggestions (as if, indeed, agriculturists and not landlords could be benefited by such a duty). "But," continued the speaker, "if those who make this proposition will limit themselves to the old shilling duty upon grain, which would not add to the price because its removal did not cause a decline in price—a *non sequitur*, it may be suggested, not identical with demonstration!—it would suffice for a nice little nucleus for old-age pensions." In this way a "sop to Cerberus" was thrown out by the shifty Mr. Chaplin. Of course, these things are hazarded only as "feelers," as our American friends would say. There is no more chance of the reimposition of the grain duty in England than there is of the sea rising and swallowing her up. But the hope of such reimposition lives eternal in the Tory breast.

It is to be noted that such duties are defended, even by the insidious Tory protectionists, always as a revenue measure. But such is the genesis of even the highest tariffs; they are born of a revenue mother into the hands of a protectionist *accoucheur*. The English protectionists sneer at free trade and the "Cobden fetish;" they timidly advance, even while they disavow, the arguments overthrown in 1847, but even while disavowing they talk of a preferential duty of one shilling on all grain from the English colonies and two shillings on grain from Russia and elsewhere. They ask how the pension scheme can be carried out if not by bringing under taxation some article of general consumption. In the answer to this question are in-

volved the opportunity and the danger at which I have hinted. The opportunity for the Conservatives is the drawing of a red herring across the path of the pending question of the taxation of land values; the danger is that in raising the issue of protection in the guise of revenue schemes the Conservatives may conjure a Frankenstein to destroy them. To the Liberals the issue likewise presents a danger and an opportunity. The danger is that they may accept a compromise between the grain duties proposed and the taxation of land values; their opportunity is to raise the true standard of fiscal reform in a general attack all along the line on imperial methods of taxation and to call for the imposition of a direct tax upon the land values of the Kingdom. And for this British, especially Scottish, opinion is fully ripe.

Years ago, when Mr. George's doctrines were first proposed, the Radicals denounced them; yet they were openly accused of harboring them. To-day they have ceased to disavow them. There are certainly over sixty members of the Commons pledged to the principle for which Mr. George stood, and not all of them are Radicals in the party sense. The Radical election for members of the London County Council turned exclusively upon the question of ground rents, and the Progressive Radicals won. In more than one quarter a consciousness has arisen that in dealing with the Irish question the voters are really dealing with the land question. The forcible reduction of Irish rents, too, has familiarized the slow-going English mind with the truth that property in land is not to be regarded with the same sacredness as property in things produced by labor. The Liberal program to-day advocates "the taxation of ground rents, land values, and mining royalties"—a tautological inventory, for the benefit of the popular mind, of one and the same unearned increment.

When in 1880, on the wave of a tremendous majority, the Liberals came back to power with Mr. Gladstone at their head, the Radicals were few in number and lacking in influence. They were utterly without a rallying issue that would close their ranks for defensive or offensive warfare. They were

content to place themselves under the leadership of Mr. Gladstone, though some were looking to Sir Charles Dilke and some to Mr. Chamberlain.

The mention of Sir Charles Dilke calls to mind the leading English Radical of to-day. Years ago he declared himself a republican. With abilities more solid and conspicuous than those of Labouchere, the present member of Parliament for the Forest of Dean is still a large figure in English public life. Stroke oar of Cambridge, Senior in the Law Tripos, with a scholarship in mathematics and the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Laws—these mark his college course; and the immediate after years found him in 1869 and 1870 traveling through the great empire of Russia and observing with a keen and philosophic eye all that was unrolled in the panorama before him. How closely he observes, and with what power of analysis he scrutinizes and dissects, readers of "Greater Britain" can testify. This work, written during his tour around the world in 1866-7, will remain as one of the literary masterpieces of the time. The success it achieved was instantaneous. Sir Charles was a very young man at that time, which increases the marvel of this achievement, for the thought is ripened and matured. Young Dilke had been brought up surrounded by every luxury, under the guardianship of a perhaps too indulgent father, his mother having died while he was yet a child; but he was possessed of studious inclinations and a love for outdoor sports, and his habits thus conduced to the ideal of "a sound mind in a sound body."

There was a time when Sir Charles was accustomed to hearing himself introduced to British audiences as "the future Prime Minister of England." This was when he and Mr. Chamberlain were political partners, and when the two were dividing between them nearly all the public attention that Gladstone was not reserving for himself. The first of his public utterances that singled him out from the tribe of smaller politicians was his famous speech at Tyneside on "The Cost of the Crown," in which, with extraordinary fluency and humor, he went into the expense entailed on the people by the long line



of royal functionaries—Rat Catcher in Ordinary, Grand Falconer to Her Majesty, and other dignitaries attached to the retinue of her royal person. The speech was particularly audacious, but rather tickled the British people as its humor slowly percolated. The chief merit of the speech was that there was no possible reply to it.

Sir Charles has two styles of speaking—a Parliamentary and a platform style. We hear less of the latter than of the former nowadays from Dilke. A Parliamentary career does not conduce to effective public speaking. Eloquence has a subordinate place in the House of Commons. What the House does appreciate, and what the party following in the country does expect from its favorite in the House, is adequate strength in debate. There is just enough of the belligerent in the British nature to be on the lookout for an intellectual tussle; and this the elector anticipates and is disappointed if he does not get. But men who have been long in Parliament and who venture to address public audiences are almost sure to fail in arousing strong public sentiment, because a certain impassivity has become a House of Commons habit. With Dilke this is very marked. He can and does say the sharpest and most cutting things; but his extraordinary deliberation of manner, reinforced by the Parliamentary habit, gives to his utterances an effect not a little queer. These bitter things are said with inconceivable decorum; but there is always evidence of the orderly mind. Sir Charles's mental housekeeping is of the neatest. His answers to questions are said to be equal to those of any public man in England, and he ranks to-day as the greatest Parliamentary authority on the British navy.

Not every member, nor perhaps even a majority of the Irish Home Rulers, are Radicals in either the real or party sense. I have indicated that Mr. Parnell was not—that the whole bent of his mind was toward conservatism. The same is true of the present Irish Home Rulers. Of these Michael Davitt is a Radical in every physical and moral fiber. He has suffered, too, for his convictions. In 1870, on the charge of treason-felony, he was condemned to fifteen years' penal servitude and served

ten years. Since then he has been imprisoned several times for seditious speeches. In 1879, in association with Mr. Parnell, he founded the Land League organization, and in 1884 he published his well-known "Leaves from a Prison Diary." Davitt alone of the Irish leaders, as I have said, has radical views on the land question; he would use the taxing power to destroy land monopoly.

It is small wonder that this Irishman grew up with a hatred of landlordism. When young Davitt was a mere baby in arms, his father, in the county of Mayo in which Davitt was born, was evicted from the little plot of land that constituted the family's sole subsistence. When a boy he went to work in a mill, and there lost his arm. At fifteen years of age he became a letter-carrier. When a young man Davitt was a Fenian, and moreover a Fenian conspirator. He has never denied it; indeed, he is rather proud of it. But he has come to take a different and a nobler view of things. In the letter he wrote after the murder of Burke and Cavendish he said, freely: "This let me say for myself: If, in the hot blood of early manhood, smarting under the cruelties and indignities perpetrated on my country, I saw in an appeal to force the only means of succoring her, there has dawned upon my graver thoughts, in the bitter solitude of a felon's cell, a nobler vision—a dream of the enfranchisement and fraternization of peoples, of the conquering of hate by justice."

Although Parnell condemned the land theories of Davitt, yet the latter has lived to see the Parnell idea overthrown, and the narrow principle in the party policy of Irishmen invoked with such masterfulness and carried so near to achievement as far away as ever. There are but few men in England, and but fewer still of the Irish leaders, in whose efforts public opinion believes that personal ambition has no place. Yet Davitt has come to be so regarded. Of late, it must be confessed, he has not seemed to perceive so clearly all that is involved in a real and final settlement of the land question. I say this not because of any public declaration that Davitt has made, but for the reason that within the present year there has been organized

in Ireland the United Irish League, in which Michael Davitt is one of the chief leaders, and the published program of which shows but an imperfect and halting conception of the land rights of the people of Ireland. Two clauses, the second and third of the constitution, are appended, which advocate :

“The abolition of landlordism in Ireland by means of a universal and compulsory system of purchase of the landlord’s interest, together with the reinstatement of tenants evicted in connection with the land war, and the restoration, to the legal status of tenancy, of caretakers and future tenants whose rights were sacrificed by the operation of the 7th section of the Land Act of 1887.

“The putting an end to agricultural distress and famine in the West by abolishing, on terms of just compensation to all interests affected, the unnatural system by which all the richest acres of the province are monopolized by a small ring of graziers, and restoring to the people the occupation of these lands in holdings of sufficient size and quality.”

That such a program, involving as it does radical imperfections from a practical standpoint, and worse defects from the standpoint of principle, should be associated with the name of Michael Davitt will surprise all of his friends on this side of the water who know him best. He, better than most men, should know the futility, injustice, and impolicy of the allotment system, or of legal limitations of land-holding. Either the land of Ireland belongs to all the people of Ireland or it does not. If it does, the proposed system of compulsory purchase is what kindred measures have long been known to be—“a landlords’ relief bill,” and a contemptuous impertinence addressed to the intelligence of the taxpayers; but if it does not, then do such limitations as are suggested transgress the most sacred rights of property. And of this no one is more fully aware than Michael Davitt.

Of the Radical representatives of labor in Parliament who are not Socialists the most eminent is Thomas Burt, miners’ representative of one of the divisions of Northumberland. He has been in Parliament since 1874, and is the son of a miner and a miners’ representative in the House. He has been present at

all the Miners' International Conferences, has written much, and is one of the strongest political forces in public life. He began working in the coal mines at ten years of age. In 1892 Mr. Gladstone invited him to become Parliamentary secretary to the Board of Trade, a position that Mr. Burt accepted.

Among Radicals not in official life is Edward Evans, jr., one of the real leaders of the Liberal party. He is vice-president of the Liberal Federation. He is a young man—young as English politicians go, being only about forty years of age.

Among Scotch Radicals the most prominent is Sir Charles Cameron, M.P. Sir Charles was created a baronet for his services in inaugurating the six-penny telegraph system. It is interesting to know that he had to fight for years to accomplish a reform that seems to embody so little. He was also successful in championing the cause of municipal suffrage for women in Scotland. He is the proprietor of the *North British Daily Mail* and the *Glasgow Weekly Mail*, which has the largest circulation of any weekly journal in Scotland. Another Scotch Radical is Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Bart., M.P., Liberal party leader. There was a time when all parties would have united upon him for Speaker despite his well-known Radicalism; for he is quite as famous for his judicial temperament. He has the fashion of uttering the most audacious and far-reaching sentiments in the coldest-blooded and most matter-of-fact way. He is a large landlord of city property. He has represented Stirling since 1868, and was Chief Secretary for Ireland in 1884-5. He was educated at the University of Glasgow and at Trinity College, Cambridge. It was the adverse reception given to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's motion to dispense with the Duke of Cambridge's services in the army that in 1895 led to the dissolution of Parliament and the resignation of the Liberal leaders.

Wales numbers thirty members in the House, and nearly all are Radicals. Of these David Lloyd George is one of the most hopeful. But to Alfred Thomas is due the credit of having formed the Welsh party in the House in the last few months. He and many of the others hold advanced doctrines on the

land question. Mr. Thomas has represented Glamorganshire since 1885, and is about sixty years old; he is a prominent and successful merchant, and was president of the Baptist Union of Wales and at one time Mayor of Cardiff. Wales is, of course, overwhelmingly Non-conformist, and the threat of the House of Lords to defeat the Welsh Disestablishment bill will have the effect of uniting the Welsh members against the Upper House when the clock of doom shall strike for that body.

Not only because of his position as president of the Liverpool Financial Reform Association, of which Gladstone's brother was the first president, does Edmund Knowles Muspratt deserve a distinguished place among the Radical leaders. He is one the greatest living authorities on taxation in the United Kingdom. He is the head of a great firm of alkali manufacturers with headquarters at Liverpool, but in spite of large business interests he has been active in more than one movement for the betterment of the lives of his fellows. The Financial Reform Association has done great work in fiscal reform, and of this organization Mr. Muspratt has been an active member for forty years and president for twenty-six. He was born in 1833 and studied in Germany under Baron Liebig.

John Ferguson, a publisher and stationer in Glasgow, is one of the founders of the Scottish Land Restoration League and an eloquent and persuasive orator. The Irish Nationalist movement found in him an earnest advocate, and the advanced position that the Glasgow Council has lately taken in promoting a bill in Parliament to give power to municipalities to tax land values is due in no small measure to the work of John Ferguson.

W. H. Lever is an English Radical and an energetic business man whose "Sunlight Soap" is known all over Great Britain. He has two factories, one at Birkenhead and one in Australia. He contested Birkenhead, a Tory stronghold, and brought down a Conservative majority of two thousand to one hundred.

W. P. Byles, proprietor of the *Bradford Observer*, of which his father was the founder, is a man of singular independence of character—and is thus not popular with the party managers,

though looked up to with admiration and respect by the people, and especially by the laboring people, whose cause he has so loyally championed. He is the only employer of labor in Bradford who appeared on the platform during the engineers' strike to defend the union's position. In 1892 he won his seat in Parliament. He is a strong advocate of international arbitration and the reduction of armaments. Mr. Byles is a brave, consistent friend of freedom, one of the many who are helping to bring the English people and all mankind up out of the darkness of social slavery into the light of liberty. J. McGuffin Greaves, who conducts the public debates on market-days in the city of Manchester, is one of the best informed men in Great Britain and one of the most representative of non-official Radicals. J. W. S. Callie, who is editor of the "Financial Reform Almanack"—the Radical Bible—and secretary of the Financial Reform Association, is a strong man in the Radical party. So, too, is Sir George Newnes, proprietor of *The Strand* and *Tit-Bits*, who has served in Parliament; and Sir John Lang, M.P., proprietor of the Dundee *Advertiser*. There are three miners' representatives in the Commons from whom, when the Radical tide shall have risen higher, the world may hear more—Charles Fenwick, Sam Woods, and John Wilson. Richard McGhee, M.P., is a land restorationist and a rugged, fearless type of man. Augustine Birrell, M.P., the well-known author of "Obiter Dicta," one of the most skilful and original of critics, with a style that fairly radiates with epigram and humor, is a far more robust Radical than one expects to find among members of the higher literary craft. Labouchere is of course too well known to need introduction to American readers. His most grave defect, perhaps, is his absence of seriousness. More even than the Americans, the English distrust humor as a quality in their public men.

These are a few of the men that are shaping Radical political thought in Great Britain. A great many others, not usually considered Radicals, are doing as much. But a few months have gone by since John Morley announced himself as an advocate of the recovery of all rights in land. How the land question is looming up in British politics may be seen from

this declaration, issued with the approval of the National Liberal Federation:

"Lord Salisbury constitutes himself the spokesman of a class—of the class to which he himself belongs—who toil not, neither do they spin; whose fortunes, as in his case, originated in grants made long ago for such services as courtiers render kings, and have since grown and increased, while their owners slept, by the levy of an unearned share on all that other men have done by toil and labor to add to the general wealth and prosperity of the country of which they form a part."

But political issues in Great Britain are only shaping themselves. Both Liberals and Conservatives are without a definite program, and the Radicals are not less so. It would not even be possible to state the exact issue upon which the last general Parliamentary elections of 1895 were decided. But the great, overshadowing, and everywhere impending question is that of *man's equal rights to the land* of Great Britain. When this issue comes we may expect many of the Liberals, and perhaps even some of the Radicals, to fall away. All the Socialists will certainly do so—but, intellectually and numerically, the Socialists are of small importance. I would exempt, however, from such depreciatory estimate many of the Fabians, since men like Bernard Shaw are of them; but the Fabians themselves seem to me, with their lack of vitality and want of robust appreciation of what is really the matter with society, a thin and shadowy group—the very pre-Raphaelites of political economy. I do not doubt the earnestness of these mild and inoffensive teachers any more than I do the appalling length of their social program. But for all practical purposes—in the gathering impetus of that movement of social reform destined to destroy in both English-speaking countries those systems that oppress man, produce inequalities, and turn the very agencies of civilization to its own destruction—Socialism is even of less importance than the fabled fly upon the chariot wheel. For the fly does survive after all these centuries in a story that illustrates its moral; but for the ephemera of economic error who dare predict a like longevity?

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## THE SUPREME COURT IN HISTORY.

LATE attacks upon popular government, originating with European monarchical thinkers, appear to justify a new analysis of the American system. At the beginning of the twentieth century we have still to meet certain fundamental questions involving the success of democratic government. Monarchists are now able to bring into the field of discussion a very different class of advocates and defenders from those of the earlier days of our Republic. Mr. W. E. H. Lecky and Sir Henry Maine believe that they can prove by the history of the last seventy-five years that England has been better governed than the United States. Victoria has shown us monarchy at its best; have we shown popular government at its best? We must demonstrate, and not assert. John Adams said: "All governments are of one, of a few, or of all; and we believe the latter, although attended with evils, the safest." Was this a correct diagnosis? The recent Procurator of the Holy Synod of Russia, Mr. K. P. Pobyedonosteff, in his "Reflections of a Russian Statesman," speaks of democracy as "the malady of our time." His book is a daring challenge to the advocates of popular government. Meanwhile Herbert Spencer goes back on his early record, announcing that he has lost faith in the ability of the people to govern themselves—at least for many years to come. Is he growing wiser?

The more common form of assault on popular government is that against the legislative department; and I believe Americans generally consider this the weakest point. We certainly have developed a legislative disease—a crude passion for making laws; and a cruder idea possesses us that laws are of value even when they outreach the instincts and the education of the people. But I propose in this article to consider the judicial department; and I shall inquire whether it is not the weakest in our history—the least assured friend of popular rights if not of wise government of any sort. Have we over-



estimated the Supreme Court as a factor of our republican system?

Thomas Jefferson, when the first draft of the Constitution was reported to him at Paris, expressed the conviction that the structure of the judicial department involved a vital error. In 1822 he wrote:

"We already see the power, installed for life, responsible to no authority (for impeachment is not even a scarecrow), advancing with noiseless and steady pace to the great object of consolidation. The foundations are already deeply laid, by their decisions, for the annihilation of constitutional State rights and the removal of every check, every counterpoise to the ingulfing power of which themselves are to make a sovereign part. If ever this vast country is brought under a single government, it will be one of the most extensive corruption; indifferent, and incapable of a wholesome care over so wide a spread of surface. This will not be borne; and you will have to choose between reformation and revolution. If I know the spirit of this country, the one or the other is inevitable. Before the canker has become inveterate, before its venom has reached so much of the body politic as to get beyond control, a remedy should be applied. Let the future appointment of judges be for six years, and renewable by the President and Senate. We have erred by copying England, where certainly it is a good thing to have the judges independent of the king. But we have omitted to copy their caution also, which makes a judge removable on the address of both legislative houses. That there should be public functionaries independent of the nation, whatever may be their demerits, is a solecism in a republic, of the first order of absurdity and inconsistency."

It must be borne in mind that this was the latest and ripened conviction of Jefferson, contained in a letter written only a short time before his death. Through the whole of his life, this greatest of our statesmen insisted that our judges should be elected during good behavior. His prompt forecast of danger was speedily confirmed by events. In the first struggle of the American people, beginning immediately with the adopting of the Constitution and lasting to the close of the second war with England—the struggle of factions—the Su-

preme Court took strongly partizan grounds on the side of the Anglicans. Its rulings are allowed by all students of history to have been political rather than judicial. The judges, all of whom were Federals, were not only believers in the right of the few to govern the many, but were accustomed openly to express disbelief in the power of the common people to rule themselves.

The Republican party was organized specifically against the usurpation of this oligarchic sentiment, as expressed both by Congress and the Court. An attempt was made to prevent organic opposition. It became a crime to criticize the government; while the Supreme Court was made use of to crush out the expression of political opposition. The Sedition Act of 1798 made it felonious, and punishable with a fine of two thousand dollars and two years' imprisonment, to publish a scandal against Congress or the President or the Supreme Court. The Alien Act gave the President power to arrest any alien suspect and order him out of the country without trial. If he failed to obey he might be imprisoned three years on the mere order of the President. A citizen of Central New York, for circulating a petition that these outrageous laws be abrogated, was arrested and taken to New York for trial. President Adams, while traveling through New Jersey, was greeted with a salute. An onlooker named Baldwin made use of an insulting expression concerning the President. He was arrested and compelled to pay a fine of a hundred dollars. Ten editors were fined or imprisoned, or both, for criticizing the government. Frothingham was imprisoned for saying that Alexander Hamilton attempted to buy one of the newspapers in order that he might suppress it. Cooper, another editor, was imprisoned four months and fined four hundred dollars for saying that President Adams was "hardly in the infancy of political mistakes." Judge Chase habitually harangued both the accused and the jury, with bluster sometimes bordering on personal assault. In one case he threatened to spank a lawyer whose views were opposed to the governmental party. Mr. Lyon, a Vermonter, while canvassing for reelection, was ar-

rested for charging President Adams with "unbridled thirst for ridiculous pomp and foolish adulation." He paid a fine of one thousand dollars and was confined in jail without a fire in wintry weather for four months. Forty years afterward Congress refunded this fine to his heirs.

In 1800 popular sentiment triumphed over the oligarchic idea and placed Jefferson in the Presidential chair. One of the first acts of the new Administration was to impeach two of the Supreme Court judges, one of whom was removed from office. The Alien and Sedition Acts were voided, and democratic principles secured control of the whole governmental machinery. In 1804 the remnants of the old Federal party, disgusted with the loss of power, formed a league with Burr to elevate him to the governorship of New York. This league was substantially an agreement that Burr should become the head of a confederacy, including New England and New York, with possibly New Jersey. The plot barely failed. The crash involved the killing of Hamilton and the outlawry of Burr; while the chief plotters, such as Pickering, who had been in the Cabinets of both Washington and Adams, Governor Strong of Connecticut, and Justice Parsons of the Supreme Court, survived to plot again in 1814. But the crisis passed, and the Republic was saved from its first period of peril. Through all this era the executive office had been in safe hands, but the legislative department had been dangerously near usurpation; while the judiciary had totally failed to rectify error or arbitrate for safety. It had in fact openly and officiously cast its influence against democratic principles and in favor of aristocracy.

The second period of American history began about 1820—it may be called the struggle of sections. It involved two closely entangled issues—free commerce as opposed to protected industries, and free labor as opposed to slavery. The free-commerce fight culminated in 1832; and, notwithstanding the fact that South Carolina was not permitted to enforce nullification, the battle was won against a sectional use of taxation. The Clay Compromise reduced the tariff to its old

basis; and there it remained practically until 1860 and the civil war. But the free-labor struggle lasted until it was closed by the attempt to form a Southern Confederacy. During the whole of this period the course of our executives, with the exception of Polk, who involved us in an unnecessary war with Mexico, was at least loyal. There were some arrogant hands at the helm, but no traitors. Congress conducted issues in a manner such as might have been expected of any popular body of delegates. In 1847 a bill was before Congress embodying a reference to the Supreme Court of the question of the admission of slavery into the Territories of Oregon, New Mexico, and California. The Court was understood to be strongly biased in favor of the pro-slavery side. As a counter-balance the Senate reported and passed a bill for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. All the Southern Senators left their seats in the Senate chamber and proceeded to form a new organization elsewhere. They drafted a passionate appeal to their constituents; and there seemed for a time to be an absolute breach of the Union. Such furious heats, however, ended in compromise—until the final revolt of 1861.

But where was the Supreme Court during this struggle? Did it side with free labor or with slave labor? Throughout the whole period, from first to last, the Court was known to be sectional in its sympathies and equally sure to be sectional in its decisions. The Taney-Dred Scott opinion left our legal status in this form: "That the Fugitive Slave law must be enforced in every Northern State, without allowing trial by jury. . . . In no trial or hearing, under this Act, shall the testimony of such alleged fugitive be admitted in evidence." Marshals were selected, frequently, of the baser sort of men, charged with the duty of arresting fugitives and empowered to demand aid of any and all bystanders. In other words, the Supreme Court negated the Declaration of Independence, deciding that a man with a dark skin could have no citizen rights.

It was not, however, this sectionalism of the Supreme Court alone that proved its dangerous possibilities. Having stirred

the North to an unwilling spirit of revolt, and having encouraged the South to engage in positive rebellion, it undertook to prevent the use of Constitutional measures for the sustenance of the Union. It not only gave its decisions for the South and slavery, but it undertook to tie the hands of free labor and the North. Lincoln was compelled to defy it; and he did temporarily set its decisions aside. The people more than indorsed his course. In his first inaugural, Lincoln said:

“I do not forget the position assumed by some—that Constitutional questions are to be decided by the Supreme Court. Nor do I deny that such questions must be binding upon the parties to that suit; while they are also entitled to very high respect and consideration, in all parallel cases, by all departments of the government. But if the policy of the government upon a vital question, affecting the whole people, is to be irrevocably fixed by the decisions of the Supreme Court, the moment they are made the people will have ceased to be their own masters, having to that extent resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal.”

The Constitution was made a barrier to the success of the Union army. The conflict culminated under Lincoln's successor, when Congress deliberately forbade the President to fill the vacant seats of the Supreme Court until legislative permission had been granted.

The third era of our history, a struggle of great principles not yet ended, came to the front before the sectional era was entirely closed. It was during the civil war that capital began to secure its mighty grip upon production and distribution. I quote from Judge Thomas M. Cooley, whose cool judgment has won universal regard. He says:

“The government was giving out enormous contracts, in which the profit might be large; and the birds of ill omen gathered about the departments in great flocks, as eager for their feasts and as reckless of anything else as the vultures upon the fields of battle. The government was all the while drawing and paying out large sums of money; and the financial currents were to and from Washington, not to and from the State capitals. Many new offices were now necessarily created; and for the time being the national government was

the great dispenser of favors, privileges, valuable employments, and profitable contracts; whose Executive, by a dash of the pen, was giving offices that gratified the ambition of a lifetime; while heads of departments, by their favors, were enabling others to lay the foundations of enormous fortunes."

The astounding progress made in the concentration of wealth, dating from 1860, cannot be anything but alarming to unbiased students of economics and sociology. The facts that four millionaires in 1860 had increased to over four thousand in 1890, and that tramps, at the former period an unknown social factor, had become in 1890 about half a million, are sufficiently startling. The lowest estimate gives us 336,250 tramps now actually in the field. Mr. Shearman, in the *Forum*, shows that "25,000 persons now possess more than half the national wealth, both real and personal." In the *Political Science Quarterly*, Mr. Holmes states, as the careful result of his studies, that "ninety-one per cent. of 12,690,000 families own twenty-nine per cent. of the wealth; while nine per cent. own seventy-one per cent. of all the wealth of the United States." It needs wilful blindness to prevent any one from seeing that there is a fundamental difficulty in the social adjustment that controls production and distribution. Mr. Waterson, of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, himself a conservative, says: "In the concentration of wealth and in the ostentatious display of wealth, in the gradual cultivation of caste, let the wealthy behold a danger it will be well to consider in the light of both ancient and modern history. With all this unbalancing of distribution, there has gone on a demoralization of public sentiment very akin to that of older States, which has made it impossible for the richer classes to comprehend the claims of the common people and the rights of labor."

But what we are particularly concerned with here is the position of the Supreme Court during this era, which is grinding on, like the mills of the gods, and threatening to grind very fine. We cannot deny that the judicial department of our government has not only been on the side of wealth and aristocracy, but that its decisions on important financial questions

were of so uncertain a sort that we may say it was at the very bottom of our protracted reign of financial suspicion and lack of business confidence. Its decision in the greenback issue gave to Congress power to create money of whatever it chose and make it legal tender. Not to enter into the currency question, it is impossible for any careful student of popular institutions and of government to look without alarm on the loose and unlimited stretch of power thus bestowed by the Court on Congress. Says an acute critic, David McG. Means:

"Of all the checks upon misgovernment the Supreme Court has been regarded as the strongest and surest; and it is still spoken of as the palladium of our liberties. But from the evil day of the first legal-tender decision, thoughtful men have seen that its foundations had been undermined. The constitution and membership of the board were altered by Congress and the President, if not with the deliberate purpose at least with the foreseen result of procuring a reversal of judgment on perhaps the greatest constitutional question that ever came up for decision. It is hardly speaking too strongly to say that this proceeding changed the nature of our government."

But if there be possible two opinions on this question and the effect of this decision of the Supreme Court, there must be close unity concerning the course of the same body on the question of taxation. The income tax, decided to be constitutional, as it undoubtedly was, within six months of that decision—during a brief sitting of the Court, and after a notification of barely thirteen days—was declared to be unconstitutional. We may rest satisfied with the severity of the criticisms of several of the Justices themselves. Justice Harlan said: "It strikes at the very fountain of national authority. It may provoke a contest with the American people that would have been spared if the Court had not overthrown its former decision. Congress cannot tax incomes—while it may compel the workingman to contribute directly from his earnings for the support of the government!" Justice Brown said: "I cannot escape the conviction that the decision is fraught with immeasurable danger to the future of the country and approaches a national calamity." Justice White, more vigor-

ously still, said that "if such a system were followed the red specter of revolution would shake our institutions to their foundations." Congress has rarely ventured on legislation more hasty, and never on legislation so revolutionary as this work of the Supreme Court. At a stroke the Court destroyed three millions of income of the government, and that portion of the income of which John Sherman said "it is the most righteous that I have ever collected."

With this history of the Supreme Court succinctly stated, and without prejudice, it is not to be wondered at if the inferior courts have at times assumed executive and legislative functions; nor is it surprising that we should be charged with treasonable behavior if we dare to criticize their actions. Judge Cowing, in a Brooklyn court, in 1886, while charging the grand jury, said: "He who assails the judiciary becomes a disturber of the public peace and order, and is an enemy of government. Such a man should be regarded as a pirate. Woe betide him, or her, or them, who undertake to attack the judiciary!" The *New York Tribune* justly commented that this doctrine was a relic of the theory of divine right, which, all over the world, puffed up men clothed with authority to regard themselves as wiser and better than their fellows: "A judge is a man like other men. He is selected by the people, from among the people, to discharge certain duties. He is entitled to personal respect, and a chance to do his duty fearlessly, and have the orders of his court obeyed. But he is a good citizen who scrutinizes the motives and official actions of the best judge on the American bench; and he is not a pirate." More recently a judge of a Wisconsin court, who was a candidate for reelection, was criticized severely by a local paper for some of his actions on the bench. The judge had the editor of the paper brought up for contempt, adjudged him guilty, and sentenced him to thirty days' imprisonment. In California, Judge A. P. Catlin, having been unpleasantly criticized by the *Bee*, cited the editor of that paper for contempt, refused him the right to bring evidence that the judge was in the wrong, and then fined him five hundred dollars for



contempt of court. With such sentiments expressed and occasionally put into practise, the people are warranted in believing them indulged by others. Is it any wonder that there has been a growing conviction that American history is likely to repeat antecedent English history? Charles Sumner, referring to the decision of the Supreme Court during the slavery struggle, said: "Let me say that I hold judges, and especially the Supreme Court of the country, in much respect. But I am too familiar with the history of judicial proceedings to regard them with any superstitious reverence. Alas! alas! the worst crimes of history have been perpetrated under their sanction."

But the strangest feature of our national life, as we enter upon the twentieth century, is that the people generally believe that there is a certain criminality in criticizing the judiciary, which does not adhere to a criticism of the executive and legislative departments of government. A popular impression connects with the word "Supreme" the idea that this department is over the others; that it is the arbiter of all legislative and executive action, and that its voice is final and conclusive. This would indeed be a strange government were it true that the people have aborted the function of governing and absolutely delegated supremacy to a court. That the Court has assumed such supremacy we have seen. In 1837 President Van Buren complained of "the encroachments of the Supreme Court," and believed that "it would not have been created had its tendencies been foreseen." Professor Burgess pronounces our government as, on the whole, best defined as an "aristocracy of the robe." The eleventh amendment to the Constitution was intended as a check on the assumptions of the Court. In 1800, as we have seen, the Court was arraigned for treasonable assumption of power. When Judge Marshall had decided contrary to the convictions of President Jackson, the latter said: "John Marshall has made the decision; let him execute it." In 1832, when Jackson determined to withdraw the public funds from national banks, his Secretary of the Treasury refused to obey. Roger B.

Taney was selected to fill the place and execute orders, and later was made Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Jackson defied both Congress and the Court. His course was explainable, if not excusable, from the fact that the Court had committed itself in favor of the National Bank—under implied powers in the Constitution. The majority of the people agreed with the President that the creation of a huge financial corporation, with functions belonging properly to the government itself and out of governmental control, would be fatal to the Republic. The Bank and the Supreme Court were in an alliance on one side; on the other were Jackson and enough members of Congress to make his veto stand. If the President assumed power transcendent to his privilege, it seemed more tolerable to the people than the establishment of a moneyed autocracy that could never be got rid of. In 1855, in Wisconsin, a conflict arose under the Fugitive Slave law. The State court declared that the decision of Chief Justice Taney (in the Dred Scott case) was bad law and should not be enforced inside that State. The controversy was sharp but decisive. The State triumphed, and the decision of the United States Supreme Court was nullified. In Ohio the supreme court of the State found that no law of Congress can compel a State officer to deliver up an alleged criminal to the State of Kentucky. The Supreme Court of the United States pathetically urged its opinions, but it was compelled to confess that it could not enforce them. These have not been the only cases in which the people have resumed power to reverse decisions of the Supreme Court.

It is desirable that the American people should escape from an unreasoning adulation of any single branch of the government. It is especially desirable that we outgrow a conception of the judiciary as immaculate, and of the Supreme Court as a miraculous invention, superior to anything that the world has ever yet seen, or ever can see, in the way of administering law. From a recent volume I take this not unusual estimate of the Court:

“The establishment of the Supreme Court of the United

States was the crowning marvel of the wonders wrought by the statesmanship of America. In truth, the creation of the Supreme Court, with its appellate powers, was the greatest conception of the Constitution. No product of government, either here or elsewhere, has ever approached it in grandeur. In dignity and moral influence it outranks all other judicial tribunals of the world. No institution of purely human contrivance presents so many features calculated to inspire both veneration and awe. The majestic proportions to which the structure was carried become sublime."

This spirit of adulation, bordering on worship, is politically unwholesome, and liable to lead to a revulsion of public sentiment. English critics have been hardly more judicious in their estimate. Mr. Bryce calls the Supreme Court "the living voice of the Constitution." Lord Brougham said: "The power of the Judiciary to prevent either the State legislatures or Congress from overstepping the limits of the Constitution is the very greatest refinement in social policy to which any state of circumstances has given rise, or to which any age has ever given birth." It is true enough that, if the legislative department should at any time overstep its limits of power, the judicial department would be a constitutional check, provided the judicial department were not of the same mind and will as the legislative. But it must be borne in mind that the Justices are always, and without exception, selected by the President out of his own party at least, if not out of his own section or personal clique. It is not surprising that in some cases the Executive has gone so far as to pack the Court for specific measures. The power of party to control any or all Departments was not foreseen by the men who devised the Constitution and its checks. Daniel Webster eloquently said: "I am deeply sensible, and, as I think, every man must be, whose eyes have been opened to what has passed around him for the last twenty years—that the Judicial department is the protecting power of the government." Had Webster lived ten years longer, he would have agreed with both the Executive and the Legislative departments in the suspension of the free action of the

Judicial. Had Taney decided on the basis of both humanity and the common law, there would have been no civil war.

It has been the object of this article to aid somewhat in a just view of that one department of government whose action underlies to the greatest degree the prosperity and advance, or the adversity and disaster, of the nation. The consolidation that Jefferson foresaw is already well under way. The Supreme Court is so burdened with the assumption of business that properly belongs to State courts that its own appropriate business is hopelessly in arrears. It spends its time discussing the unlawful cutting of timber and the passing of counterfeit money, while on the other hand a case under the tariff or revenue laws cannot be reached. It is an effort to decrease State dignity and integrity to the increase of consolidated power. The cases piled up, and already practically out of reach, are over seven hundred. What we call our Judicial Department is five years behind date in its important business. It is this state of affairs that has created the habit of speaking of our Constitution as "outgrown." Mr. Woodrow Wilson lately shows how the balances enumerated by John Adams have failed; and he implies that the new nationalism has permanently obliterated the old power and right of the States. President Andrews, in his "History of the United States," does not hesitate to affirm that, "while men still differ as to the original nature of the Union, yet the civil war laid the question of national supremacy over States forever at rest—having therefore virtually the effect of a constitutional amendment. Practically the war entailed enormous new exaltation and centralization of the Union, with answering degradation of the States." The problem, then, is upon us: Has a revolution been accomplished politically, and another financially, by the Judicial Department of our government, while the people have been under the effect of an opiate in the way of adulation?

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## CIVILIZATION AND THE SOCIAL COMPACT.

NOTWITHSTANDING the frequency with which the word *civilization* is used, it is doubtful whether a more ambiguous term is to be found in our language. Even among the most scholarly citizens there is no agreement as to what the word means. A widespread belief obtains both among educated and uneducated people that every civilization is liable to decay; that it has a limited life like an individual, and when a certain height is reached in wealth, literature, art, and the sciences, it begins to falter in its progress, then enter its dotage, and finally succumb to dissolution. This notion being largely the teaching of history, every student and every patriotic citizen naturally asks himself these questions: What reason have we for presuming that our own civilization will not perish as all the rest have done? What element is there in modern civilization that was not present in that of the past?

According to Guizot, there are two factors that distinguish modern civilization. One is individual development and the other is social order. In a general way this statement is true. But men differ much as to what individual development means. If it simply means the expansion of the intellect, one may easily imagine a nation of people having very high mental development together with a very low state of morals. Or if individual development is to include moral development or virtue, it is easy to conceive of a nation having a larger number of enlightened and virtuous people and at the same time having a still wider stratum of population that is both ignorant and vicious. Furthermore, moral perfection and virtue are terms, like civilization, about which people do not agree respecting their precise meaning. Political platforms forcibly illustrate the conflict of opinions respecting what is moral and immoral. Hence, the fact of individual development is too ambiguous to set up as a distinction between modern and ancient civilization. What modern men are superior to Plato, Demosthenes,

Aristotle, Homer, or Cicero? Or in moral development where is the superior to Marcus Aurelius or Socrates?

Guizot's second factor, social order, is alike ambiguous. Of course, if the individuals of a country are intellectually and morally developed the social condition of the people as a whole is bound sooner or later to improve also. But just as men differ as to what individual development means, so do they differ as to what is meant by social progress or order. For instance, M. Guizot, arguing upon his two propositions, contends that France is the most civilized nation in the world: first, because it has the largest number of highly developed individuals, and second, because it has the best social order, or the most equitable distribution of the blessings of life. The authorities upon history and the common sense of mankind by no means agree with this opinion. Mr. Benjamin Kidd takes exactly the opposite view, maintaining that France is far behind in moral development and that it has less of the elements of stability than any of our so-called civilizations.

Civilization has been defined in many curious ways, according to the different standpoints from which viewed. Some writers inform us that gunpowder and the printing-press are its chief factors, and that they alone secure us against relapsing into a state of barbarism. It would be humiliating to have to confess that our civilization rested only upon physical force. There never was a greater mistake than the notion some people have that society is held together by armies, navies, police, sheriffs, jails, and chain-gangs. God pity us, if these are our safeguards! Powder and dynamite may be used by anarchists as well as by men in blue coats and brass buttons. As to the printing-press—that, like powder, is a great power; but whether its influence is for good or evil depends altogether upon the moral state of society. In 1898 twenty thousand books were published in the English language. If the quantity of literature has anything to do with civilization, we are certainly ahead of any other age. But, whether these books are good or bad, or whether the people read the good or bad ones, depends upon something deeper and more profound than the existence of printing-presses and deadly explosives.

A great many people associate the idea of civilization with wealth. If a nation has large trade, immense capital, rich and luxurious citizens, they say that makes civilization. If that is the correct measure, the United States certainly stands at the top notch of civilizations; for we have a total capital of about sixty-five billion dollars, which is one thousand for each person, including women and children. Our inventions and discoveries for making wealth are beyond computation. The motive forces employed in turning the wheels of our mills are perhaps equal to five million horse-power, which is the equivalent of about one horse-power to every fourteen persons. Our railroads have almost abolished distance. If placed end to end they would encircle the earth eight or ten times. We have tamed electricity and made it light our streets and propel our cars. We have made it carry the human voice over the mountains and under the waters and from city to city with the breath of lightning. We have made it fold up the human voice so that it may be laid away and reproduced after we are dead. With our telescopes we have taken an inventory of the heavens and peeped into the crevices of the moon, sun, and stars. With our machinery we have produced fabulous quantities of food, clothing, furniture, and all sorts of ornaments and trinkets.

In the older civilizations there were not so many influences that tended to expand the human heart. Such patriotism as existed had its origin in a brutish desire to live by preying upon the weak and defenseless. The kind of cohesion that held society together was not sympathy, but rather that self-interest which unites thieves and highwaymen. The depredations of the people, or their "military exploits," as historians call them, gave a certain unity to national life and stimulated intellectual activity, which are the usual accompaniments of victories in war. Upon this narrow and feeble bond of union rested all the old civilizations. But while brute force is sometimes sufficient to plant a civilization, only enlightened sympathy can bind it together and preserve it.

A large proportion of the people among the ancient nations

(and most often a majority of them) were not allowed to own land or houses. Merchandizing and all sorts of manual labor were regarded as degrading. Cicero said that no noble sentiment could come from a workshop. Slaves, as a rule, were not allowed to marry because it was cheaper to steal them from abroad than to rear them. The great commonalty, having no home or families to defend, could not become very patriotic, and of course felt little interest in the fate of civilization. Even among the upper classes the home was far different from that which exists in our own time and country. In Greece marriages were generally arranged by the parents, the couple often not seeing each other before the ceremony. Liberty of choice was the exception. The father had the arbitrary right to recognize or reject his child at its birth, to repudiate his wife, or to exclude his son from the family worship. In course of time the family tie became more loosely drawn and still more easily broken. Aged husbands were required, at one time, to cede their wives to younger men. Even so great a man as Plato advocated common possession of women.

With such base conceptions of the family it is not surprising that parental affection was weak. In many instances children were left to the mercy of slaves; they were poorly fed and ill clad. They went barefooted all the year and slept upon beds of dried leaves. In Sparta they were taught to steal in order to sharpen their wits, and to run races in a state of nakedness for the amusement of the depraved populace. Their sharpened wits enabled them in after years to cheat their aged parents out of their estates by a corrupt connivance with the courts. The family life in Rome was scarcely an improvement upon the Greek; indeed, in some respects it was far less stable. Seneca regarded the affections as something that each individual should aim to suppress. Divorces multiplied with dazing rapidity. It was not uncommon to find a man or woman who had been married eight or ten times. Gibbon says that "a passion, interest, or caprice suggested daily motives for dissolution of marriage; a word, a message, a letter, the mandate of a freeman, declared the separation." Children were exposed to



wild beasts, and aged parents were often killed or allowed to die of neglect.

Even the religion of the ancients had little tendency toward expanding the people's sympathies. In Greece the religion was distinctly a family affair. One family could not worship with another, nor one individual with another, unless they belonged to the same household. There was no universal faith, no common God or common idea sympathetically embracing all men and classes. "Each god," says De Coulanges, "protected one family and was god in only one house. . . . Two families live side by side, but they have different gods. The woman upon marrying must give up the god of her infancy, and put herself under the protection of a god whom she knows not." The religion did not teach a man that his neighbor was his brother. To quote again the same author: "It is said to him, That is a stranger; he cannot participate in the religious acts of thy hearth; he cannot approach the tomb of thy family; he has other gods than thine, and cannot unite with thee in common prayer; thy gods reject his adoration and regard him as thine enemy; he is thy foe also." In Rome there was no common belief or sympathy concerning anything. The sailors worshiped Neptune, the traders Mercury, the farmers Ceres, and the drunkards Bacchus. Every man had a god to suit his own notion.

Is it any wonder that the old civilizations fell to pieces—victims of moral canker within and enemies without? Poets now write in lamenting strains over the ruins of the past. Scholars and historians pause among the broken columns and fragments of art to pay homage to the brilliant achievements of a once great people. But they look in vain for evidence of the existence of a hospital for the sick, a refuge for the blind, the insane, the orphaned, or a home for the poor and decrepit.

After a long night of dissolution and despair, a new light began to brighten the pathway of the human race. That light was Christianity. It contained one idea that engaged the sympathy of a wider circle of men than any other idea that was ever before presented to the conception of man. That idea was

universal equality before God and a common hope of eternal life. The new doctrine taught that the manual laborer and the lordly master were equal in the sight of God. It taught the great to be humble servants of the poor, and it taught the poor that they might be the equals of the great. Says Blanqui: "It raised the slaves without lowering the master, and presented to the human race, bowed under the yoke, a refuge from the tyranny of this world in the hopes of the other." The rich and the poor, the master and the slave, had for the first time a common interest and a common hope. They worshiped the same God, yielded submission to the same religious laws and precepts, and knelt and communed at the same altar. The poor never before felt so uplifting a power. "The Christian priest," quoting again Blanqui, "awaited at the baptismal font the newly-born babe and bestowed upon him a name; later he blessed him in marriage; and finally, when the end of life had come, he accompanied him with prayers to the tomb." The poor were succored, the sick ministered to, the prisons visited, and Heaven itself seemed to descend to earth in the birth of charity and philanthropy. "All humanity was invited to the banquet of life." Christianity met the barbarian on the frontier, tamed his passions, and changed a society based upon force and slavery to one based upon freedom. At the same time it effected the reestablishment of the family institution and made it the foundation-stone of modern civilization.

For several centuries after its birth, Christianity was almost the only common interest that held society together. But out of this one a second common interest soon grew up. As the homes and the lives of the people became more secure, their industrial and intellectual activities naturally began to quicken; and as production and capital multiplied, the desire became more urgent for national peace and order. Hence, a new principle entered into society to aid in giving it stability—a principle that Guizot calls the principle of order. Monarchies began to spring up all over Europe. Up to the twelfth century there were in the main only two binding elements in society, one religious and the other political. As civilization advanced

these threads of common interest began to multiply and interlace the social fabric.

The point of superiority of modern over ancient civilization consists in the greater expansion of our sympathies as shown in the many interests and organizations that link us together. People at the present time have common interests in more different things, and are willing to unite along more different lines of activity than was the case in any previous epoch of the world's history. People are not only bound together by political and religious ties, but by such ties as belong to the Masons, Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias, temperance societies, the Farmers' Alliance, the Knights of Labor, associations of doctors, lawyers, dentists, and educators, and such ties as belong to literary clubs, art leagues, academies of science, social circles, chess clubs, baseball clubs, and bicycle clubs. Besides these organized interests there are many that are unorganized. For instance, in literature, art, philosophy, politics, and religion there are a great number of lights or leaders who stand for a certain set of ideas and principles. Each has a large following of individuals whose sympathies reach out to one another from the "four corners of the earth." Modern civilization is more stable than the ancient, because our sympathies are wider and more interwoven. We are more dependent on one another, and hence have a greater interest in social order.

The sympathetic ties, I repeat, arise from and depend upon the family. A larger percentage of the people now own homes, and the home life of the people is more stable, than ever before. Hence, the attachment of persons for the natural objects associated with home is also stronger now than at any former period. This is not only due to the fact that people are more fixed in their abodes, but is due in a larger measure to the art of photography and the improvements in transportation. Traveling is so cheap that the circle of our acquaintance reaches out to wide limits and at the same time we become familiar with many different localities. Cheap pictorials enable us to look into the faces of many people whom

we cannot know personally, and to become acquainted with the natural scenery and great works of art in every section of the country. In this way our idea of home is enlarged, and we begin to realize the truth that we are all members of one family and belong to one household.

Civilization depends on the *use* that is made of wealth, not on the quantity of it. "Twenty people can gain money," says Ruskin, "for one who can use it; and the vital question for every individual and for every nation is, never how much do they make, but to what purpose do they spend." It is impossible to conclude of any given mass of acquired wealth, merely by the fact of its existence, whether it signifies good or evil to the nation in the midst of which it exists. Its real value depends upon the moral sign attached to it, just as sternly as that of a mathematical quantity depends upon the algebraical sign attached to it. Any given accumulation of wealth may be indicative, on the one hand, of faithful industries, progressive energies, and productive ingenuities; or, on the other, it may be indicative of mortal luxuries, merciless tyranny, and ruinous chicane. Some treasures are heavy with human tears, as an "ill-stored harvest with untimely rain," and we may add that much of our wealth of to-day is obtained at a fearful sacrifice of life. More men, women, and children are annually put to death by our mechanical appliances and by exposure to poisonous atmospheres than were ever killed in the most deadly of modern wars. Large dividends are coined out of the flesh and blood of helpless women and children. Immense fortunes are often gleaned at the expense of shattered constitutions, broken courage, and blighted hopes. Opulence and luxury often have a history that goes back to tenement-houses, whose very architecture invites disease, despondency, and crime. Those who are well provided for and reap only the fruits of human efforts little realize the cruel and crushing processes by which wealth is accumulated, "reckoning not that commerce floats its wares upon deep seas of human suffering."

Our wealth is abundant, and if more wisely used would

suffice to supply the essentials of civilized life for all our people. It is in our power, by the proper use of wealth, to eliminate most of the hardships of the poor; to give them more leisure, better education, better homes, more congenial and more elevating environments, and longer life. Let the rich and idle brains and arms do more work and squander less wealth, and let the weary arms and brains have more rest and more of the comforts of civilization! We make people what they are largely by our institutions and the use we put our money to. Let us inaugurate better institutions and employ our wealth in a way that will make people what they ought to be! Let us hope that the problem of the new century will not be how much wealth we can pile up, but how much good we can do with what we have! The wider we can send out our sympathies—the stronger the social compact—the freer society will be from corroding and disrupting influences, and the more pleasurable will be the sensations of life to each individual. Great industrial and intellectual achievements do not avail for civilization unless there is a corresponding development of character, which insures the use of the achievements to the end that the human race may be uplifted, cheered, and blessed.

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## THE UNIVERSITY AND SOCIAL QUESTIONS.

**T**HE letter of George D. Herron resigning the professorship of Applied Christianity in Iowa College has been published, together with the reply of the Board of Trustees. This resignation and the letter setting forth the reasons therefor bring once more to public attention the question of freedom of thought and teachings as to wealth and social systems, also the broader problems connected with the discovery of social laws and the dissemination of such knowledge. As social progress is dependent upon the effectiveness of the machinery or system whereby social laws are discovered and the knowledge disseminated, it follows that there is no question that is more important to society.

Professor Herron's attitude is unusually manly in many ways. He voluntarily resigns an assured income—for the endowment would have followed him from the College had he not insisted otherwise—and he goes forth into the world with a family and only such an income as he can earn as a social missionary. Furthermore, he has changed his opinion during the last year and does not hesitate to stand by his present convictions. From believing it to be his duty to insist on academic freedom, he not only argues against this freedom, at least in our private universities and colleges, but his argument may be construed to mean that "the other side" may rightfully be kept from the student. He says: "I shall defend the constituency and trustees of Iowa College in their right to choose what they shall have taught." In another place he says: "I question any man's right to teach that which the College constituency do not want." And again: "But educational institutions as now organized and supported, dependent as they are on gifts of money from the existing social order, afford no place for the teaching of disturbing social ideals." And he also says: "You are not the owners of the College, but trustees holding it in trust for the constituency to whom you are responsible." But it is quite probable that, when the

Professor wrote these reasons for his resignation, he had in mind the one question as to the right of a board of trustees to retain only those employees whose views on economic and other social questions should coincide with its own.

Professor Herron's surrender of all claims to the right of academic freedom on the part of professors in our endowed institutions, at least, marks an important epoch, for it is, I believe, the position taken by most of those who are studying the situation. But in this letter there is no pointing to, and doubtless it was not the place to mention, the correlative duty resting upon the board of trustees that employs as teachers of the facts and principles involved in class questions only those men and women who champion its views.

Before taking up this duty I desire briefly to set forth the opinions of quite a number of trustees of the leading universities in this country. During the summer of 1897 there was before the country the case of President Andrews at Brown University. At this time a trustee of the Northwestern University, Mr. James H. Raymond, a lawyer in Chicago, who for years had been actively engaged in the management of the University, published in the *Chicago Tribune* of September 3d an article in which he presents his views as to the proper form of government for our universities, including the departments that pertain to questions concerning wealth and government. The system contended for is as follows:

The law should clothe the board of trustees with power to employ and discharge the professors, as is now the case. "As to what should be taught in political science and social science, they [the professors] should promptly and gracefully submit to the determination of the trustees when the latter find it necessary to act. . . . A professor is not a mere parrot, to repeat and fairly explain to his students the diametrically opposing premises, arguments, and conclusions of the writers and teachers of the ages upon any given subject. He must of necessity be an advocate; but his advocacy must be in harmony with the powers that be, with the animus and main purposes of the institution, and with the teachings of his co-laborers." In the system advocated by Trustee

Raymond, Progress is to be secured in this way: "The limitations in the [teachings in the] social and political sciences must be the consistent policy and action of the powers that be, who, if loyally supported, may be safely trusted to keep up with the real progress of the times and not to establish barriers to all reasonable thought and action. If the trustees err it is for the patrons and proprietors, not for the employees, to change either the policy or the personnel of the board."

The above is said so plainly that there are no two ways of construing it. It upholds the law as it at present exists in each State. Each board of trustees is given the power to employ and dismiss professors, and in only two or three instances in this country has the board of a State university delegated to its professors of the science of wealth and government the right to teach that which is thought to be the truth regardless of the boards of trustees, and also to retain their positions and salaries. Professor Herron agrees that each professor should either teach the policies that the board desires to have taught or resign his position—and such, I believe, is the growing opinion among university professors themselves; but, they argue, the recognition of this principle carries with it a far-reaching reciprocal duty, which I shall point out a little later.

Immediately after Mr. Raymond's article appeared I went out to Evanston, the site of the university, and interviewed such members of the executive committee of the board of trustees as I could find and who would talk for publication. A majority of those who read Mr. Raymond's article or were told its points agreed with him. I then called upon Mr. Raymond, who said that not only in Rhode Island (Brown University) was there a demand on the part of the professors of economic, political, and social science freely to teach what they conceived to be right, but also in Massachusetts, in New York in two institutions, in Ohio, in Indiana, and in three institutions in Illinois. It was these cases that led Mr. Raymond publicly to discuss the principles that should apply. In defense of those principles Mr. Raymond carefully dictated for publication the following statement: "During the week that has elapsed since the publication of



my article I have not received any criticism from university circles, but have received from most unexpected sources the most unqualified commendation of them [nine propositions, including the above]. The commendations that I refer to come not only from officers of our university but also from those connected with other institutions who have given this matter long and careful study."

The next day I called at the University of Chicago and presented Mr. Raymond's article to the secretary and to two trustees, each of whom agreed heartily and unequivocally with Mr. Raymond's views. Later I interviewed trustees of the following universities: Columbia, Cornell, Princeton, Yale, Johns Hopkins, Pennsylvania, and the American (Washington). Of the trustees that I have interviewed the opinions agreed with Mr. Raymond's almost unanimously. A few would not express any view for publication, showing that they did not desire to have the public know where they stood. The secretary of a noted institution nodded his head approvingly while reading and then refused to make a statement for publication. Newspaper reporters secured interviews for me with trustees of the Vanderbilt and Syracuse universities, and they agreed with Mr. Raymond. Further proof is the character of the teachings of the professors who are continued in employment.

A highly important point made by Mr. Raymond when I interviewed him was that the form of university government that he advocated was suited, in his opinion, to *this* country. As the special peculiarity of this country over Germany, for example, is the rule of the majority—"ye multitude"—the statement is highly significant. It is in line with the reason assigned by a prominent professor as to why some of the truths concerning wealth and government were not to be freely told. Dr. Francis A. Walker, while professor of economics at Yale (1878), wrote:

"Especially with regard to the effects of contraction [falling prices] have economic writers been greatly influenced by the attitude in which they have come to regard themselves as preachers instead of teachers—as in some degree respon-

sible for the conduct of affairs, rather than as simply bound to investigate economic phenomena fearlessly and impartially. Having satisfied themselves that there is great political danger from the instincts of repudiation and confiscation, they seem to feel it their public duty to divulge nothing that, either by being understood or by being misunderstood, could minister to those instincts. This is not the only department of political economy in which much has been written in the same spirit as if the chemist should refuse to disclose the secrets of poisonous agencies lest men should take advantage of them to perpetrate crimes."

The foregoing shows the actual conditions that prevail in private universities in the United States. Against this system our professors have protested. While the Andrews case at Brown University was under consideration about three years ago, the faculty of that institution addressed an open letter to the board of trustees, in which it is said:

"First, is it a good thing for the community that the public statement of unpopular opinions, or opinions judged erroneous, should be restrained? The answer to the question rests to-day where Milton rested it in the 'Areopagitica': 'And though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licensing and prohibiting to misdoubt her strength. Let her and Falsehood grapple: who ever knew Truth put to the worse in a free and open encounter?' To this confident belief of magnanimous minds, that truth is confidently safe, add the experience of mankind. That experience has shown that no man or body of men is wise enough to pick out the doctrines that had better be suppressed, and that the attempt to suppress doctrines only gives them increase of strength. Numberless instances have given practical demonstration to the principle that Milton proclaimed, and have convinced mankind that their real interests require that error, or seeming error, be met with the weapons of discussion and not of repression."

About this time (the summer of 1897) a similar statement favoring academic freedom was signed by professors in different parts of the United States and presented to the board of trustees of Brown University. The statement was very generally signed, thus demonstrating the claim of Mr. Raymond that the professors were insisting on academic freedom.

But there are strong reasons against academic freedom, and I believe they are such as to cause the public to decide against it. The principal reason is that a better system can more readily be secured. Academic freedom on the more important class questions exists in this country only to a very limited extent, and for all practical purposes it may be said that it does not exist at all. This, in itself, should lead us to suspect that there are valid reasons why it does not exist. But the prevailing system is intolerable and must be developed. The probable line of development I shall set forth after stating the reason why academic freedom, even if it could be secured, would still be very inadequate.

Where a question concerning economic, political, or social science is such that experts disagree, it does not seem to be the right thing for a believer in one side to present to students or other novices *both sides* of the case. And it makes no difference whether the expert agrees or disagrees with the board that employs him. It is doubtless better to have academic freedom if one man is to present both sides; but there is great evil in thus presenting it, for a person cannot believe that the opposing views are both true. The alternative that seems to have the greatest merit is this: The board of trustees in each university, continuing as at present to employ and discharge the professors at will, should enact a by-law providing a way whereby "the other side" of each disputed question in economics and government—class questions—may be presented to the students by an expert who believes in the side of the question he champions. A practical way to do this is being employed daily; namely, the Written Debate.

To apply the written debate to the case in hand, let the by-law declare that once a year, say, each professor of economic or political science may be asked by a leading organization representing a view opposed to that of the professor to state in writing the principle that in his opinion exists in the particular field in question, and to cite the facts upon which he relies to demonstrate its existence. Such a statement is practicable, for the material in text-books and articles can be re-

ferred to minutely and supplemented. Two copies of this should be handed to the organization or its representative for answer. The reply should specifically admit or deny each principle, and as to the disputed ones should admit or deny the accuracy of each statement of fact and set forth the proof. This answer, annexed to a copy of the professor's statement, should then be returned to him for reply. In case he brings in new matter it should be returned for answer, and the answer given back for reply. This approximates what is done in the pleadings and trial in a court of justice, and is in effect what is being done at present in the field of science where the questions are not too important. The by-law of the university should provide also for the publication of the written debate and its sale at a reasonable price, and copies should be distributed gratuitously to each of the libraries in the several universities, colleges, and in many of the public reading-rooms.

To make sure that the students study the positions of the opposing sides, each one before receiving his or her degree should pass an examination before a State board composed of representatives of the opposing views. This fact of conflicting class interests is recognized in the board of election commissioners, and should also be recognized in the court of justice wherein class questions are determined. No student will be called upon to express his opinion as to the merits, but will be asked simply to state the claims, of the contending classes as set forth by the leading advocates for each side. To form such a board requires a law in each State, and this law should further declare that the only institutions authorized to confer the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts, Science, and Philosophy, or Doctor of Philosophy, are those whose by-laws contain the minimum requirements of the system decided upon. This would be constitutional, just as it is to raise the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Medicine or Bachelor of Laws.

In the courts of justice the pleadings used to be oral, but as mankind developed the written pleadings were adopted in order that the points in dispute could be accurately singled out and the evidence examined by those called upon to ascertain the

facts in the case. In these written pleadings the parties are obliged to admit or deny every proposition, and thus are forced squarely to join issue, and then the proof is brought before the jury. In the matter of class questions, which are much more complicated and of infinitely more importance when the progress of mankind is considered, have we not reached the stage where public sentiment will demand that the claims as to facts and principles pertaining to human progress shall be carefully formulated; the opposition be given an opportunity to criticize and disprove; and that then the admissions and opposing evidence be placed before all those who are asking as to God's laws concerning mankind? If the question were as to securing the truthful interpretation of the revelations given to us through the tongue and pen of ancient prophets, there would be a unanimous agreement for the full truth—that no part be falsified; and we have every reason to believe that there is almost as great a unanimity that in this land—a land where the laws should be in accordance with the self-interest of the majority as they are led to see it at the time they cast their ballots—the truth, as we of to-day are able to ascertain it from social phenomena, should be conveyed to those voters. Our system for ascertaining God's laws of social progress must be developed if society is to develop. Man progresses only as he has the intelligence and honesty to provide the machinery whereby he may learn to know God's laws as to social progress. He cannot excuse himself in this self-governing country by declaring that a full knowledge of God's laws should be confined to a few, and therefore that these few should rule the many by falsely educating them as to what God's laws really are. Liberty of speech and of the press are guaranteed in our Constitutions, national and State, and we must extend the principle to the seats of learning. Let us insist that those who claim to see the truth and to demonstrate it from the facts of history, and who secure a considerable following, shall have the liberty to disprove, if they can, the views held by the dominant interests in the State! Let us insist on the erection of an Ideal Social Forum!

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## CRIMINAL SOCIOLOGY:

### THE AMERICAN *vs.* THE LATIN SCHOOL.

**F**EW subjects possess so deep and vital an interest as that of criminal sociology. This is true because of the growing importance of the criminal classes, and of the serious nature of the problems connected with crime. It is equally true that there is no other subject of which there are such erroneous concepts. While in reality it embraces studies in anthropometry, penology, psychology, sociology, and other subjects, it is popularly believed to include only one small phase—the anthropometric. Few extend the subject to include a study of environments and of so-called normal individuals. Many investigators within the field of criminal sociology do not realize that their investigations may be dignified by that name.

Criminal sociology, as it is being developed in the United States and in some European countries, means not only a study of criminals within prison walls—of their anatomy, craniums, and physiognomy—but includes an investigation of the criminal's haunts, of his habits, amusements, associates. Neither the psychology nor environmental forces are neglected. In environmental forces are included such as the influence of social and sanitary surroundings, climate, food, light, heat, governmental and economic conditions, occupations; also parental influences, training, education, culture, opportunities, desires, habits, etc. The study of the life of the criminal in the community is more essential and yields richer results than the study within prison walls. Besides this knowledge, there must be possessed more adequate information of the so-called normal classes, and the manner of their functioning in response to external stimuli—namely, social forces. The criminal cannot, as has so often been done, be compared with the ideal individual, but with the one whose adjustment to society is better than his own. Criminal soci-

ology includes the study of all these forces; and it is by these that it arrives at a determination of the causes of and remedies for crime. Although the criminal class has characteristics peculiar to it as such, the methods of research must be individual as well as collective. Crude observations of a group of people with no corresponding study of environmental forces, or of the psychology, lead to one-sided results. There must also be the knowledge of the modes and principles of successful adjustment to society, before the variation from it can be studied; otherwise there is no room for comparison.

The methods of study have been variable. They first consisted in theological doctrines and laymen's casual observations, for which no statistical basis was deemed possible. Later these theories were sometimes deductions from reports of institutions, and were often distortions of facts. Theories were promulgated according to the point of view of the theorist, and a presentation of facts without a pet moral attached was not believed possible. It is only since sociology has become a serious study that the theorists have been willing to toil among the facts for a verification or refutation of their theories. Since students have entered upon the practical investigation, two methods (and hence divergent results) have been employed. Emphasizing the anatomical and atavistic side, the Italian investigators, with Lombroso as originator and leader, have confined their observations to the structure of the criminal, and have accurately recorded measurements, anomalies, and defects. Less accurate work has also been done in their study of emotional states. This is the laboratory method and permits of minute, critical, individual examination. The other method is that largely pursued by the French, and is well illustrated by such results as are found in Le Bon's volumes, "Psychology of Crowds" and "Psychology of Peoples." It is the collective method as opposed to the individual.

Both of these methods possess defects. The former neglects the environment and such influences as training and associates; the latter pays too little heed to individual physical defects and inefficiencies. Both neglect physiological psy-

chology and the functioning of the individual by means of his senses in response to stimuli. Differences in physical structure and in social influences have been noted, but the differences in perception, coördinating powers, and keenness of sensibility in receiving impressions and responding to stimuli have been ignored. This is partly true because of the extreme difficulty with which processes have been evolved that have made psychological results trustworthy. The one-sidedness of the study has emphasized the views that crime is a disease, that crime-centers exist in the brain, and that heredity is the great cause of crime. It is difficult to ascertain just what each advocate means by his assertions. Because epilepsy and other diseases prevail in the criminal class, it is concluded that there is an intimate relation between the two, and that the disease precedes the crime. But it must be noted that the diseases of the legally defined criminal class are publicly noted and recorded, while the diseases in other classes frequently evade this. Such statistics, in order to be of value, must show the ratio of the disease to the population and the percentage for the criminal and non-criminal classes.

With regard to insanity the same objection may be stated. Workers in criminal sociology have become too accustomed to accuse heredity of all the results for which no other cause can be found. With the most minute, searching investigation in the biological laboratories, it is difficult in lower forms to establish a principle of heredity; yet with the most meager study of the forces that cause variation, there are attributed to heredity the gravest responsibilities. It is so easy to say a child is "bad" because its parents are such, the training and influence of such parents being disregarded. If the child of respectable parents goes astray, it is attributed to atavism, some remote ancestor being resurrected. The nature of the child and adaptation of the training to the nature are not carefully considered. The conformity of parents to social laws is not necessarily a guarantee of wise parental guidance within the home.

On the other hand, the collective method has included ad-



herents of socialistic and anarchistic tendencies. They have held the social, economic, and political order to blame for all evils, when it has only made laws to protect itself. They ignore the fact that it is not possible to group a large body of men together and have them secure identical perspectives of the best educational policy, best industrial method, best means of attaining personal and community ends. This must be true so long as individual interests precede general ones; so long as the fundamental principle of self-preservation is sharpened by the competitive struggle under the industrial system; so long as there are passions and desires that obscure and are paramount to the allegiance to social welfare. Society's laws are not evolved with reference to individual desires of its members; and a little less perception or more energy than is necessary for the individual's adjustment to these laws may not be society's fault, but is found in a multitude of obscure causes that will not yet bear separate analysis.

Believing that these methods of investigation have not secured the results desired, I have attempted a small beginning in a study that involves a greater number of forces that operate in the criminal's and non-criminal's life. Though no attempt is being made to fit facts to theories, the hypothesis is that the cultural, educational, and moral status, rather than that of criminal and normal, makes the differences that Lombroso and others have asserted exist between the two classes. For my investigation I have selected four classes; namely, students, legally defined criminals, domestics, and negroes. The students have been measured at the universities; the criminals in the workhouses and penitentiaries at Joliet, Cincinnati, and in New York City. From the legally defined criminals, I have used thieves, murderers, and courtesans—classes used by Lombroso. The domestic class is chosen because the greater number of criminals come from this class. The work upon the negroes includes both criminals and normals, and is for the purpose of studying racial and social conditions. I have confined my investigation to women because study in this line has been limited and because the increase in

crime among them demands it. Though in numbers women criminals are inferior, yet her position is such that the influence for evil of one such woman far exceeds that of one criminal man. An instigator to crime is often more threatening to society than the one committing it.

My investigation falls into three groups and under two methods. The groups include anthropometrical, psychological, and sociological. The methods include the individual, which is that used in the first two groups, and the collective, which is used only in the last. The first method consists of measurements and observations; the second of questions, records, visitations to homes, inquiries of associates and officials, and observations upon criminals in groups. My anthropometric measurements consist of twenty-six taken upon the cranium and face, of foot-imprints, and of observations. They were similar to those of Lombroso, and were taken for the purpose of comparison with his results. I have called into question the use of Lombroso's results for the United States, for the following reasons:

(1) His work has been largely confined to structure, and structural peculiarities are often identified with race, and are the result of a multitude of varying forces, as climate, food, soil, geographical location, seasons, districts (urban or rural), etc. Thus his results must apply only to the race upon whom taken and not to the whole criminal class. For the reason that his investigations touch only the structural, and his measurements of normals have been so few, many of his deductions are unsupported.

(2) His facts do not justify his conclusions. The ignoring of social and psychological factors makes the work valuable only from the anatomical side. Furthermore, he is given to generalizations that cannot be accepted. Thus his description of a typical murderer, and attributing to the criminal class such features as heavy jaws, high cheek-bones, and receding foreheads, are too sweeping. Such generalizations cannot hold for a class that often has only crime as a common element. Anglo-Saxons resemble one another, and there is a typical

Anglo-Saxon; but the murderer may be a Spanish nobleman and commit his crime through the most violent passion, or he may be a German peasant, and it may be the result of deliberate planning for mercenary ends. Physically and emotionally, one description would scarcely cover both individuals.

(3) His popular articles, as "Homicide in North America" and "Was Columbus Morally Irresponsible?" have tended to make his readers regard the science for which he has done so much as mere play-work and as lacking in scientific basis and method. It is extremely difficult to deal accurately with facts obtained in the present-day life, to say nothing of using musty records of the fourteenth century, which are at best the opinions of the men who wrote them and newspaper material, as that on homicides, written to meet popular demand and without regard to its scientific value. Many Americans know criminal sociology only through Lombroso and his popular articles, and these are not representative of the serious study of the subject.

The psychological test consists of the following: reaction time to sound, sensibility of the skin, discrimination of high pitch, color preference and discrimination, reading, hearing, fatigue tests, memory, sensibility to pain, taste, smell, association of ideas, precision tests, and emotional reaction, as shown in respiration curves. These were taken in order to secure new data and make the study more complete. The sociological observations included facts about crimes, occupations, parents, children, habits, conjugal condition, social life, nationality, education, etc.

It is the outcome of this threefold investigation, both in method and results, that I wish to present; and while it is not possible to advance conclusions upon so small a number of measurements, yet they point out errors and tend to show results that cannot but prove of suggestive value.

In such a study as this, the difficulties to be overcome are almost insuperable. It is easy to obtain students for subjects, and they coöperate with the investigator; but with the criminal classes this is not true. Only after much effort can admission

to the institutions be secured. Under our political system, where all sorts of methods and trickery are resorted to in order to secure political material, officials must be judicious in admitting investigators unreservedly within institutions. The criminals possess so much suspicion and superstition that it requires much effort to explain and convince them of the nature and innocence of the tests. Their great suspicion grows out of the sharp competitive struggle for existence, and their necessity for protecting themselves from further arrests. Superstition is due often to the narrow, ignorant life they lead. Suspicion causes them to believe that the measurements are to be used for their identification or to their disadvantage, or that they will be hurt during the investigation. Superstition transformed the investigator into a mind-reader, hypnotist, and fortune-teller. This was the highest concept many of them held of the study. Frequently they believed I wished to learn if they were insane; and as they have a great fear of insanity, many would not come. Combined with the fear of the study was curiosity, and this often won the day and brought them into the laboratory.

For the presentation of the results of the investigation, I have used the same divisions as in the laboratory—anatomical, psychological, sociological. As sociological investigation is best known, data regarding occupation, habits, education, their letters and wishes, conjugal condition, parents, children, etc., are first presented. In this way the close relation to psychology may be more closely followed. The anthropometric measurements I consider least important for American criminals and conditions, and shall place their results last.

Using all available records and the investigation of criminals, their habitats and associates, what factors stand out most prominently? This shall be considered in a later article.

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## THE COMMERCIAL TRAVELER'S WORK OF CIVILIZATION.

**I**T is only lately that we have arrived at the practical recognition of commerce as the most active pathfinder of civilization. In our day it is almost impossible to consider any great national or international measure without feeling that it has been nourished into shape by commercial roots, despite its fine political leafage. It makes little difference how skillfully our diplomats disguise their business in the raiment of officialdom, whether urging the internal or the external policy of their governments, the same ineffaceable impression is winged upon you, the same belief in the power of commerce, not only as the pioneer but as the mainstay of civilization. We have been in the habit of thinking that the sciences and the arts, as the sovereign powers of the higher culture, were promoting the cause of civilization more than any other factors of improvement in our society; but the delegates to the International Commercial Congress recently held in Philadelphia have opened our eyes so effectually that the error of this inherited belief of ours appears in an almost ludicrous light. If by the arts and the sciences we understand the manifold mental products of the higher culture, we are justified in holding that civilization has no more to do with the arts and the sciences than the plow of the farmer or the anvil of the blacksmith.

A number of years ago the thoroughfares in the towns of Korea were scenes of nightly fights and orgies. As there were no artificial means of lighting the streets, it was not possible to suppress the disorder. An American commercial traveler drops into a town and shows the Korean dealers an assortment of glass tubes containing a most wonderful liquid, which, he assures them, has power when ignited to throw out a moon-like light. All Korea laughs at his claim, but before another year the towns of that island are lighted by kerosene lamps!

The nightly street rows have ceased. In the houses of the inhabitants Japanese metal lamps have been introduced; the liquid from America's rocks nourishes the bright-burning flames: there is light in the houses of Korea. In the old days, when there was "fun in the street" but darkness in the people's houses, the Korean workingman naturally spent his time outdoors for "fun," although he had to take a beating himself occasionally to furnish somebody else with "fun." He has now been put in the way of lighting up his hut, and his mind is beginning to work on more important problems than the mere planning of street fights. And why this change? The secret is that the use of liquid fuel has enabled the Korean people to read and write in their primitive way, and peacefully to entertain themselves, just at the time of day when their work closes and they are at leisure. A modern power plant is constructed, and now copper wires drawn from American ore throw out thousands of volts of electric light over the land of Korea—this roughly-handled ocean jewel of contention between Japan and China—which may now be regarded as one of the most distant outposts of civilization. This is not merely a simile, but the actual method by which the people of Korea were induced to turn from the twilight of their sinister, pagan past toward the sunlight of our time—not only the light of civilization, but the light of kerosene and electric lamps as well.

Almost a century before the advent of the commercial traveler in Korea, the science of theology had been there making the sign of the cross over all the land, to the open-eyed wonder of the aborigines. The science of strategy pounced upon the island almost at the same time—conquest-bent, eager for prey; but Korea was not advanced by the advent of these sciences, nor would any amount or quality of science ever have availed to improve her condition. The coming of the European soldier was even unfortunate in that it gave the natives a wrong impression of what civilization really means; and we cannot blame the Koreans because they refused to accept the white man's belief and customs, preferring to practise their inherited native idolatry and methods of fighting.

That which, more than anything else, put the people of Korea on a civilized basis was the bonds of trade; and the man who first converted them from barbarism to try the principles of trade was a commercial traveler.

A glance at the pages of history only serves to strengthen our belief that the principles of trade have always exerted the most decided and dominating influence in shaping the main course of the world's development. That there have been periods of continued warfare, during which friendly interchange of products has not been maintained, only reminds us that whenever the principle of trade was allowed to flourish it was always productive in improving and developing the economic growth of nations. What caused the Phœnicians to venture beyond the Mediterranean in their rude galleys? Why did Cæsar lead his armies victoriously through the world of his day? What was the Spaniards' motive in conquering savage peoples in South America, converting their lands into tributary colonies? We may question indefinitely and search the remotest corners of history for examples, but the answer must remain the same; for, although nations have always entertained warlike objects, it is manifest that no aggressive campaign in the past was ever conducted without expectations of monetary as well as territorial gain. And it is significant that, in the leading issues where the world's progress shows most prominently, the motive power and basis have always been a great national commerce, with active import and export trade. It was by the powerful support of just such trade that the periods of ancient culture, which may be named by simply mentioning their chief commercial centers—Babylon, Rome, Athens, Alexandria—were called to life and maintained for centuries.

We are so accustomed to meet traveling salesmen—they prance so persistently in and out of our offices with samples and price-lists—that we do not think much about their proper position in society. But these thousands of energetic, practical persons, who are continually rushing to and fro among the nations—are they not the very ones who have made this world

of ours at least ten times smaller than in the Middle Ages, as far as distances are concerned? And do they not represent the persuasive force of our time, which has induced the nations to coöperate and raise the volume of international exchange of products into many hundred millions of dollars, on the foundation of a system of credit, mutual security and trust, such as the medieval rulers would have envied?

We are indebted principally to the commercial traveler for the popular demand for the preservation of international peace, and for the fusing together of the economic interests of nations that has changed the world from a place of warfare into a market for the products of the earth. From our present point of view, the eighteenth century resembles a world of fortifications bristling with cannon and warlike preparations; we think of the nations of the past as standing behind the ramparts, watching one another like hawks, ready to touch off their artillery. To undertake a journey through Europe in those days was a formidable piece of work, an undertaking fraught with not a little danger; and if you were successful in overcoming the various obstacles that the governments laid in your way, you were likely to return sharing the feeling of a military spy who has slipped away from hostile pickets. Nowadays it is a pleasure to travel about the world, a luxury within the reach of the plain citizen; and the nations have been brought as close together as townships in a State. There is no longer any real enmity between the peoples; it only exists between the various governments, which are mostly conducting their affairs in accordance with medieval military principles. Whenever Germans and Frenchmen meet, hat in hand, talking over a salable assortment of samples, they get along amicably and a trade is generally made; but when their governments press them into a soldier's uniform and order them to shoot each other, a pardonable degree of mutual ill-feeling is caused. Here in the United States we are afforded a striking proof of the fact that the various nations of the world—peoples that in Europe and Asia are threatening one another with cries for revenge—can be induced to work side



by side, in peace and union of interests, when placed beyond the range of their warlike rulers.

Who is accountable for the advent of this pleasant change in human sentiment but the mercantile traveler? Has he not furnished the basis, in the shape of a peaceful international business interchange, on which the arts and the sciences have reared the civilization and culture of our time? All the art and science in the world, all the accumulated stores of wisdom and collected experience of the ages, could never have accomplished this work; and without the fructifying medium of trade, mankind would never have made a forward stride. Only the inborn human desire for peaceful and lucrative exchange of products—the strong pinions of international commerce—was capable of carrying primeval man into the broad daylight of the present. It was not our great men of science or learning that were chosen to perform this greatest of the undertakings of our century: it was such totally unknown fellows as James This, Pierre That, and Fritz, Juan, Dimitri, Jonathan, or whatever names we may select to represent the great trading nations. In other words, it was a rôle so complex and so manifold in all its vast importance that Providence seems to have been unwilling to trust any one individual or any one nation with the task of carrying it out; therefore, it was parceled out in the shape of practical problems and enterprises for the thousands of mercantile travelers who have civilized the present century. They have altered the world from a scene of international warfare and a pleasure park for the privileged classes into a really habitable earth for people of all classes to live on, under conditions that are being gradually improved and more equally distributed with each generation. That standing armies and the practical manifestations of militarism have increased with the development of mercantile interests is as nothing compared with the fact that the armies of to-day in reality only exist as safeguards for national trade interests—the mercantile instinct of self preservation and protection. When the great Powers try to extend their domains in Asia and Africa it is more for the pur-

pose of acquiring new markets for their export trade than from a desire for conquest. The political business that we still persist in misnaming "international diplomacy" is getting to partake refreshingly of the nature of the commercial policy of the nations, especially when we compare it with the sort of diplomacy that was the pride of the eighteenth century. We now confer "diplomatically" about tariffs and trade treaties, customs reciprocity, postal laws, treaties of export and import trade, etc.; briefly, we urge "diplomatically" a number of international questions, which almost invariably take final shape as questions of trade, no matter in what disguise they may be brought upon the stage of diplomacy.

At the International Commercial Congress in Philadelphia we were afforded the most conclusive proof that the predominating mercantile tendency of our time is not only a matter of figures and statistics but also a matter of awakened conscience with the nations of the earth.

To be a traveling salesman has never been considered a very great honor; and why? No doubt because the honor of civilizing the nations was parceled out by Providence among the travelers in such a multiplicity of "job lots" that no single man has been able to monopolize the honor. The farmer and the manufacturer do not concern themselves much about these things—the consumers still less, perhaps; these people only occupy their minds with supplying and shaping and marketing the products for which the traveler creates a demand. The traveler himself can hardly be said to understand his true position as a social factor. He does not stop to consider that were it not for his sensible, courteous, confiding manner of doing business the nations would not have drawn as closely together as they now are; nor would the international bonds of friendship exist that now preserve the peace essential to progress.

Whether our friend the traveler introduces fly-paper into Palestine, wind-mills into the Argentine, machinery into China, agricultural products and implements into distant regions in South America, or promotes the establishment of

railroads and manufactures in India and Japan—or whether he capitalizes wool-spinning mills in Persia or tea-plantation syndicates in Paraguay—he remains the same indefatigable pioneer and pathfinder of civilization: the entering wedge of international commerce, providing and maintaining the impregnable economic basis that supports that palace of the arts, the sciences, and the supreme human spirit, known as culture.

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## EVOLUTION AND IMMORTALITY.

### (I.)

**W**HEN the evolutionary theory was first propounded it startled the world. It was welcomed by the atheist and the materialist as an ally. It was looked upon by the Church with suspicion and generally met with positive antagonism. It was feared that the doctrine if established would overthrow the very foundations of the Christian faith. But the hopes of the one and the fears of the other have for the most part been dispelled. Instead of antagonism between evolution and Christianity, there are now indications that evolution will prove an ally to the Church and a handmaid to true religion. The purpose of this paper is to consider the relation of evolution to the question of man's immortality. Does it deny immortality; or is it a dumb oracle with no word either of hope or of despair; or does it point with prophetic finger to a deathless life beyond the grave?

We may get a suggestion of the attitude of evolution toward immortality by considering the function of death in evolution. One of the most remarkable discoveries of recent years is that death did not enter the world with the first beginnings of life. The first living cells were deathless. At the very beginning and at the very bottom of organic life we find immortality. The lowest form of life on earth is the one-celled organism. This never dies a natural death; unless it meet a violent death it will live forever. Weismann says: "Natural death occurs only among many-celled beings; it is not found among one-celled organisms. . . . Death is not an essential attribute of living matter." Bütschli remarks: "When we observe the history of the continual production of certain Protozoa we meet the most singular fact that in the life of these organisms death in the sense of the annihilation of organized matter, and from causes which are inherent in the organism, does not prop-

erly occur." Dr. Newman Smyth says: "The first one-celled organism does not exist for a season, produce another like itself, and then decay and totally disappear; it does nothing of the sort. The one thing that it does is not to die but to live on. It succeeds in living on and on by a very simple yet persistent process: for after awhile it divides itself into two cells, each like itself, and thus it continues to exist, living in these cells a double life." Now, this is a very significant fact; it shows that death is not a primary and necessary but a secondary and incidental event in Nature.

If death is not a physical necessity, then it is a utility. This inference is confirmed by the further researches of the biologist. The field is comparatively new, and no very definite conclusions have yet been reached concerning the special utilities of death. But enough has been found to justify the general conclusion that death in the course of Nature is not to be regarded as a disaster—as a meaningless calamity—but as a means to an end; and that end is the advancement of the species. These researches show that sex and death were introduced in Nature at the same time, thus showing that they are coöperative and perhaps mutually dependent factors in the development of Nature. Again, heredity is recognized as an important factor in evolution, and we cannot conceive how heredity could do its work without the assistance of death. When one generation has pushed its way as far upward as its powers will permit, death takes the old away and leaves the new to take up the work and carry it still higher. Were it not for death the streams of life would become clogged up, the vigorous young life would be fettered and held back by the old, and heredity as a factor in evolution would be practically eliminated. The Darwinian factor of "natural selection" depends for its efficiency entirely on death; the "survival of the fittest" means the removal by death of the weaker individuals. The utility of death is well summed up by Dr. Smyth: "We find that death has many uses in the economy of Nature; that it is indeed so useful that life itself has to call upon death to help it forward on its endless way. We discover that natural

death is only in appearance an enemy; that in reality it is a servant and helpmeet of life. . . . In consequence of death, life develops, and the ministry of death is throughout a service for life. . . . The one regnant, radiant fact of Nature is life—and death enters and follows as a servant for life's sake."

But how shall we apply this truth of the utility of death in Nature to the question of man's immortality? If man is but a link in evolution's chain, then the only conclusion we can draw from this premise is that death will help to *lift* the race—will coöperate with the other factors of evolution in pushing upward this human link until it is merged into some link still higher in the series. But here we find two facts that force a different conclusion. In the first place man is not a mere link in the chain—he is the end of the chain. He is not one in a series of means—he is the end for which all the means have existed. Evolutionary science declares in emphatic language that man is the goal of evolution, and that so far as the physical man is concerned evolution has finished its work. "On the earth there will never be a higher creature than Man," says John Fiske. "It is a daring prophecy," says Henry Drummond, commenting on the above, "but every probability of science attests the likelihood of its fulfilment. The goal looked forward to from the beginning of time has been attained. Nature has succeeded in making a man. She can go no further: organic evolution has done its work." The accepted verdict of science is that there is no probability that a physical organization superior to man's body can be developed on earth. The second fact that confronts us here is that with the advent of man evolution changed almost immediately its field of operation. Hitherto it had bent its energies to the perfecting of the body; henceforth it leaves the now finished body and devotes its energies to *mind*. Hitherto it was mainly physical; henceforth it is almost entirely psychical. With the making of the human body, organic evolution practically finished its work and retired into the background—and psychic evolution entered into its kingdom. In view of these two facts,

the conclusions we must draw as to the utility of death to man are evident: first, if man is the goal of evolution, then death, along with all evolutionary factors, must work to the perfecting of men for their own sake; and second, if the physical man be finished and evolution in man operates only in the psychic realm, then the utility of death as applied to man must be found in the development of the soul.

These considerations suggest and make probable the hypothesis that physical death is but a necessary process in the evolution of the soul. Death is but a crisis in the life of the soul by which it passes from one stage of development to another. Man, in his embryonic history, passes through several successive stages, each of which has a function to perform in his development. At first he exists in germ, in a spherule of protoplasm. He outgrows this, breaks the fetters, and enters into a higher life. But still he is inclosed in prison walls, bound by physical ties to the mother, receiving his blood through her veins. When this stage has done its work in the development of the man, he leaves his uterine home and is born into a higher life, where with individualized body, and with new environments and new conditions, he continues his evolution. Through the sensorium he acquires knowledge; the body becomes the instrument of his activity. Through the body and by the body the soul is molded and developed. But there comes a time when he outgrows this stage, as he did the preceding stages. The body has performed its function—it has helped forward the soul as far as Nature intended it should. Henceforth it would be no longer a help but a hindrance, and must be laid aside. So the body dies and the soul, the man himself, is born into a higher realm to continue his evolution under conditions of which we cannot conceive.

We find some beautiful and instructive analogies to this in Nature. In the vegetable kingdom we may take Paul's analogy of the wheat. The life-principle of the wheat is wrapped up in a material body, and there it remains until it can adapt itself to a higher and freer and more active life; then it lets go the infolding matter, which decays and becomes

to the new plant no more than any other matter. There is an invisible, undiscoverable life-principle that survives the destruction of the grain and builds for itself a new body. The material grain is simply a stage in the life of the wheat, and the decay of the grain is the crisis wherein the life passes from a lower into a higher stage. The development of the wheat-life depends not on the continuance of the grain but on its destruction. Thus, in the wheat, death is a necessary process in the evolution of life. There is a still more beautiful analogy in the animal kingdom. Take the transformation of the worm into the butterfly, "Nature's gospel of the resurrection." At first a mere worm, creeping upon the earth, stupid and unattractive; and then from the dead body of the worm rises a winged creature of wondrous beauty, floating upon the air, feeding upon the flowers, bathing its glorious wings in the sunlight, moving with the rapidity of thought, as free as the zephyrs in which it sports. And yet the lowly worm and the glorious butterfly are the same individual, only in different stages of evolution. There is an identity between the two, not an identity of material body but of individualized life. Open the chrysalis at a certain stage and you will find the embryo of the butterfly—the butterfly-body inside the worm-body, fed through its agency but not identical with it. The worm-body is a necessary stage in the development of the butterfly. When this is no longer a help but becomes a hindrance, it dies, and the butterfly rises into a higher life and attains its perfect form. It is indeed a "resurrection from the dead"—the butterfly is raised up from the dead body of the worm. And thus it is a type of the death of the human body and the resurrection of the soul—the physical body performs its function in the evolution of the soul and dies, and the immortal spirit breaks the fetters of clay and mounts into the skies. As the shedding of the chrysalis is a necessary process in the evolution of the butterfly, so the death of the human body is a necessary process in the evolution of the soul.

Such is the significance of death to the Christian evolutionist. It is the wheat leaving behind its grain and rising into a more



abundant life. It is the butterfly bursting forth from the chrysalis and soaring aloft. It is a new birth—the soul born from the womb of earth into the light of heaven. It is the bud opening its calyx and bursting into glorious blossom. Death is not a curse pronounced on the race because “Adam sinned,” but a blessing decreed by the all-wise and loving Father. It is not a “penalty” man must pay for his sins, but a necessary means for the development of the soul. Death is not death at all—it is the beginning of life. As Browning puts it—

You never know what life means till you die.  
Even throughout life, 'tis death that makes life live—  
Gives it whatever the significance.

It is the open portal through which the soul may rise into the realms of immortal life and love.

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## A CONTRAST AND A PARALLEL.

### I. IMPERIAL REPUBLICANISM HISTORICALLY CONSIDERED.

#### *From a Canadian Viewpoint.*

THE visitor to the Capitol at Washington will, if he be a student of Roman history, hardly fail to be struck with the thought that the founders of the Republic must have drawn their inspiration from that source in fixing many of the institutions of the new form of government they were called upon to design. The name of the building itself will carry him back in thought to the famous temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill, in which, on solemn occasions, as the making of treaties, the Roman Fathers were wont to assemble instead of in their ordinary meeting-place, the Curia, that they might make the proceedings more impressive by the sacred nature of the place. The architecture, too, is of the Græco-Roman style, closely resembling that traditionally ascribed to the ancient capitol at Rome, and containing many of the distinctive features—such as the dome and the Greek colonnades and entablatures—that belong to Roman public buildings of a later date. In the name of their higher legislative body, again, he will find traces of the same tendency to copy Roman models; and passing to consider the functions of this body he will find important points in which these latter correspond closely with the functions of the Roman senate in the time of the republic, while differing from those of the House of Lords in Britain, for which at first sight it might seem to be a substitute. One of these points is the power of making treaties, which is vested in the case of the United States in the President and Senate, as in the old Roman republic it lay with the consuls and senate. In Great Britain, on the other hand, this power virtually lies with the representatives of the people in the House of Commons, subject to the approval of the sovereign.

Such resemblances between the institutions of the United

States and those of republican Rome might be expected to happen when we consider the circumstances in which those of the former country arose. Having turned their backs, so to speak, on monarchical government and its institutions when they resolved to separate from the mother-land, and having before them in the nations of the earth at that time no existing model of republican government worthy of serving as an archetype for the government of a country of so vast extent and so great prospects, the founders of the Republic were driven to seek in history precedents in regard to terms and forms to be used in their infant polity; and especially in the history of that greatest of ancient republics and lawmakers—Rome before the time of the Cæsars.

While it seems plain that they availed themselves to a considerable extent of the forms and methods in vogue among the Romans in establishing their body politic, yet we can scarcely doubt that they would be warned by the mistakes of the same people, and that they would take measures to prevent the recurrence of these in their own history; for the men at the head of affairs during the inception of the present form of government in the United States were, many of them, men of learning and culture. Madison and Hamilton, the two most prominent among the framers of the Constitution, were college graduates; while associated with them were such men as Franklin, the eminent philosopher; Jefferson, distinguished alike for his learning, polished manners, and eminently practical nature; and Washington himself, declared by Patrick Henry to be "for solid information and sound judgment unquestionably the greatest man in the assembly" (that of Virginia). That such men could be blind to the teachings of Roman history in regard to the dangers to a republican government resulting from the extension of its power over unassimilable peoples, and the consequent maintenance of large standing armies for purposes of defense against internal and external foes, is quite improbable. And we find, indeed, ample evidence in the history of the times to show that they were fully alive to these dangers. The famous "Monroe Doctrine,"

contained in that President's message to Congress in March, 1822, did but assert what had been and still is the settled policy of the more conservative element in the United States, when it stated that it should be the policy of its people "neither to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe nor to suffer the Powers of the Old World to interfere with the affairs of the New." In other words, this class has strenuously opposed at all times measures that in their ultimate consequences would bring about the same state of affairs, socially and politically, on this continent that exists in Europe. Chief among these measures they have always considered to be all attempts at territorial aggrandizement on the part of the Republic outside of the continent of North America. The very first principle of the Constitution, as stated in the opening paragraph of the Declaration of Independence, "that all men are created free and equal," would indeed seem to be violated by the extension of the power of the Republic over peoples who would necessarily, from their inferior status in point of civilization, be held to be unfit for citizenship in the commonwealth of the United States. A second and probably more important consideration in the minds of the class of citizens I have mentioned is that of the change in the military and naval equipment of the country that such a policy would necessitate. With the acquisition of foreign possessions would most certainly arise the need for large standing armies and costly fleets. Added to this would be the greater danger of entanglement in war with other powerful nations whose interests would of necessity from time to time clash with those of the Republic in these outlying portions of her "empire" (for such it would properly be called). And, lastly, there can scarcely fail to loom up in the background before the mind of the thoughtful and intelligent citizen the danger I have already alluded to—the possibility of undue influence of the military element on the functions of the government.

The Roman Republic, which owed its establishment, according to history, to the subversion of the earlier monarchical form of government in a revolution caused by the tyrannous

conduct of King Tarquin, began in the year 509 B.C. and continued its existence as such until the time of Augustus, the first Emperor of Rome, B.C. 30. Originally including only the city of Rome and the districts in the immediate neighborhood, it gradually, through the aggressive nature of its people, extended its power over the adjoining Italian States, until about the year 264 B.C. the Romans found themselves virtually masters of all Italy. In that year began the first Punic war between Rome and the great commercial and colonizing city of Carthage, for the possession of the island of Sicily—a struggle that ultimately led to the complete conquest of the latter power by Rome and the transference to her of all the Carthaginian colonies, including Spain, Sicily, and the north of Africa. How, step by step, Rome extended her conquests in the lands surrounding the Mediterranean until all these had been brought under her sway; how the drafted armies of citizens of earlier times, called together on each occasion when the interests of the republic demanded it for defensive or offensive operations against some neighboring tribe, in time gave way to standing armies composed of mercenaries, many of them of foreign birth, who owed allegiance rather to the general who provided them with plunder and lands for military colonies than to the State; how the commanders of these armies soon usurped the supreme power in the State, making the senate obey their will in all things—which in turn led to the series of civil wars between the two parties in Rome, beginning with that in which the two rival generals, Marius and Sulla, disputed the supremacy of the Roman world, and culminating in the similar struggle between Antony and Octavius, which, on the defeat of the former at the battle of Actium in 31 B.C., left the latter sole ruler of the republic whose institutions were henceforth to exist only in name, the “Imperator,” or commander of the army, being thereafter the real ruler of Rome;—these facts in Roman history are too well known to call for repetition here, were it not for the purpose of pointing out the similarity between the course of events in the American Republic up to the present time and that in the Roman Repub-

lic in its earlier periods, and to suggest the possibility of a similar fate for republican institutions in the United States if she persists in following Rome's example in the matter of territorial aggrandizement.

For over a century the Republic has adhered strictly to the policy laid down in the Monroe Doctrine in avoiding so far as possible entanglements with European Powers over matters relating to the Eastern hemisphere, and has been content to pursue her mission of civilization and industrial development in the vast territories that have fallen to her lot on the North American continent. She has added to her original territories, it is true—by purchase, as in the case of Louisiana, or by conquest, as in the cases of Texas and California—large tracts of land on this continent; but these were such as, from their geographical position and comparatively uninhabited condition, might fittingly be added—to make her commercial facilities satisfactory and to afford room for the overflow of her population from the congested districts of the Eastern States. But, while little or no opposition has been made by any section of her people to these additions to her territory, it has been quite a different matter when measures looking to the extension of her power over places outside of this continent have been proposed. Then there has always been manifested the strongest opposition on the part of a large and influential part of the people of the Republic; and hitherto the counsels of these latter have prevailed, so that up to the year of grace 1898 the United States has refrained from securing even a coaling station outside of her possessions on this continent. With the annexation of Hawaii and the acquisition of the Philippine Islands and Puerto Rico, as well as the establishment of the protectorate over Cuba, as a result of the war with Spain, there is now inaugurated a distinct departure from this non-expansionist policy of her former rulers. In spite of the remonstrances heard against this course from the press, from leading citizens all over the country, and in the halls of Congress, the present government seems bent on pursuing it unflinchingly. Already measures are being taken to increase

the army to one hundred thousand men and to make additions to the navy that will raise it to the third place among the navies of the world. Thus the year just passed may well be deemed the beginning of a new era in the history of the United States. The die has apparently been cast, and henceforward she will play her part among the colonizing and empire-seeking nations of the earth.

The trite saying that "history repeats itself" would thus seem verified in comparing the course of events in the United States up to the present with that which took place in republican Rome in the evolution of the military autocracy that finally took the place of her popular institutions of government. As Rome, through the aggressive and lofty spirit of her people, first subdued and extended her system of government to the whole Italian peninsula, her natural limits, with safety and even benefit to her republican institutions, and inasmuch as the peoples so conquered were gradually assimilated and became part of her citizenship, so the American Republic, in the additions she has thus far made to her original territories by annexing outlying portions of this continent, has increased her resources and power without imperiling her democratic institutions. And when we see those causes which, in a large measure at least, brought about the downfall of republican government in the Italian State now existent in the United States—I refer to the desire for territorial aggrandizement in other parts of the globe—who will say that it is altogether visionary to suppose that these causes may act similarly on this form of government at the present day?

It is no doubt true that times and circumstances have altered much since Rome's failure to combine imperialism with republicanism made it possible to point to her history for a moral in respect to this. The greater respect for law and order implanted in the minds of the individuals of a State in modern times might at first sight be thought sufficient to nullify all arguments drawn from a comparison between the political conditions in the modern and the ancient republics. But the history of modern times is not reassuring on this point. England

in the time of the Commonwealth, though nominally a republic, was in reality governed by Cromwell and his army—a military despotism of the strictest kind; yet Cromwell and his army were noted for their piety and their God-fearing lives. Again, the history of France during the last hundred years furnishes numerous examples of the pernicious influence of militarism on the functions of a republican government. It is unnecessary in this connection to do more than mention the downfall of the republican governments at the hands of Napoleon I. and Napoleon III., and the overweening conduct of the French army-leaders toward the French government at the present time, to show the constant menace that the army offers to republican government in France. Moreover, if examples be sought more applicable to the case in point, the well-known indifference of the military authorities to the wishes, or even commands, of Congress during certain periods of the civil war may be mentioned to show that the same state of things that has just been described as occurring in other countries under a democratic government is by no means impossible in the United States.

That the United States, having organized settled forms of government in the vast extent of territory within the Union, should have a consciousness of possessing administrative ability in this respect and should desire to take her place among the great nations in extending her influence over, and seeking commercial relations with, other portions of the globe, is only what might naturally be expected. Many influences conspire to cause the development of such a sentiment in the Republic at the present stage of its existence. The consciousness of inherent power, dependent on the high intelligence and ability to utilize the most subtle development of art and science of a large part of her people, and on the vastness and varied nature of her resources; the desire on the part of her citizens for new openings for industrial and commercial enterprises; the deep and serious interest awakened in the minds of many of her people in the welfare of benighted and down-trodden races, by the missionary efforts put forth by her for the Chris-



tianizing and uplifting of these, and the consequent desire to further these aims by the influence and assistance of her government;—these are factors contributing to the development of this sentiment, and they must certainly be admitted to appeal strongly to the instincts that have made the English-speaking peoples of the world the progressive and civilizing race they are to-day.

In the face of such a sentiment, grounded as it is on considerations so reasonable and so laudable in themselves, arguments for pursuing a more cautious line of policy are apt to be thought inopportune and savoring of lack of ambition. Such arguments must be founded mainly on the limitations that attend a republican form of government. Granted that the original Constitution of the United States may be so modified as to admit of the existence of political inequalities among those whom she governs; and admitting her ability to maintain large fleets and armies for the protection of her interests in foreign parts without burdening her Treasury excessively—it must still be open to question whether her form of government is adapted to the conditions that will result from the innovation now being made in her foreign policy.

The example of Great Britain may be adduced in support of the ability of English-speaking and English-thinking peoples to govern inferior races with advantage alike to themselves and to the governed. But, though Americans possess kinship with the people of Great Britain, and have a common origin, language, and literature, as well as common moral and religious sentiments, yet the difference in the social and political systems of the two countries has produced marked differences in the character of the two peoples, both individually and as nations. In Great Britain there are produced among all classes up to the sovereign, by the action of their graded social system, a thorough respect for authority and habits of ready obedience to superiors. Moreover, there is a fixedness and stability about the monarchical and aristocratic form of government that prevent the unsettling of men's minds in regard to their allegiance. Since, however, parties may differ on minor points,

they are bound by their duties as subjects to be loyal to their sovereign. On the other hand, the spirit of equality inculcated by the institutions of the American Republic certainly is not favorable to the development of the characteristics just mentioned. In a country in which "every boy is born with the idea that he may one day be President," this latter functionary is not likely to inspire the same amount of personal loyalty among his less fortunate compeers that is usually bestowed on a sovereign. Hence the outspoken vituperation and denunciation of persons in authority and their principles that are witnessed in the United States when party feeling runs high. For why should it not be so, since the most powerful official of to-day may be merely the private citizen of to-morrow in case his party is defeated at the polls? This free-born and independent spirit among the citizens of the Republic may or may not of itself be a more desirable spirit than that which prevails in Great Britain; but there can be little doubt that it renders the problem of government more difficult in those cases in which there is a contest for supremacy between parties having widely different interests.

Already the causes that foster excessive party spirit among her people are sufficiently numerous and potent in the United States to produce alarm in the minds of many of her statesmen. The varied and antagonistic interests of different sections of the Union; the conflicts between labor and capital, such as those that led to the riots at Pittsburgh and Chicago within the last few years—these are circumstances tending to show that the Republic is liable at any time to experience convulsions arising from internal troubles which it may tax her vital powers to overcome. If to these sources of irritation and domestic strife there be added the constant anxieties and burdens inseparable from the position of an empire-seeking Power such as the United States now bids fair to be, then, as all history shows, the partizan and sectional spirit will inevitably be increased. And, with the examples adduced before us showing the proneness of militarism to assert itself and make its power felt in a republic

at such critical times, it can hardly be said that the United States is likely under the new order of things to be altogether free from this danger.

In regard to the ability of the United States to follow the example of Great Britain in ruling inferior races successfully from the standpoint of the latter, historical evidence is not reassuring. She has had considerable experience in that line with the original inhabitants of the country now occupied by her people; and, while the Indian tribes under the British flag in Canada have made fair progress in the path of civilization, the remnants of those within her borders have mostly remained savage and implacable enemies of their white neighbors. Nor, again, can she fairly plead her necessities in support of the policy of expansion. While Great Britain, with her overflowing population must perforce seek outlets for these in far-off colonies and markets for her manufactures in less highly civilized portions of the globe, the same is not true of the United States. Possessing territories affording the choice of almost every kind of climate and ample room for the increase of population for generations to come, there could be little inducement for her citizens to betake themselves to distant parts for settlement, as we find the citizens of Great Britain doing in the case of her colonies and dependencies. And, while foreign dependencies might be of benefit to the United States in furnishing a market for her manufactures and in supplying the raw material for these, it is doubtful if the advantages to be obtained would compensate her for the expense which the great increase in her army and navy, necessitated by the possession of these dependencies, would entail.

That the present crisis would, sooner or later, make its appearance in the history of the United States would seem to be but the natural sequence of her growth and development. History bears constant witness to the truth that nations, like individuals, are wont to experience the desire for greater power and enlarged spheres of influence just in proportion as the ability to obtain them becomes plain to their consciousness. The ultimate effects on themselves of such expansion would

seem to be but seldom seriously considered; or if the voice of reason be at all heard in any case in opposition to this instinct for aggrandizement, it is usually but little heeded. And thus again is presented the spectacle of a republican nation being hurried headlong on a career of empire-seeking in obedience to the instinct we have mentioned, despite the warnings of history, the protests of many of her most thoughtful citizens, and the prescient voice of the Father of his Country—sounding down through the century that has elapsed since his Farewell Address was written, solemnly charging his successors in office to beware of the temptations of such a time as the present, which he foresaw would inevitably come to endanger the existence of the constitutional principles he had so carefully guarded.

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## II. THE ROMAN EMPIRE AND THE UNITED STATES.

THE task of examining, in the light of Roman history and experience, the social and political conditions now existing in America would exhaust the energies of a Gibbon, while charming the imagination of a Froude. But such is not my purpose. It is simply to show a few points at which the Roman civilization, whether by contrast or by likeness, seems to touch our own. These contrasts and resemblances are found in the period of Roman history included between the accession of Augustus and the death of Marcus Aurelius. While during these two centuries to outward view the Empire was most flourishing, yet it was then the evils that destroyed it first became evident.

In the expanse of territory there is a striking parallel between the United States of America and the possessions of Rome. We may well be impressed with the extent of our dominion, especially since in these latter days we have included within it Cuba, the Philippines, and Alaska. Yet the Roman Empire,

stretching from the Euphrates on the east to Gibraltar on the west, and from Sahara on the south to the Baltic on the north, was as comprehensive as our own. But, though so vast, this Empire was still a unit. The commerce of the world was carried in Roman ships to and from Roman ports. The grain raised in the Valley of the Nile was borne over Roman roads to Roman soldiers guarding the frontiers of Roman power in the Highlands of Scotland. The sword so finely tempered by the Toledo smith at his Spanish forge was worn by the Roman Pro-Consul when, clad in Tyrian purple, he received the submission to Roman authority of the fierce tribes beyond the Tigris. The different races within the confines of the Empire lived peacefully and securely beneath the sway of Roman equity. There was the same law, adjusted to local conditions, for the turbulent Jew in Jerusalem and for the gentle Greek at Marseilles. The same legion might in a generation see service in the German forest and the Arabian desert; and, whether natives of Britain or of Dalmatia, the soldiers followed the same standards and worshiped the same gods.

But with this unity there existed, as with us, the utmost diversity. Many peoples have been ingrafted upon our nation, and we have conferred upon them the priceless boon of our citizenship; but as many nations lived beneath Roman institutions and received permission from the Eternal City to call themselves Romans!

While thus in some respects the parallel is close, there are others in which the contrast is strong. The Roman order was imposed from without—on civilizations already existing—while those who have sought our protection by coming to our shores have done so of their own volition. Therefore, though they have somewhat influenced American civilization, to a far greater extent they have entered it as a component part. The Roman world-empire may be described as objective, while the American empire owes its triumph to subjective methods.

Perhaps the contrasts and parallels between the old Roman civilization and our own, seen simply from the external and material viewpoint, serve to interest us rather as coincidences

in conditions between two great empires than as indications that the history of the one will repeat itself in the destiny of the other. But if their external resemblances be mere accidents we still have the more reason to wonder at the appearance in America to-day of social and other conditions once found in Rome. These conditions indicate the presence of forces of evil; but marshaled against them are forces of life unknown to old Rome, and, as we believe, unmatched in vitality and potency. The Roman Empire has perished from off the earth, leaving many monuments of its glory but no successor to its power. The problem of America's destiny, because it may be studied in the light of the world's great past and yet is concealed in the mists of new conditions and enwrapped in the folds of untried experiments, becomes the most fascinating, nay, bewitching problem the human mind has ever sought to solve.

The symptoms of decay in the Roman State were many, but none stood forth more prominently than did the growth in luxurious necessities, which sapped the energies while it whetted the appetites of her citizens. Yet it is not strange that increase in a nation's wealth should bring to the authors of it a more luxurious mode of living. The vital question to us as Americans is whether this increasing luxury means of necessity a resulting decadence in national life. Certainly the difference between the wealth of the generation that established this Republic and the wealth of our own is infinitely greater, both comparatively and actually, than was the difference in wealth between the Rome of Scipio and the Rome of Augustus. But we learn from this comparison that the strength of a nation lies in the character of her citizens, not in the value of their possessions.

It is not from the viewpoint of wealth alone that some of the shadows of Roman conditions seem to brood over our land. Blended with the financial are social influences—evil in their tendencies—common to both empires. As the richer classes withdraw from the service of the State, they devote their consequent leisure to the pursuit of trifles. As ever was the case, so now, the result is to substitute degrading vice for insipid folly, and later crime itself for vice.

The basing of social position upon monetary considerations was a practise much in vogue among the contemporaries of Nero. So Roman conditions here repeat themselves in the mad rush for wealth that has left many a man to bring up the rear in disappointment and failure. The resulting pessimism is sad to see. It means that many a family will die out in this generation, while the dread of a similar misfortune combines with other causes to make the children of our well-to-do classes less numerous than the social economist deems wise. A comparatively few persons are thus amassing the greater part of the nation's wealth.

But the picture is not wholly dark. No slave population stands amongst us as a menace to our social order. Our people are free—every child born in our land accepts the obligations by receiving the privileges of citizenship. In Rome only a limited number of her denizens were citizens, and even to the favored few citizenship meant the possession of special prerogatives as against the State, and not, as with us, the right to name our rulers and then to direct their counsels. This nation is a Democracy. The greatest and the meanest of her children have an equal opportunity to control her destinies. This equality of rights among all our citizens is perhaps the point of distinction most radical between the Roman State and our own. What one man is, any man may become. This is the belief of our people, for thus they read our history. They know, too, that the remedy for every evil lies, at the last resort, within their grasp. They are so conscious of their power they seldom deign to use it.

We have, as had the Romans, a great reverence for Law. We resent any suspicion upon the integrity of our courts. We have idealized them, and regard them as the repositories of the highest earthly wisdom and the dispensers of the purest earthly justice. It thus practically becomes possible for the judges who preside over them to act as the agents of the people, and to check, sometimes even to destroy in a lawful manner, the evils incident to existing social and governmental conditions. But if ever our courts should lose the respect and confidence of

our people, and come to be regarded as the instruments of class oppression or as the ministers of individual ambition, then Roman history will repeat itself in the necessity and consequent creation of a military dictator.

The comparison between the intellectual side of Roman civilization and the same side of our own affords a study of great interest. With us there exists a liberality, a tolerance for all dissenting types of thought, such as is not found in history since Constantine accepted the Christian religion. The earlier Romans had this tolerance, though their successors lost it. The former had, as we have, a belief in abstract Truth; but we are as careless as were they concerning its expression. This carelessness may be akin to indifference: doubtless with most of us it is so. The discoveries of Science have made us skeptical of all dogmatism. It seems as foolish to us as did the dogmatics of the ancient world to its philosophers. The tolerant skepticism of the Romans may be traced to causes very different from those that have produced in this generation the same result.

But it is external phenomena that we are now comparing; and nowhere may they be compared with more interest than in a study of the attitude assumed by the people of the ancient and modern world respectively toward paganism in the one and Christianity in the other. Thus, while many like Cicero believed in the gods of the fathers, there were others who, having rejected as fables the folk-lore of the old faith, were unable to grasp the spiritual meaning of these same stories; while on the other side were the great mass of the people still clinging devotedly to the theology of the past and ignoring the inadequacy of that theology to the necessities of the present. We see, in this age, resulting in part from the study and criticism of the things formerly regarded as sacred, a skepticism that asks whether the God of the dominant religion has been truly revealed, and again whether He is absolutely regnant in human affairs. Sometimes, too, the effort is made to substitute a scientific formula for God—to diffuse his proper offices and functions among an army of natural causes; while opposed to these so-called Advanced Thinkers (modern Stoics and Epicureans) are



the great multitude of our people who believe as did their fathers but without their zeal!

There is, however, a complete contrast between Christianity as an ethical force and the paganism of ancient Rome. In its later developments the latter was wholly lacking in that moral power which is the secret of Christianity's strength. This moral earnestness has so fostered the virtues essential to society that we can no longer separate in our thought the one from the other. Thus, with us, Religion is a conserving force, and the State has more or less consistently applied its principles of righteousness to the solution of her problems; while the individual has applied them, certainly in theory, to all the relations of our complicated modern life. Our social system is studied from the viewpoint of ethics, and its success is measured by the degree in which ethical principles are applied to practical questions.

Necessary limitations have prevented our touching on any but a few of the more salient points of comparison between the Roman civilization and our own. But even this brief study has shown that many analogies may with profit be drawn between the greatest Empire of the past and the yet greater Republic of the future.

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*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.  
They master us and force us into the arena,  
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*  
—HEINE.

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# The ARENA

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## EXPANSION—PAST AND PROSPECTIVE.

### I. CONQUEST AND THE CONSTITUTION.

THE question of Expansion should be considered strictly with reference to its effect upon the future welfare and liberties of the people of the United States—I mean the United States within its continental limits. There is an expansion that confines itself to this hemisphere—that keeps within the limits of the so-called Monroe (or, rather, American) doctrine. In this expansion the United States assumes the hegemony of all the American States, and takes the responsibility of settling, without conventions with other Powers, all purely American questions. Both continental territory and West Indian and Caribbean islands are included within its bounds. Thomas Jefferson was willing to acquire Cuba because it commanded the mouth of the Mississippi River and afforded harbors lacking on our Gulf Coast; but on the further boundary of Cuba he wished to set up a stone with *ne plus ultra* inscribed thereon. He said that he would accept no island that would require a navy to defend it.

From the administration of George Washington to the pres-

ent, "accretion and not colonization" has been the policy of the United States. This expansion is practicable, without danger of foreign complications and without menace to the permanence of our free institutions—if the inhabitants of acquired lands should be admitted to the same rights of American citizenship that are enjoyed by citizens of our States and Territories.

Another kind of expansion is the acquisition of the Philippines. This does not contemplate the rights of American citizenship for the inhabitants, nor their consent to be ruled by us; it sets aside the Monroe Doctrine and projects us into the complications of the Old World, from which we have nothing to expect save the broils, controversies, and wars inseparable from that relation. Unfortunately, our new possessions are situated in what must be the storm-center of the great Powers of the world. Lord Salisbury says that our possession of the Philippines would make us a factor in the Oriental problem whose aid would be beneficial to Great Britain but would not conduce to peace. He sees what should be plainly seen by everybody—that our liability to become involved in war is greatly increased by our presence in the East. The holding of the Philippines involves a large standing army, which is, always has been, and always will be a menace to free institutions and a heavy burden upon the taxpayer. It will require an addition to our navy not otherwise necessary; it will accustom our people to government by the military and destroy that jealousy and fear of a standing army which are instinctive in a free people. It will alter the character of our government, which has—in the Declaration of Independence, in our Constitution, and in the genius of our institutions—the "consent of the governed" as a fundamental principle, and in a part of our dominion will substitute force for consent; and, within the area where this substitution takes effect, empire takes the place of republic. The rot of empire, beginning at the circumference, will soon reach the core.

I shall not discuss here the moral phase of the question at any length. It seems to me an obvious proposition that a

nation which, throughout its whole life, has expressed sympathy for all other peoples struggling for liberty, and which has given its blood and treasure in aid of such efforts, and whose title to sovereignty is based in a revolt against a legitimate sovereign, cannot, without grossest inconsistency, descend from that lofty attitude of disinterested love of liberty and join the ranks of nations that rule by force and acquire by conquest. It is a pitiful traverse of a glorious record. The pretense that we are to hold the Philippines for the moral, political, or spiritual benefit of their inhabitants is fraudulent and hypocritical.

The advocates of this expansion have at last descended from the moral plane of the question, and, confiding in the commercial spirit that in some sections is dominant, have coolly set aside the right of the Filipinos to enjoy the freedom for which they have struggled with bloody sacrifice for a hundred years. They have ignored alike the affirmation of Congress in the resolution declaring war with Spain and the character of the nation as the friend of the oppressed, and justify their policy by a mercenary consideration of financial advantage. They speak of the expansion of our trade and the building of another Liverpool at Manila! Hong Kong and Singapore are British cities more advantageously situated, which do not rival Liverpool and never will so long as the nations of Christendom engross the vast bulk of the commerce of the world.

The contention that these Islands are necessary for our trade—or even in a great degree useful—fails upon examination. We are now the world's greatest exporting nation; and this distinction was ours before we acquired any Spanish territory. We had not a single colony. Great Britain, with nearly eleven million square miles in colonies and dependencies, embracing a population of nearly four hundred millions, stands second to us. In the last seven years she has lost five per cent. of her export trade, and has only seven per cent. of the trade of her greatest possession—India. In the same period the United States gained eighteen per cent. in export trade without possessing a colony, with a small fighting navy and a small commercial marine, while Britain's navy covered the seas and

her merchant vessels had sixty per cent. of the world's carrying trade. The treasury of Great Britain derives no revenue from her colonial possessions. Her trade with them is not because she exercises sovereignty over them, but "because she is highly efficient commercially."

France has colonial possessions equal to the area of the United States and with a population of fifty-three millions; yet M. Peletan, a Minister of France, declared that, for a profit of four millions in trade and the pleasure of ruling foreign peoples, France was annually expending sixteen million dollars.

Germany has a colonial area of one million square miles, with a population of eleven millions, upon which she expends five million dollars annually for a trade of two millions.

A comparison of colonies in the tropical and temperate zones shows an enormous disparity in the consuming and producing capacity of the two classes. For instance, Victoria exports \$70 *per capita*, and the tropical colonies of Great Britain \$25.80. Each person in the temperate zone colonies consumes \$12.32 in British goods, and each person in the tropical colonies 71 cents. "It pays Great Britain better that one child be born in Canada than that twenty-five children be born in Ceylon."

The debate in the Reichstag on the 17th of February showed an unprofitable condition of the German colonies—the appropriations for expenses growing and the imports and exports either stationary or decreasing. With her own colonial balance against her, Germany enjoys, without expense to herself, a trade of one hundred and twenty-five millions of dollars with British colonies.

Great Britain no longer wishes colonies, but she wants the "open door," because this means larger profits, less expense, and little responsibility; moreover, all the nations of Europe have now given their adhesion to the open-door policy.

The population of the United States is twenty-four per square mile; of the Philippine Archipelago, seventy per square mile. There is no room in these islands for American colonists, who, even if they could find room, could not live and labor in so hot and unhealthy a climate. But, if it were possible enormously

to develop the products of the Philippines, it would bring them into competition with the farmers of our own country who raise cotton, sugar, rice, tobacco, and hemp; and it is due to our farmers that we should not build up that competition. The wants of the Filipinos are generally few. They consume but little. If they wish to buy more manufactured goods they must produce more of the raw materials above named, and in this competition our workingmen must understand that agricultural labor can be had in the Philippines for 20 cents a day.

Additional proof that American commerce does not depend on our possession of colonies is the fact that our imports for three decades (from 1870 to the present year) have increased sixty per cent. and our exports two hundred and twelve per cent.—a record unparalleled in commercial history. In 1870 our exports and imports were eight hundred and twenty-eight millions, and in 1900 they will amount to two billions—without colonies. There has been a continuous increase. Statistics show that there have been no compensatory advantages—commercially speaking—in the possession of colonies.

The endeavor to discover an argument for holding the Filipinos as conquered vassals, not entitled to the protection of the Constitution, is having a hurtful effect in teaching disrespect for our organic law. I believe the Constitution exists *ex proprio vigore* wherever our jurisdiction extends—wherever the American flag is the ensign of authority. Whoever administers law, civil or military, under the authority of the United States does so by virtue of the power delegated by the Constitution. The oath of office of each one of them, as well as of Presidents, Cabinets, legislators, judges, and ministers, is that they will bear true allegiance to—what? The government of the United States? No; to the Constitution—also, that they will support and defend it against its enemies.

When we acquire territory, by whatever means, *ipso facto* over that acquisition exists the Constitution. Without that instrument our bonds are dissolved—we are no longer a nation. By agreement with the Constitution the laws of Congress have force and effect everywhere—in Territories, whether organized

or unorganized, as well as in the States. Everywhere the test of the law's vitality and potency is obedience to the Constitution, which is around and over the domain of the United States as the atmosphere envelops the globe. It has the force, continuous and uninterrupted, of gravity itself; and, though it may not manifest its presence, it will do so whenever its creatures, the Congress and the President, or the Judiciary, shall do something repugnant to or inconsistent with its provisions.

H. D. MONEY.

*Washington, D. C.*



## II. AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT THROUGH ASSIMILATION.

TO the pioneer we are more indebted for the larger part of our "acquired" territory than to the efforts of the general government. This restless spirit to acquire lands was shown soon after the Revolution began, by the emigration of colonists from Virginia and South Carolina to a strip of the Mississippi Valley then occupied by Spain. The strip extended from a point about one hundred miles below Natchez to where Memphis now stands, and was occupied by the Natchez and Choctaw Indians. This territory being a matter of dispute between England and Spain, the latter country plotted with the Indians, and with their aid held it against England. Fortunately, extensive settlements were made in this fertile valley by wealthy colonists from Virginia and South Carolina, who also brought their slaves.

Some of the most aristocratic families of the "Old Dominion" settled at Natchez, where they lived in baronial splendor; and a colony of South Carolina Huguenots and Scotch nobles formed a settlement on the Yazoo, where the city of that name now stands. Among these latter were the Hegers, of France, and Henry Douglas Downs, of Aberdeen, Scotland—the last lineal descendant of the "Black Douglas," and the husband of the "Heiress of Douglas." These aristocratic pioneers, who had left civilization and risked their lives and fortunes in a

hostile country, were mainly instrumental in rescuing it from both the Indians and the Spaniards. The pioneers were subjected to many acts of tyranny on the part of the Spanish officials, and finally, in the early part of the century, the American citizens "revolted" against Spain. Thus, it will be seen, our troubles with Spain began early. The "revolters," in a public meeting at Natchez in the early part of the century, denounced President Jefferson because he would not aid them in overthrowing the tyranny of Spain. Mr. Jefferson's policy, however, was not to engage in "entangling alliances" with foreign Powers, as the government was then too weak. As early as 1796 he enunciated what Mr. Monroe embodied in his message a generation later, and is now known as the "Monroe Doctrine." Mr. Jefferson's only fear was that the contiguous Spanish and French territory would fall into other hands before we were "strong enough to take it." But it was through the revolutionary acts of these pioneers that this section of the rich Mississippi Valley was added to the United States.

A few years afterward the American pioneers in what is now known as the "Florida Parishes," in southwest Louisiana, "revolted" from Spain, and this territory was also added. The Spaniards, in violation of the "treaty" stipulations, refused to leave these conquered "provinces," and finally the United States expelled the officials beyond the American boundaries to the Spanish province of Texas. There the officials remained for some years, plotting for the recapture of their lost territory.

During the period of the troubles in the Mississippi country, the Spaniards were also plotting for the possession of northern territory. They had made a settlement and called it New Madrid, and their scheme was to induce the settlers to "secede" from the general government. Pioneers from Virginia and other States had reclaimed Kentucky and the Tennessee country from the Indians without the aid of the general government; and as the government had failed to protect them from the injustice of Spain, in closing the Mississippi River to their commerce, they were ripe for secession. Spain had agreed through a treaty in 1795 that the Mississippi should remain



open for the commerce of the Western settlers. Notwithstanding, the settlers were harassed by queer Spanish "customs," by which trade was hampered and produce virtually confiscated. Finally, Spain arbitrarily denied the settlers the privilege of bringing their produce to New Orleans, abrogating the treaty.

During the period of this injustice Kentucky and Tennessee were on the point of "seceding" and forming an independent government, many of the leaders in those States—including a few State and government officials—heading the projected revolt. The timely purchase of the Louisiana territory settled the trouble without government intervention, and perhaps prevented these States from attempting secession. The government made no attempt at "expansion" in this direction, but rather seemed inclined to let the territories work out their own destiny, and the first official aid was their admission as States. Even then they were not protected from Spain's injustice; hence, the spirit of secession assumed a dangerous form, as stated.

The first "expansion" movement of the government, however, was in the territory north of the Ohio River, known as the "northwest territory." Congress gave aid to the settlers, sent armies to subdue the Indians, and made treaties with them. Kentucky and Tennessee made their own treaties with the red man. The apparent neglect of the government in aiding in the reclamation of Kentucky and Tennessee from the red man was due perhaps to its weakness and to the indifference of the Eastern States, whose people cared little for the trade of the Western settlers. But the first real "expansion" movement was that of the settlers in the Mississippi Valley; and to them belongs the credit of adding to the United States the first strip of foreign territory by conquest.

Texas was acquired in a similar manner. Settlers from the older States emigrated to this part of Mexico, then recently liberated from Spain. A number of them brought slaves, secured "concessions" of large tracts of land, and founded colonies and towns. The government abolished or prohibited

slavery and levied heavy taxes upon the colonists. Finally, the colonists rebelled and established the independent republic of Texas. Though the government was sufficiently strong to do so, no substantial aid was given to the American settlers. Ten years later, however, Texas was admitted as a State, in face of the avowed declaration of Mexico that such an act would be tantamount to a declaration of war. This is what the Polk Administration wanted—Polk was elected on a war platform. The object was to strengthen the political power of the South and to extend slavery into the territory wrested from Mexico. The war was opposed by a very large element in the North, especially in the New England States—some of their Senators refusing to vote supplies for the army. The same opposition was made to the admission of Texas, some Senators being so strongly opposed to this “expansion” that they said secession would be justifiable. The same anti-expansion spirit came from some of the New England Senators when the Louisiana territory was admitted as a State. The “Republic of Texas” acquired by us was much larger than the present State of that name. In addition to its present limits, it comprised the eastern portion of New Mexico and a “pan-handle” strip extending across the southwestern corner of Kansas up through Colorado into Wyoming, entering near the middle of the State and extending about one hundred miles.

The settlers who overthrew Texas started the expansion movement toward the West, and it soon extended to the Pacific. Through the indirectly overt act of about five thousand American settlers, we have “acquired” a larger territory than the original thirteen States. Their initiatory step led to the war and conquest. In the same manner, Senora and Chihuahua, on our southwestern border, are being “Americanized,” and it may be their fate to be “Texanized” within a few years. For half a century, Mexico, smarting under the humiliation of defeat and parting with so vast an extent of territory, has imprisoned and murdered Americans who have committed no offense. Men have lain in Mexican jails for

years, with no charges against them. Where cases are reported our consular agents seem indifferent, and redress is seldom had. No other foreigners are so brutally treated; they remember only the "Americano." Their brutality brought on the settlers' revolt for the independence of Texas—and history often repeats itself.

The territory acquired from Mexico, as a result of the war and indirectly of the settlers' revolt in Texas, includes California; all of Arizona lying north of the narrow strip known as the Gadsden Purchase (of 1850); Nevada; Colorado, west of the Rocky Mountains; New Mexico, west of the Rio Grande River and north of the Gadsden Purchase; the southwestern corner of Wyoming, being about one-fourth; and the present State of Utah. The Gadsden Purchase is about fifty thousand square miles, comprising the southern part of Arizona and the southwest corner of New Mexico. For this desert we paid \$5,000,000. The object in making the purchase was to get a seaport in the southwest, and the government's instructions to Gen. Gadsden were to include the port of Guaymas. Instead, he contracted the boundary-line to the town of Yuma, situated on the river of that name. It is said that his ignorance of the Spanish language led to this mistake, though the pronunciation of these words is entirely dissimilar.

The purchase of the Louisiana territory was due more to Napoleon's need of money than to our statesmanship. France, being at war with England, was greatly pressed for ready money, and furthermore the sale would prevent the territory from falling into the hands of that "island-grabber," which Napoleon saw would inevitably be the result as France was too weak to hold it. France had but recently acquired the territory from Spain, exchanging an island in the Mediterranean. Spain claimed that Napoleon gave her an "option" on the territory, the idea being not to let it fall into the hands of that growing Republic, America. Spain wished the territory as a barrier to protect Mexico. After the transfer Spain threatened war, and this event aggravated the troubles of the American settlers on the borders and in Florida. Our Min-

ister to France could not see the importance of "expansion" in this direction, notwithstanding the arguments of Napoleon. He thought the port of New Orleans would be sufficient—the remaining part of the territory was of little value. Mr. Monroe, our special Minister, saw the advantages, and finally induced Napoleon to come to our figures. With prophetic vision, Napoleon remarked: "I have now transferred to America a power that will sooner or later humble England's pride." This territory, costing only \$15,000,000, now comprises Louisiana (except a small tract east of the Mississippi known as the Florida Parishes); Arkansas; Indian Territory; Oklahoma, east of 100 degrees west; Kansas, except the southwest corner; Colorado, east of the Rocky Mountains; Missouri; Iowa; Nebraska; Montana, except a fraction west of the Rocky Mountains; North Dakota; South Dakota; and Wyoming, except the southwestern part (about one-fifth), which adjoins on the north our later acquisition from Mexico. This vast empire of territory was deemed of little value by the anti-expansionists, many of whom feared that the Eastern States would become "a desert waste" in consequence of the large emigration to this new country. The prediction was verified to a large extent, for the tide of emigration and expansion, since our first acquisition, has been westward.

For many years the "Oregon country" was "nobody's land," or, rather, it was debatable ground. It extended from the northern line of our Mexican acquisition to and including British Columbia, and eastward, including portions of Montana and Wyoming—forming a junction with the Mexican line and the "pan-handle" terminus of the original Texas. This territory was acquired from Spain in 1819, at the time we gave \$5,000,000 for the worthless peninsula of Florida after Gen. Jackson had already seized it. It has been generally believed that the northwestern portion of the Louisiana purchase extended to the Pacific Ocean, but it really extended only to the Continental Divide, as above described. The northwestern territory that Spain ceded to us now comprises Oregon, Washington, Idaho, the northwestern part of Wyoming, and the

fraction of Montana west of the Rocky Mountains. True, Spain did not have a clear title to the country—perhaps not as well defined as her title to the Philippines; but that made no difference to Spain. Both England and the United States also had claims. England had sent out explorers from British Columbia, and in 1792 an American skipper also discovered the country. In 1805 Mr. Jefferson sent out an exploring expedition overland, and in the war of 1812 the British destroyed our settlements, making further encroachments toward California—almost causing a war with England. About half a century ago, “54-40 or fight!” was a popular war cry and campaign document. We did not get “54-40,” however, and we did not fight. England did not withdraw her lines, but still holds about six degrees of the territory we contended for. Spanish navigators were the first to visit that section, but, not finding gold, settlements were not made.

Florida came to us, not through any expansion movement on the part of the government, but owing to the depredations of the Spaniards and the Seminole Indians. The former made raids into Georgia, South Carolina, and Mississippi, carrying away the slaves of the planters. Taken to Florida, the negroes were held also in bondage by their more cruel masters—the Spaniards and Seminoles. The planters of these States organized armed expeditions for the recovery of their slaves, and invaded the territory. There was considerable bloodshed, and finally the government sent an army under the command of General Jackson to recover the stolen negroes—and incidentally to teach the Spaniards and their Indian allies a much-needed lesson. After finishing his task, General Jackson took possession of the country. He had no orders to that effect—but Jackson cared very little for orders. He knew the needs of the country, and he also knew President Monroe’s ideas about adjacent foreign territory. Thus it will be seen that Florida, and indirectly the northwestern country, was annexed through the initiative of “settlers’ troubles,” and not through government “expansion.” As in the cases of the Mississippi Valley and Texas, the Spaniards remained for a few years in

violation of the treaty, inciting the Indians against the Americans. To their despicable and treacherous conduct is mainly attributable the series of Indian wars that followed.

Though the French had discovered the Mississippi, and established their claims to the country "from Canada to the Gulf," yet the Spaniards also set up a claim to the country on the ground that they had discovered Florida, and in consequence "claimed everything." The cession by France of a portion of this country to England, in 1762, without clearly defining the boundaries, and the subsequent cession from England to Spain of a considerable portion of the same territory, also undefined, gave rise to much of our trouble with Spain. After several trades between the Powers, Spain finally claimed all of the original French discovery—as it existed before its partition by France.

Our troubles with the Spaniards and Mexicans in the territory acquired from them may indicate what is in store for us in the Philippines and in Puerto Rico. The discovery of gold followed the conquest of California, and within a year 100,000 people had arrived, more than half that number being Americans. Notwithstanding, the 20,000 Spanish-Mexicans conducted a guerrilla warfare for years. As in other sections, they refused to learn English or to "assimilate" with the "Americans." They rebelled against the government, and their revolt would have been successful had it not been for the timely arrival of troops. The large immigration that flowed to the West, year after year, enabled us to hold this territory without the aid of great armies. But there will be no such immigration to the Philippines, nor to Puerto Rico. The eight millions of hybrids in the Philippine archipelago and the one million of Spanish and mixed breeds in the overcrowded island of Puerto Rico will no doubt overbalance the immigration that may flow to those islands for a thousand years. The Spaniards, Mexicans, and Indians from whom we wrested *this* country, only "assimilate" with us as their races become extinct.

During the second quarter of the century, and up to the beginning of the civil war, the spirit of expansion was rife in the

South. It was the dream of Southern statesmen to acquire Cuba and thus strengthen the political power of the South. Filibustering was popular, and a number of Southerners joined Lopez's ill-fated expedition for the liberation of Cuba. Lopez made overtures to Jefferson Davis to command an expedition, but the Senator declined the tempting offer of a General's commission and a salary of \$50,000. General Quitman, of Natchez, Miss., organized an expedition, but it was stopped at New Orleans.

In the West the spirit of expansion also prevailed. William Walker, the "gray-eyed man of destiny," laid down his editorial quill in Nashville, Tenn., and led an expedition into Sonora, Mexico. An over-officious naval officer arrested him and took the filibusters back to San Francisco, where they were released. Walker then organized his republic and set out again, but with little better success. His ill-fated expedition to Nicaragua followed. Shortly afterward William Crabb, of Vicksburg, Miss., also laid down his editorial pen and led an expedition to Sonora, where he and his companions were massacred after they had surrendered to an overwhelming force.

An attempt was also made to acquire this rich mining district by colonization on peaceable terms. Ex-Senator Wm. M. Gwinn, of California, had acquired a "concession" for a large portion of the country, and the Mexican government had conferred upon him the title of "Duke of Sonora." The war between the States ended the colonizing scheme, but ever since that time Americans have flocked into that fertile agricultural and rich mining region—and it will ultimately fall into our hands, together with the adjacent State of Chihuahua. The harbor at Guaymas, Sonora, which we believed we had purchased, and lost through a trick, is the best on the west coast, excepting that of San Francisco. These are the richest mining States in Mexico, and for three centuries sent about \$5,000,000 a year to Spain as the "king's fifth." In view of the inherent dishonesty of the Spanish officials, the product may be estimated at double the figures reported. The mines were not

exhausted—work ceased only because of the troublesome Apaches and Yakis. Only a few years ago they were partly subdued, through the aid of United States troops, when the tide of emigration headed for those rich fields of gold and silver. The Americans are introducing modern methods of mining, but they are harassed by Mexican bandits and tyrannical edicts, virtually confiscating property and imprisoning the owners. Chihuahua is more “Americanized,” but Sonora is the richer, in that it contains not only silver but sulphur, pumice-stone, and salt—the last of which is necessary in the extraction of silver. In addition, both States have a mild, equable climate, and a soil as fertile as that of California and more productive of fruits. In Sonora, it may be mentioned as a historical curiosity, is the wonderful mine of Arrizuma, long ago abandoned. From this mine came the largest piece of silver taken from any mine in the known history of the world. According to official records in the city of Mexico, it weighed 2,700 pounds. The king of Spain, not content with his fifth, confiscated the mine, and the owners deserted it.

These border Mexican States are inviting fields for expansion, but whether they will be “Texanized” rests mainly with the restless American pioneer, who is now found in every part of the world but more numerous on the Mexican border. These States could no doubt have been purchased from Mexico for a fraction of the millions we have wasted on the Philippines. Those distant islands have cost the government far more in blood and treasure than did the acquisition of all our other “foreign” possessions combined—and they are the least valuable. The millions squandered in this war would have reclaimed the arid lands of the West and made them habitable for a population perhaps as numerous as we have now—and the money expended would be returned in development and taxes. There are in California about 25,000,000 acres of reclaimable land—one-fourth of the area of the State. In Montana and Arizona only about 25 per cent. of the land is occupied; and of the 50,000,000 acres in Arizona and the 60,000,000 in Montana, about three-fourths are reclaimable. The



same estimate may be made of Colorado's 65,000,000, and of the 52,000,000 in Idaho, the 52,000,000 in Utah, and the 62,000,000 in Wyoming, with a decreased estimate for the 70,000,000 acres in the almost worthless sage-brush and alkali State of Nevada.

These figures of our unoccupied domain show that there was no necessity for going beyond our borders for additional territory. We have enough to accommodate our increase of population at the present rate for at least a century. Besides, no section of our country is as thickly populated as are the Philippines and Puerto Rico—and perhaps never will be. In addition, the Southern States have immense areas of unoccupied territory, especially the Red River and the Mississippi Valleys, which in richness and productivity are not surpassed in any quarter of the globe.

J. M. SCANLAND.

*Denver, Col.*

## IRISH NATIONAL REUNION.

**T**HE reunion of Irish Nationalists is an event whose importance and far-reaching consequences it is quite impossible to exaggerate. The British Empire is governed by the House of Commons, and the very essence of this government is the party system, whereby office and power vest in each of the two great parties in turn as either of them secures a majority in the popular assembly.

Great Britain and Ireland nominally constitute a monarchy, but a monarchy so limited—so tempered by the growth of popular institutions—that the government responds to the will of the people with more closeness and certainly with more rapidity than is the case in many nations whose form of government is republican. The British government depends for its existence from day to day and hour to hour upon a majority of the House of Commons elected by the people. Let that majority disappear by ever so small a margin, on any matter of real moment, and that instant the Ministry must resign office, or in the alternative appeal to the people by a dissolution of Parliament and a general election.

In practise it has been found that power oscillates with fairly even regularity from one party to the other. What Lord Salisbury once called “the swing of the pendulum” has been steady. Large majorities have been rare exceptions, and the party system—crude though it be—has worked well. It is, however, open to one obvious weakness. From the very nature of the case it leaves the House of Commons, the Ministry, and the executive government of the Empire at the mercy of any third party that might arise, and, for some ulterior object of its own, might be prepared, irrespective of the merits, to transfer its support from one side to the other at a moment's notice. This is, of course, a danger inherent in the party system; but in a homogeneous assembly, all representing one nation, it might have remained a mere theoretical defect in a system that in

practise worked smoothly and well.' And so in truth it did remain for more than half this century in Great Britain. It is true that all this time the House of Commons never was a homogeneous assembly. It consisted not merely of representatives of Scotland and Wales as well as England, but it contained also members from Ireland, brought there against their will—men who openly professed to have but one object in view: not to assist the Empire, but to restore the liberty of their own country. Yet in spite of this the English party system worked fairly well. For one thing the number of Irish members who really represented Irish popular opinion was very small. Even after Catholic emancipation and O'Connell's triumphal entry, the franchise was so restricted that the popular voice of the country was barely articulate. Besides, the possibility of an Irish party holding a balance of power in the House of Commons and making and unmaking ministries had scarcely dawned even on the mind of O'Connell; and, so far as British parties were concerned, the idea of such a state of things would have seemed utterly ridiculous. Yet before half a dozen years had elapsed the idea matured into a stern reality.

The general election of 1835 made O'Connell master of the Parliamentary situation. He returned from Ireland to the House of Commons with a personal following of forty-four members, and by aid of their votes he held the balance of power between the two great British parties. Sir Robert Peel held the reins of government, and the Liberal leaders were Lord Melbourne, Lord Althorp, and Lord John Russell. O'Connell threw in the weight of his votes with the Liberals, and for the first time a British Ministry was overthrown by the votes of the despised Irish representatives.

On the 7th of April of that year Lord Melbourne's government came into office. It depended for its existence from day to day upon the support of the Irish party. O'Connell's action in forming an "alliance" with the Liberal party—known to history as the Litchfield House compact—has been the subject of heated controversy ever since. To many Irishmen it has

always seemed the greatest error of his life that, having obtained possession of this great weapon and having used it for the first time with effect, he should have sheathed it in an "alliance" that practically suspended the progress of the National movement for five years.

These, however, are topics outside the scope of this article. I refer to the election of 1835 merely to mark the birth of that policy of Independent opposition which from that day has been the most powerful weapon in the hands of Ireland, and a return to which recently has raised the drooping hopes of the Irish race in every part of the world. Every day that has passed since this spectacle of a body of despised Irishmen overthrowing a British government in the House of Commons in 1835 has increased the power of Ireland. O'Connell had forty-four members, a very large proportion of whom were Irish Nationalists only in name. To-day Ireland can, with union, command eighty-six members, bound together by solemn pledges not to take office or emoluments from the government for themselves or their friends, and to remain absolutely independent of all British parties, ready to support or to destroy any British government—as the interests of Ireland may demand.

At the present moment the British government possesses in the House of Commons a majority of 150 avowedly hostile to Ireland. In face of that formidable force, which has existed since 1895, Ireland's representatives have been split up into several warring sections. Yet even under these conditions Ireland was strong enough to wring from Parliament a system of local or county and municipal government based upon popular suffrage, which a decade ago seemed at least as difficult of achievement as Home Rule itself. Ireland now has reunited. The life of the present Parliament is dying out. The reign of the majority of 150 is drawing to a close. In a little over twelve months from now a general election must take place, and it may safely be said that the return of any government to power with a majority even approximating 150 is an impossibility.

At present Great Britain is delirious with war fever. She is in no humor to count the loss or to apportion the responsibility, but the time is rapidly approaching when the delirium will subside and reason will return. The tens of thousands of valuable lives lost, the hundreds of millions of treasure squandered, the costly and dangerous problems opened up in the future of the Dutch and British races in South Africa, the reckless and unscrupulous diplomacy that led directly and inevitably to this iniquitous war—all these things must lead to a reaction against the present government. It may be said that it is idle to speculate upon the future; but if it be even permissible to judge of the future by the past, it is safe to predict a day of heavy reckoning for the present government. What seems as certain as anything in politics can ever be is that the next Administration will depend for its existence upon a comparatively small majority in the House of Commons. Then Ireland's party of eighty-six men will once again be the most powerful influence in the Empire.

The reconciliation of Irish sections did not come an hour too soon. Between now and the date of the general election they must devote themselves to building up their strength again. The Irish people at home have to reconstruct a great popular organization to replace the Land League and the National League of Parnell. They have to restore the confidence of their countrymen in America in their honesty and their power for good. They have to increase and to strengthen the ranks of their Parliamentary party—diminished by the loss of seats owing to internal discord and demoralized by what was really a ten-years civil war. They have begun this work. The union that has been effected is genuine. To have patched up a peace two, three, or four years ago would have been useless. The operation of inevitable causes during these years has gradually but thoroughly removed the real obstacles to reunion. The Liberal Alliance, which was the great bone of contention, crumbled away of its own accord and has disappeared. Time has assuaged those personal animosities which grew out of the most terrible crisis that ever tried men's souls. Some scars re-

main ; but time has softened all bitterness, and I feel convinced that the chapter of the last ten years may be regarded as finally closed.

To make the Irish party of the near future as powerful a weapon as it was in Parnell's time may seem too much to expect. For that purpose we would require another Parnell—and such men come but once or twice in a century. His principles, however, and his policy remain, and, animating a united body of eighty-six men in the House of Commons, must prevail sooner or later.

Some surprise has been expressed that the reunited party did not raise the question of Home Rule by a direct motion at the recent opening of Parliament. In this I believe they were wise. They preferred to enter a protest against the continuance of the war. With a majority of 150 against them they had nothing to gain by putting the question of Home Rule to the test of a division. What they did was in the most unmistakable manner to teach Britons the lesson that so long as Ireland is deprived of self-government she must be reckoned with as an enemy at all times of stress and danger for the Empire.

During the remainder of this Parliament I do not look for any very startling results from reunion in the shape of legislative reforms for Ireland. What I hope for is that the period between now and the general election of next year may be used to consolidate and reorganize our forces in Ireland, in Parliament, and in America ; and that we may be strong enough and disciplined enough to seize the opportunity certain to arise in the next House of Commons to wring reforms and possibly national self-government itself from the weakness and the necessities of British parties. To aid us in our efforts we look not merely for the active aid of our fellow-countrymen across the Atlantic, but for the incalculable strength that springs from the moral support of the public opinion of America.

JOHN E. REDMOND.

*London, England.*

## THE EASTERN QUESTION.

A CHANGE in ideas, moral and political, if general, may scarcely be felt and frequently is unnoticed except by the more careful observer; but if the change, instead of being general, is sectional, a clash is reasonably sure to result. Had the change of attitude toward slavery been common to North and South, we would have been spared the desolating drama of civil war. It is this same lack of harmony between the revolutionized political and moral ideas of the West and the ultra-conservatism of the East which has given rise to the troublesome problem denominated "the Eastern question." In other words, the question is one of dynamics and statics.

The term "Eastern question" is used in two senses; in the narrow sense it applies to Turkey, while in the broader sense it includes Asia. In the former it has been an open diplomatic question during the whole of the nineteenth century, and is as yet by no means settled; nor is it at all easy of settlement. The difficulty inherent in all race problems is here rendered doubly perplexing by the conflicting national interests.

Beginning with the treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji, in 1774, and running through the treaties of Jassy, Bucharest, Ackerman, Adrianople, Unkiar Skelessi, and San Stefano, the solution that Russia had to offer for this problem has been sufficiently clear. But this solution by absorption, though simple enough, did not appeal to the other Powers as being the best one possible, for the reason that such settlement could not be made to harmonize with the political arithmetic of their own interests. This conviction easily outweighed, in the balance of their judgment, any evidences that it would be a benefit to the population of the countries under Turkish rule. The most emphasized objection came from English statesmen, who saw clearly that the control of the Bosphorus by Russia would seriously threaten the line of naval communication between

their own country and India. The possession of Gibraltar, Malta, and Cyprus would lose much of its meaning provided the Black Sea were converted into a Russian lake and became, as it undoubtedly would, a naval arsenal whose fleets could sally forth and sweep the Mediterranean, with a safe retreat near at hand. The virtual possession of Egypt and the Suez Canal makes it reasonably sure that England will not peaceably consent to Russia's gaining so immense an advantage. Any move that threatens England's communication with India or her supremacy on the sea touches her at points where the nerves are especially sensitive and near the surface.

But Russia and England are not the only nations concerned in the division, or absorption without division, of the Turkish Empire. Austria has for some time taken a lively interest in seeing that, if Turkey is to be blotted from the map of Europe, such an obliteration should result in a liberal extension of the Austrian borders. And with reference to Austria there is the additional reason that she does not wish to have a too powerful neighbor to the south as well as to the east of her: this would threaten the Austrian Empire seriously, particularly as she has a considerable Slavic element in her population. The German interests are not nearly so immediate as those of Austria; yet Germany does not take kindly to the aggrandizement of her eastern neighbor, as was evident in 1878 and in her secret treaty of alliance with Austria in 1879, made public in 1888. France has little direct interest, except as she is a naval power on the Mediterranean and cannot look with favor upon an arrangement that will give to Russia the supremacy of that sea, or at least make her a powerful rival therefor.

While the above conflict of interests makes the solution of the Turkish question a very difficult one, yet it does not at all render a solution of it less desirable. That there is imperative need of some solution cannot for a moment be denied. Turkish rule is an anachronism in Europe. It has nothing in common with Western ideas of government. The Turk is utterly out of joint with the existing religious, moral, jural, political, and educational ideas of civilization. He is not only unpro-



gressive, but also untruthful, dishonest, cruel, and tyrannical to the extent that his rule is barely tolerable. Given these conditions, we have an open question; and what solution can be made to harmonize with conflicting national interests and the common sense of an enlightened world is indeed difficult to premise. Perchance some non-national power may be put in authority under the guarantee of the Powers, or some minor State, such as Servia, Bulgaria, or Greece, may develop sufficient skill in self-government to warrant her being put in control; but the outlook is not at present promising. It is not outside the realm of possibilities that alliances may be formed that will enable one of the great Powers to seize and govern Turkey; but this at best is but a remote contingency.

In the suggested solutions I have disregarded the right of Turkey to govern herself; for, while I am aware that it is a principle of international law that sovereign States of which Turkey has been nominally one since 1856 have a right to govern themselves, and that except in rare cases no other nation has a right to interfere, yet I am not prepared to admit that Turkey has any right to continue in the possession of a trust that she has abused in such a manner as to shock the common sense of humanity. She simply holds on by sufferance until a more worthy trustee can be agreed upon. Her rule is at once a relic of medievalism and a prophecy of perdition.

So much for the "Eastern question" in its narrower sense. We turn now to the consideration of the problem in its broader and more interesting sense—more interesting to Americans at least, in that we have now become a factor in its solution. Up to May 1st, 1898, we were politically as free from the necessity of taking part in the "Far Eastern question" as in that of Turkey; but suddenly, unintentionally, and in an exceedingly theatrical way, our relations were changed. Nor was this change without far-reaching consequences: we were from that time forward a world power, and the settlement of world questions is no longer foreign to us. The destiny of Asia is now a part of our concern—we are a factor in it.

Briefly stated, the question of the "Far East" is no less than

the political and social reconstruction of Asia. Considerable progress has been made toward the solution of this question, but much remains to be done. England has indeed made the world at large as well as the Hindu her debtor by her work in India. The government of the Mogul had broken down completely: it could furnish adequate protection neither to life nor to trade. That there was need of a radical reorganization and revivification cannot be questioned seriously. The motive that prompted England to undertake this work may have been mercenary and selfish; but philanthropy is a secondary, if not an infinitesimal, force in determining international action. The results of English rule in India are a practical justification for its assumption and continuance. The motives of a trustee should not be argued as a reason for his ouster while he performs well the duties of his trust.

Russia has done much needed work in Siberia; and while her rule is arbitrary, and appears to an American as harsh and despotic in the extreme, yet it is possible that it accords best with the necessities of the case, and will become more liberal as circumstances permit and a higher civilization demands. Viewed from the material side, there has undoubtedly been great advance in Siberia under Russian rule, and it is not unreasonable to expect that this material improvement is but preliminary to political and social betterment. Economic improvement is generally the first stage in the evolution of a higher social and civic life.

Diplomatically, the question of India and Siberia is no longer an open one. Persia and China are the great topics for diplomatic speculation at present. The control of Persia is important, more because of her strategic position than for her natural resources, which, however, are far from insignificant. Were Russia to get control of Persia, the British power in India would be seriously threatened; hence, any move by Russia in that direction is very likely to lead to a collision with Great Britain. Germany has at present great influence in the Persian Empire, and may be able to push her claim to the extent of gaining the practical control of Persia. This, of

course, may necessitate concessions by Germany in other directions; *e. g.*, to France in Asiatic Turkey, to Russia in China, and to Great Britain in Africa. Yet the importance of Persia is secondary to that of China, owing to the immense resources of the latter, which furnish a tempting field for commercial exploitation. The harmonizing of political conditions with commercial interests in China is preëminently the question of the "Far East" to-day.

Whether or not the integrity of the Chinese Empire can be maintained, in the face of territorial greed from without and imbecility from within, is a diplomatic problem in the solution of which the United States, by reason of her position in the Philippines and her vast and rapidly increasing commercial interests, is vitally concerned. The practicability of maintaining the integrity of the Chinese Empire can soon be determined to a reasonable degree of certainty; for the close contact with Western civilization will rapidly lead to one of two results—the new ideas will create an atmosphere that will infuse new life into the body politic, or it will remove the restraints of generations of conservatism and the shock will cause a general disintegration. Should the latter supposition prove true, a partition would undoubtedly result; for things are now moving at too rapid a rate in China to permit of the slow process of readjustment from within. In this event our interests should not be permitted to suffer even if weighty responsibilities have to be assumed in protecting them. We should see to it that our diplomatic representatives in the East are clear-headed, broad-minded statesmen—men who can discern tendencies, grasp principles, recognize opportunities, and act wisely and deliberately in emergencies.

If, on the other hand, the Chinese Empire has sufficient virility to readjust itself, the problem becomes much simpler—the "open-door" policy furnishes a fairly satisfactory solution. In securing the recognition of this policy the United States has played a creditable part. And there is considerable ground upon which to base a conclusion that the Chinese may be able to work out their own political salvation; for they are not a de-

generate people—they have simply become torpid by centuries of ultra-conservatism.

Whichever solution of this problem is found to be necessary, the United States cannot remain an idle spectator. Our commercial future in China, which is more promising than that of any other nation, is far too bright to permit such a course. We at present occupy a vantage-ground, and it would be sheer folly to frivol away our opportunities.

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## SYSTEM AND APPLICATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

A CERTAIN school of thinkers contends that international law is not really law, but merely a system of morals, because there is no common ruler among nations by whom its decrees can be enforced. This controversy arises not so much from different views of international law as from definitions of *law* itself. The minds of most English and American lawyers are so strongly impregnated with the influence of Blackstone that it seems impossible to wean them even from his errors. All his definitions are grounded upon the principle that law is a "rule of action prescribed by some superior, and which the inferior is bound to obey." If we accept this definition we must admit that international law is merely a code of morals, because all nations must be regarded as equal, and one cannot be the superior of the other. But Hooker's simpler definition of law, as merely "a rule of action," includes international law within its terms. Without discussing the relative merits and demerits of these two definitions, for the purposes of this paper I shall discard Blackstone's and, accepting that of Hooker, endeavor to show that for all practical utility the international code is really law.

International law is little more than public opinion exemplified in custom. It is a living organism, following the footsteps of civilization and feeling its forward and backward movements, with as much humanity and enlightenment as is then current among mankind. In this light, it is almost identical with ordinary law. The common law of England and America was at one time nothing more than public opinion. Our present laws are based upon immemorial custom, or, in the legal jargon of the books, upon the usage for a "time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." Now, in the early history of England there must have been a period when a certain custom was established throughout

the realm but had not yet been recognized and enforced by the courts, perhaps indeed because there were no courts in existence. Take, for instance, the law that the owner of land can expel a trespasser from his premises with as much force as is necessary. From the very nature of private property it is evident that this rule must have been in force long before any tribunals of justice were established, and that when the courts subsequently confirmed the rule they merely recognized an already existing law. It is, therefore, manifestly fair to say that this right of expelling a trespasser was a *law* before the establishment of any tribunal to enforce it, and that such enforcement was left entirely in the hands of the individual; that is, law was public opinion exemplified in custom. International law occupied exactly the same position. It is a collection of customs current throughout the realms of civilized nations, without tribunals for its enforcement, but depending upon the individual State to vindicate its rights. The fact that international law has no supreme legislature or judiciary by which its precepts can be definitely laid down and expounded may seem to many a serious defect. But this very freedom from legislative and judicial interference is not without advantage, because public opinion is allowed perfect freedom and development along the lines of humanity and morality, and the "living tissues of the law are not liable to become ossified" from the blight of bigoted conservatism. But, you may say, a law admittedly without punishments or means of enforcing them can have little practical effect, for a powerful State can violate the rights of a weak one without fear of chastisement. The answer to this is that such a transgressor will be held in general disrepute and be without friends among the society of nations, just as an offender against the rules of good breeding or kind feeling is disliked and avoided in human society, and that when such nation or individual is in need of succor there will be none to aid him. But to the man who believes in a moral law, who believes that its violation is just as sure to bring retribution as the violation of a physical one, there is a still stronger answer, best given from the lips of

Daniel Webster, in his speech on the Greek Revolution just after the French armies at the instance of the Holy Alliance had overturned the constitutional government of Spain :

"This reasoning mistakes the age. The time has been, indeed, when fleets and armies and subsidies were the principal reliances even in the best cause. But, happily for mankind, a great change has taken place in this respect. Moral causes come into consideration, in proportion as the progress of knowledge is advanced, and the public opinion of the civilized world is rapidly gaining an ascendancy over mere brutal force. It is already able to oppose the most formidable obstruction to the progress of injustice and oppression; and as it grows more intelligent and more intense, it will be more and more formidable. It may be silenced by military power, but it cannot be conquered. It is elastic, irrepressible, and invulnerable to the weapons of ordinary warfare. . . . Until this be propitiated or satisfied, it is vain to talk either of triumphs or repose. No matter what fields are desolated, what fortresses surrendered, what armies subdued, or what provinces overrun. In the history of the year that has passed, and in the instance of unhappy Spain, we have seen the vanity of all triumphs in a cause which violates the general sense of justice of the civilized world. It is nothing that the troops of France have passed from the Pyrenees to Cadiz; it is nothing that an unhappy and prostrate nation has fallen before them; it is nothing that arrests and confiscation and execution sweep away the little remnant of national existence. There is an enemy that still exists to check the glory of these triumphs. It follows the conqueror back to the very scene of his ovations; it calls upon him to take notice that Europe, though silent, is yet indignant; it shows him that the scepter of his victory is a barren scepter; that it shall confer neither joy nor honor, but shall molder to dry ashes in his grasp. In the midst of his exultation, it pierces his ear with the cry of injured justice; it denounces against him the indignation of an enlightened and civilized age; it turns to bitterness the cup of his rejoicing, and wounds him with a sting which belongs to the consciousness of having outraged the opinion of mankind."

It may be interesting to remember that Webster's prophetic vision was realized, and that the scepter of the Bourbons soon moldered to dry ashes in their grasp. Within seven years pub-

lic opinion in France drove the country into revolution and expelled the House of Bourbon forever from the throne.

Writers upon international law are divided by their methods of treatment into two schools—the Continental and the English—essentially different on account of the diverse systems of law and of legal thinking current in the two realms. They often reach similar conclusions, but generally by dissimilar lines of reasoning. The Continentals base their system upon a supposed *jus naturæ*, or law of Nature, and maintain that there are certain elementary principles of justice that cannot be denied, and that are obligatory upon both individuals and States. This natural law, they assert, is the dictate of right reason, by which an act judged by the rational nature of man is morally right or morally wrong, and consequently is either commanded or forbidden by God, the Author of Nature. This natural law is proved either by abstract reasoning or by finding certain rules accepted as law by civilized nations of all ages. They distinguish between this natural or necessary law and the voluntary or positive law of nations. Both are established by Nature—the necessary as a sacred law, which nations are to follow in all their actions, and the voluntary as a rule that common welfare obliges them to admit in their mutual intercourse. In other words, as one of them explains, sovereigns should regulate their behavior by the necessary law, but can only expect from others a recognition of the voluntary law.

The disadvantages of this system are very palpable. There is nothing clear and definite about it, for we are forever groping among the clouds in the realms of abstraction and visionary philosophy. The law of Nature is a very beautiful conception, but the difficulty is that it is created not so much by the Author of Nature as by the author of the book; for each writer constructs a different body of law, which he thinks is the only true one. To illustrate this constant disagreement, Grotius, one of the soundest as well as the most humane of the Continental school, after showing that the law of nations permits many things forbidden by the law of Nature, admits that natural law allows the use of poisoned arms in war though



the law of nations prohibits it. A later writer (Vattel) says that such decision shocks him, and that, "happily for the human race, it is not difficult to show the contrary;" upon which he proceeds to demonstrate his proposition by the statement that it is "with reason and agreeable to their duty [that is, by the law of Nature] that civilized nations have classed among the laws of war the maxim that prohibits the poisoning of arms." In other words, one asserts that, if it be lawful to put a man to death, natural law sees no difference whether we kill him by steel or by poison; the other, that natural law absolutely forbids the use of poison.

The English school, on the other hand, pay no attention to the law of Nature or to international right; they do not recognize what ought to be, but only what is. They say that by their actions, their official utterances, the decisions of their courts, nations have acknowledged certain rules as binding upon themselves in international relations, and that when the body of civilized States all admit a particular rule it thereby becomes a part of international law. When the Continentals accuse them of being narrow and unjust, of opposing the eternal principles of justice and morality, merely because the laws and decisions of the past may not yet have embodied them, the English reply that if a certain custom has not yet been recognized by the civilized nations of the world it is ridiculous to contend that it is part of an international code. To illustrate this point, the Continentals contended for a long time for the rule of "free ships, free goods;" that is, that a belligerent could not seize the goods of an enemy on board a neutral vessel, because, said they, such action was contrary to the law of Nature. England always opposed this rule, and the other European nations admitted or denied it according as their interest dictated. While such fluctuations continued, the English school denied that there was any rule upon the subject. But by the Treaty of Paris in 1856 England and the other nations all agreed to the doctrine, and the United States, though refusing her assent to the treaty for other reasons, has always acted consistently with the rule. English writers, therefore,

now say that the principle of "free ships, free goods," through being adhered to by all civilized States, has become a part of international law.

The great fault of the English system is that it is not as logical as the Continental, for, being a matter of slow growth, it is ill adapted to change of any kind, so that a bad law, if once established, is liable to continue indefinitely. On the other hand, the Continentals also open themselves to the criticism of proclaiming principles of injustice and immorality. For instance, when one of them (Vattel) maintains that all treaties contrary to what the natural law of nations prescribes are unlawful we can see how dangerous an opening is created for a sovereign to declare that a distasteful treaty, no matter how solemnly ordained, is absolutely void and not binding upon him. Moreover, the English system, by referring to a clear, definite, and undisputed body of rules, helps to correct what we have already seen was one of the worst defects of international law—its indefiniteness. For all practical purposes the ethics of the English school are as sound as those of the Continental, for there are few actually bad laws in the English system. England and the Continental governments are alike accustomed to act as their self-interests dictate; the only difference is that the English always hold themselves bound by any rules of international law that they have definitely acknowledged, while the Continentals, owing to the practical laxity of their system, have always a loophole for escape by alleging that their acknowledgment was against the law of Nature.

The American school of international law is practically the same as the English, though the teaching of Continental jurists has had much greater effect here than in England, and in consequence our system is more imbued with international morality. It is less stiff and unyielding than the English, and more capable of changing to suit the advancing spirit of the age, though at the same time free from the abstraction and uncertainty of the Continentals. The American standpoint is that the law of nations is a system composed of various ingredients

consisting *first* of fundamental principles of right and justice, and *secondly* of a collection of usages, customs, and opinions—the growth of civilization and commerce. “The most useful and practical part” is the second division, being positive law, “founded on usage, consent, and agreement.” In the absence of such positive law, however, “the intercourse and conduct of nations,” says Kent, “are to be governed by principles fairly to be deduced from the rights and duties of nations and the nature of moral obligation.” Thus American law adopts the English system, except that where no international rules exist, reason and equity (or the law of Nature, if you so wish to call it) are allowed full sway. The English system, especially as thus modified by the American, certainly seems sounder and more practical than the Continental.

The history of international law may be divided into three periods:\* First, from the earliest times to the establishment of the Roman Empire; second, from the Roman Empire to the Reformation; and third, from the Reformation to the present. Each of these periods has a characteristic principle. The underlying one of the first period, covered roughly speaking by Greek civilization, was that nations of the same race owed duties to each other; so that what little international law there was depended entirely upon the tie of kinship, actual or fictitious. Greek tradition and history are both filled with this spirit. It is found everywhere in the Homeric poems; indeed, the whole cause of the expedition against Troy was that the robbery of Menelaus was an injury to one of their kin, which must be redressed and revenged by the whole Greek race. With such crude ideas of international morality, the ancient customs and laws for intercourse with others were naturally imperfect and barbarous. In the golden age of Greek civilization, at the zenith of its power and glory, piracy was regarded as an honorable profession, and the fleets of Athens were accustomed to prey upon the commerce of her neighbors with as little compunction as Captain Kidd or Blackbeard. The

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\*Lawrence's “International Law,” to which work I am indebted for much of the historical matter that follows.

Greeks waged war with pitiless cruelty, believing that their enemies had no rights at all and that selling prisoners into perpetual slavery was really an act of mercy, for otherwise men, women, and children could all lawfully be put to the sword. It is true that the Greeks frequently gave quarter, but this was merely an act of grace, done probably not from feelings of mercy but from need of slaves. The sack of Troy is a fair example of what was constantly taking place in Greek warfare. If such was the spirit of the most cultivated people of antiquity, what must have been that of those lower in the scale of civilization! It may be said that the Greeks were exponents of intellectual more than of moral enlightenment, and that our ethical and religious ideals are principally Hebraic. In vain do we search the history of the Jews for the first glimmer of awakening morality. The motto of their international dealings may be aptly described as "Spoil the Egyptians!" and the account in Deuteronomy of the battle with Sihon, king of Heshbon, is characteristic of how the Israelites generally treated their enemies: "We smote him, and his sons, and all his people. And we took all his cities at that time, and utterly destroyed the men, and the women, and the little ones of every city; we left none to remain. Only the cattle we took for a prey unto ourselves, and the spoils of the cities." The Old Testament is filled with such incidents, and King David in prophesying the destruction of Babylon merely expresses the usage of the times when he says, "Happy shall he be that taketh and dasheth thy little ones against the stones." There were, however, the rudiments of international law among the Greeks. They allowed the ransom of prisoners, respected truces (especially for the burial of the dead), and permitted the right of sanctuary in temples. They had resident ambassadors and heralds, both of whose persons were sacred, and they made formal declarations of war through these officials. Finally, the Amphictyonic League was a method of preserving the balance of power among Grecian States.

The second period, from the Roman Empire to the Reforma-

tion, had for its underlying principle the idea of a common superior, whose commands upon international law were supreme. The history of the rise and progress of Roman power shows evidence of more international morality among the Romans than among the Greeks, though their rules pertained principally to the so-called fetial law, relating to declarations of war and treaties. "Yet," in the words of Kent, "with what little attention they were accustomed to listen to the voice of justice and humanity appears but too plainly in their haughty triumphs, their cunning interpretation of treaties, their continual violating of justice, their cruel rules of war, and the whole series of their wonderful successes in the steady progress of the conquest of the world." With Rome mistress of the world, the nations under her sway became accustomed to accept all their theories of philosophy and law from the hands of their conqueror, and the idea of a common superior in international jurisprudence became so strongly ingrafted upon their national life that the principle long survived the author; and when imperial Rome tottered to decay, Europe, accustomed to take her commands from the hands of a master, looked to the Papacy, as the successor of the Roman Empire, to regulate the law of nations. This idea of a common head or chief of all nations, issuing the "commands of a superior which an inferior is bound to obey," was carried along by the Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire till the general smash-up at the Reformation. Indeed, how strong an influence this principle has exerted upon the human intellect is evidenced by the Blackstonian school of thinkers already mentioned, who even to-day believe that international law cannot really exist because there is no superior to whom all the rest must submit. The Protestant Reformation—that magnificent outburst of mankind toward intellectual and political freedom, and against injustice and tyranny of every kind—sweeping over Europe in the sixteenth century, broke down this principle of universal sovereignty in international law and established that of the independence and equality of States: characteristic of our third period, from the Reformation to the present day.

After the first shock of the Reformation, when the old ideals had been shattered and no new ones had yet arisen, there was practically anarchy in international affairs. The beginnings of the new doctrine, however, appear in the maxim of the times—"cujus regio, cujus religio" (that is, the prince of the soil shall determine its religion), the practical effect of which was that each State became independent in international affairs—a result achieved not only by the freer spirit of that age but also by the feudal idea of the importance of land and its owner. The genius of this state of anarchy may be regarded as Machiavelli, and his "Prince" as its chosen treatise upon international law. He recognizes absolutely no morals in the conduct of nations, advises sovereigns not to remain neutral during a war but to take the side of the stronger, whether the cause be just or unjust, in order to gain the conqueror's good will and to come in for some plunder at the end. Ordinary moral rules, he affirms, have no place whatever in affairs of State. With philosophy sunk to such a depth, mankind was naturally ready and expectant to receive something higher. The light finally burst forth from that land of liberty and justice along the mouths of the Rhine, the home of Erasmus and William the Silent, that brave little province of Holland which for generations had been the bulwark of Protestantism against the assaults of her fiercest and most implacable enemy.

Hugo Grotius, the creator of modern international law, should have a monument erected to his memory in the center of every city that has been preserved from pillage, and in the heart of every soldier whose sufferings have been alleviated and of every woman whose children have been spared from slaughter and her body from pollution by the mitigations of modern warfare. So great a man was he and so deep has been his influence upon the human race that an article on international law can hardly be complete without a few words about his life. He was a scholar, a poet, and a dramatist, as well as an original thinker and author in law and in philosophy. At the age of seven he composed extemporaneous Latin verses;

he was a doctor of laws at sixteen, and celebrated as a legal pleader one year later. As a proof of his wonderful memory it is told of him that, being present on one occasion at the review of a regiment of soldiers, he afterward recollected the name of every individual in it. He was a man of action as well as of thought—ambassador, jurist, statesman, and soldier—the associate of Henry of Navarre, the intimate companion of John of Barneveld, and the friend of Gustavus Adolphus, who during the Thirty Years' War always carried Grotius's book upon the law of nations in his pocket. Having espoused the losing side in a fierce religious controversy in Holland, because he insisted that men were not *necessarily* predestined to eternal damnation, he was imprisoned in the Castle of Loevenstein, built on an island formed by the Waal and the Meuse. Here he devoted himself to the composition of history, law, and theology, and his work then written upon the truth of the Christian religion was translated before the close of the seventeenth century into seven languages, including Arabic and Persian. But, added to his preëminent intellectual and moral qualities, Grotius was an athlete of no mean ability. Tall and well built, as well as of singular beauty, so accustomed was he to manly sports that, shut up in a sort of cage consisting of a bedroom and study, he was obliged to invent some means of obtaining regular exercise. For this purpose he bought an enormous top, which he whipped strenuously for a couple of hours every day. In health of body and peace of mind two years thus passed away. "Spinning his great top for exercise, soothing his active and prolific brain" with literary composition, "creating, expounding, adorning by the warmth of his vivid intellect, moving the world and doing good to his race from the depths of a stony sepulcher, Hugo Grotius," writes Motley, "rose superior to his doom and took captivity captive. The man is not to be envied who is not moved by so noble an example of great calamity manfully endured."

After a miraculous escape from his prison Grotius took up his abode in France, where he wrote in Latin the work, which has become the bible of international law, entitled "De Jure

Belli ac Pacis" (the Rights of War and Peace). The Thirty Years' War, the bloodiest and most cruel since the Middle Ages, was then raging in Europe; and this was the real cause of Grotius's book. "I saw," says he, "in the whole Christian world, a license of fighting at which even barbarians might blush; wars begun upon trifling pretexts, or none at all, and carried on without reverence for any divine or human law, as if that one declaration of war let loose every crime." Grotius does not, like some visionary thinkers, deny the lawfulness of all war, but lays down definite regulations for its conduct as well as rules for tempering and mitigating its severity. He founded the principle—later sarcastically advocated by Talleyrand, but now seriously adopted into international law—that nations should do one another as much good in peace and as little harm in war as is compatible with their respective rights. Grotius distinguished between the law of Nature and of nations, and, admitting that many rules of the latter were harsh and inequitable, he pleaded with men to do better by appealing to the law of Nature. Such appeals would probably have had little effect in modern times, but were precisely the method to reach the men of his own century. Few books have had so immediate, practical, and at the same time enduring an effect; and the mitigations of war and other humane practises for which he pleaded need not in our day be vindicated by calling in the law of Nature, because they are now firmly established by usage as a part of the law of nations. How swift was the influence of his teaching upon Europe is manifested by the fact that from this time the nations claimed America, not by mere brute force as previously, but by the right of occupation—the "occupatio" of the Roman law taken by Grotius from their *jus gentium* (rights of nations) and claimed by him as the only title by which property can be originally acquired. We cannot analyze in detail this great work of Grotius, but will dismiss it with the criticism of Hallam that "the book may be considered as nearly original, in its general platform, as any work of man, in an advanced stage of civilization and learning, can be."



From the spirit of freedom and liberal ideas that Grotius displayed, it was natural that he should be the author and chief exponent of the independence and equality of States, which I have already said was the underlying principle of international law from the Reformation to the present. This principle is still the dominant one, though there are signs of its modification in certain respects and of the reappearance of the old idea of a common superior, vesting, indeed, not in an individual head, as formerly in the Emperor or Pope. but in the union of otherwise independent States—perhaps a manifestation of the present tendency toward combination in the economic and commercial world. There is certainly no doubt that the Concert of Great Powers practically controls international law in the politics of Europe. Greece and Belgium both owe their existence to this concert, and England and France engaged in the Crimean war in order to take the power over Christians in Turkey away from Russia and give it to the Great Powers. The most striking instance of this tendency, however, was when, after the Turko-Russian war of 1878, the other Powers insisted upon having a voice in the settlement, and not only snatched away the fruits of Russia's hard-earned victory but even distributed a few slices among themselves. The same tendency appears in Western politics, for nobody can deny that the United States is the dictator of international law upon this continent. The essence of the Monroe Doctrine is founded upon the principle of American supremacy, and, though never formally admitted by the European Powers, it has been practically acknowledged by them so frequently through their actions that it may be regarded as almost a part of international law. The acquisition of the Philippines, however, seems such a violation by the United States of that part of the Monroe Doctrine which precludes us from interference in affairs of the Eastern hemisphere that European nations would certainly be absolved from further abstention in those of the Western. But the United States in the past has not only asserted that foreign Powers must take no part in the politics of this continent, but has

taken the higher ground that we shall be the chief authority upon this side of the Atlantic. This view is best stated in the Report of Secretary Fish to President Grant (July, 1870), which he concludes by saying that the people of this nation "occupy of necessity a prominent position on this continent which they neither can nor should abdicate, which entitles them to a leading voice, and which imposes on them duties of right and of honor regarding American questions."

Whether the present drift in Europe and America toward restoring the ancient doctrine of a common supreme authority in international matters is merely a temporary deviation from the principle of the independence and equality of States, or is the permanent establishment of the former doctrine, is for the future to determine. There is this to be said in favor of the Concert of Great Powers in Europe and of the supremacy of the United States in America—that, admitting the faults of which both systems have been guilty, each has in the long run exerted its powers for good by restraining the greed and rapacity of the strong and by aiding the weak against the tyranny of their more powerful neighbors.

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## THE PASSING OF THE MORMON.

UTAH is a State. The Mormon is a citizen. As such he claims certain rights that a proportion of his countrymen are disposed to deny him. This disposition is a phase of a deeply-rooted antipathy. It indicates, not that the anti-Mormon thinks himself a better man than the other, but that he consciously represents a type of civilization naturally at war with the reactionary principles of Mormonism. We do not want those principles represented in the councils of this nation.

Previous to the admission of Utah, every measure was taken to transform the Mormon into an ordinary American citizen. He was not to come in as a Mormon. This was the object of the anti-Mormon legislation of 1882 and 1887. The connection of Church and State was not to be recognized; accordingly, the church's charter had been annulled, and its property—with the exception of buildings actually in use for religious purposes—confiscated. Actual polygamists were disfranchised, and all who accepted the dogmas of the Mormon church regarding polygamy were disqualified from serving on juries. Accordingly, the Mormon question is a social rather than a political one to-day. All that politics could do toward settling it was done previous to the admission of Utah. The Mormon in politics does not represent Mormonism, for it has no political status. However, apart from politics, he does stand for certain influences incapable of fusion with American life. These influences may all be traced to the Mormon spirit of exclusiveness, or separateness—a reactionary spirit, radically opposed to the genius of the New World. But on our side are the subtle influences of self-interest, to which, as I believe, this spirit is slowly yielding behind its fortifications.

The Mormon question is peculiar to this land and century. That there is such a question is a sort of negative tribute to American liberty, both civil and religious. At the same time Mormonism is a reaction against those very principles. Its

church government is theoretically democratic in the extreme; but while every man has—as Burton, the English traveler, puts it—“all the harmless pleasure of voting,” he is kindly guarded from “the danger of injuring himself by his vote.” Taught that the intervention of the Lord in their affairs is always to be expected, Mormons willingly submit to the dictation of the Prophet. Thus, during the years when the church was supreme in secular affairs, Mormondom was a little empire in the guise of a republic, enjoying that most ancient form of popular government—“universal suffrage tempered by despotism.” This is a phase of the evolution of democracy, not without its bright side. But in these days, when the voice of God in public affairs is heard through the Australian ballot system and the “voting machine,” no theocratic interference, however wise, can be tolerated. This feature of Mormonism we could not assimilate: it had to be changed.

The Mormons, like the Jews, have always been fond of calling themselves a “peculiar people.” If they have a parallel in history, it is the Jews; and yet, fondly as they appropriate and cherish the “promises” made to the posterity of Abraham, and sternly as they exclude all Gentiles from their terrestrial paradise, they are essentially tolerant in the extreme. They not only receive recruits from all races under heaven, with the sole exception of the negro, but their creed embraces features belonging to almost every religion. Mormonism is the antithesis of Judaism in this respect. Its alien elements, however, are cemented together by the institution of polygamy, which renders them more like one another than any one of them is like the surrounding elements of American civilization. The Jews were polygamists for economic and sociologic reasons quite in keeping with the evolutionary exigencies of their early days. The Mormons, of course, justify polygamy among themselves on the ground that it was practised by the “favorites” of Jehovah. But, evolutionary conditions having changed, the economic and other reasons of the Jews no longer exist. The Jews themselves are not now polygamists. A people in the midst of a progressive Western civilization, de-

liberately committing itself to a reactionary doctrine like that of "plural marriage," must have done so with the distinct purpose to "come out and be separate." No other barrier could have been half so complete or permanent.

When polygamy was instituted the policy of exclusiveness had already become fixed by circumstances. Mormonism originated as a religious sect. It was attacked as a sect as soon as it was born—long before it challenged Christendom by adopting polygamy. But no mere religious sect could, for the last seventy years, have remained a shining mark for the persecuting zeal of the orthodox without some distinctly offensive feature. I do not suppose that the prophet Joseph Smith recognized this connection between the "revelation on the patriarchal order of matrimony," received shortly before the end of his troubled career, and the policy of exclusiveness (modeled after the *haute politique* of Judaism) that was to distinguish Mormonism. But a more intelligent and able man than Smith published the said revelation, and in his plans exclusiveness was prominent. If Brigham Young made polygamy "mandatory" with the intention of permanently dividing Mormons from Gentiles, he was eminently successful; if not, he builded better than he knew. Polygamy is the one feature of Mormonism that to-day keeps them a "peculiar people"—the one incapable of fusion with our catholic American institutions.

In the same year (1852) in which Brigham Young publicly established polygamy, slavery—regarded by the Mormons as a kindred institution—was legalized by the Utah legislature. At that time the establishment of an independent government was the fond dream of the Mormon leaders. If they had been able to do this, slavery would undoubtedly have remained a feature of their polity. In 1850—only two years after the "Saints" arrived in the Salt Lake Basin—the old conflict between Indians and armed white invaders was renewed in Utah. The Mormons had no intention of affiliating with the Federal troops; whereas they regarded the Indians as their distant relatives—the degenerate descendants of a brother of Nephi, the Mormon prophet's Hebrew ancestor. Humanity and self-

interest both dictated their assuming the patriarchal relation toward the Utes, who, far from resisting enslavement by the Mormons, fell in with their designs so readily as to excite the suspicion that they were only being "trained" to aid the "Saints" against the Eastern invaders of their common territory. Negro slavery was not a success in Utah, where nobody was above working with his hands, and the labor of the lazy black man did not pay for his "keep." It is altogether probable that the Mormons would have failed to utilize the Indian for a similar reason. At any rate, though previous to the war their sympathies were with the South, we have never heard any such complaints from Utah as the slave-holding States of the East poured forth when robbed of their human property. This feature of Mormonism, while it was, like the two before mentioned, a product of the desire to erect barriers between Mormons and Gentiles, has fallen through force of circumstances; and, in my opinion, the same irresistible force that annihilated one will in time annihilate the others.

These carefully built defenses were raised to emphasize the peculiar position of the "Saints" in the world. They were to regard themselves as the chosen people of God, under his particular care and direction, and especially privileged and commissioned to reform the earth and populate the skies. Mormonism was "religion" before it was anything else. It began with a country boy's reflections on the importance of being prepared for a future state. Joseph Smith, the son of a Vermont farmer, even when a child was regarded as a visionary and fanatic. At the impressible age of fourteen he had trances in which, like many another, he supposed himself to be in communion with the unseen world. After about four years of such exciting experiences he was told, as he relates, that his sins were forgiven; that he was descended from an ancient family of Hebrew lineage, and was divinely chosen to be the prophet of a new dispensation. We see in his career an example of the evolution of the religious charlatan. He was too earnest and consistent for a mere impostor, though far from being an agreeable or exemplary person. He undoubt-

edly believed in his own mission. We can fancy him at first brooding over "a future state," satisfying the cravings of his crude soul with "pure and primitive religion," and enjoying his mystical dreams. From the trance spontaneous it was only a step to the trance experimental and the revelation prepense—to the golden book written by angels and the "Urim and Thummim," magic spectacles by whose aid he translated the doctrines of Mormon and his own credentials as a prophet. His fabrications, so far as they were conscious, were the means suggested by his surroundings for convincing others of the sacredness of his mission.

It is hard to see what there was in Mormonism in its early days to excite persecution such as it immediately encountered, or why it attracted such numbers of converts. It was the result of a literal reading of the Old Testament, unenlightened by any gleam of true spirituality or any glimmer of self-knowledge. In some respects it is a return to the child-like materialism of ancient races; in others it seems to out-do the transcendentalism of Swedenborg. Joseph was undoubtedly visited by a temporary intuition of true and lofty philosophy; but we have our treasure in earthen vessels, and the treasure of Mormonism was committed to a particularly frail and leaky one. Truth, being no respecter of persons, is often confided to minds unbalanced by their own passions or corrupted by environment. The germs of truth contained in Mormonism suffered by such contact. But the unique power it gained by being "baptized in the waters of materialism" may account for its success, apart from anything unique in its essence:

"God the Father and God the Son cannot be everywhere present—indeed, they cannot be even in two places at the same instant; but God the Holy Spirit is omnipresent: it extends through all space, intermingling with all *other matter*. . . . This intelligent, all-wise, and all-powerful material substance called the Holy Spirit . . . is the most active matter in the universe. . . . Each atom of the Holy Spirit is intelligent, and, like other matter, has solidity, form, and size, and occupies space. . . . Its distinguishing characteristics from other matter are its almighty powers and infinite wisdom, and

many other glorious attributes which other materials do not possess."

This sample of exegesis, from the writings of Orson Pratt (writings not altogether sanctioned by Brigham Young, by the way), gives an idea of the manner in which metaphysics is mingled with physics in Mormon doctrine. "God," said Joseph Smith, "is a man like one of yourselves; that is the great secret." Jesus Christ was the material offspring of the material Father, by the Virgin Mary, who was actually married to the first person of the Trinity. He took "unformed chaotic matter" and formed and peopled this world, which he afterward redeemed. Any man can rise, by faith and obedience, to the position of a deity, when he can, like the Creator, form a planet, people and redeem it, and be enthroned as its god forever. Of course, there are a material heaven and hell—the one consisting of the "future abode of the gods," i. e., men who by "celestial marriage" have become eligible to be rulers of angels and men; the other a lake of fire. Marriage and baptism are sacraments of a mystic efficacy—so much so that they are even performed for the dead. We read in Dixon's *New America* of the marriage of Elder Stenhouse to a charming young lady, who, had she lived, might have become Mrs. Stenhouse. She died, but the marriage came off just the same, the elder's first wife standing as her proxy "both at the altar and afterward." Similarly, Washington and Franklin were "baptized by proxy," being thus admitted to the exclusive glories of the "peculiar people."

In each item of these doctrines materialism is the key-note. But each item is a pale in the trocha of Mormon exclusiveness; and this quality of exclusiveness—no less a manifestation of a reactionary spirit than is the materialistic theology itself—is undoubtedly what has from the first both charmed the convert and maddened the persecutor.

It is impossible to tell how much of the persecution of the Mormons was undeserved. Undoubtedly a large part of that which may be said to have been deserved was provoked by the offensive airs of superiority assumed by the "Saints,"



rather than by actual outrages upon the moral sense of the communities where they settled. This "peculiar people" was the object of "ferocious animosity" as early as 1831—a year after the publication of the book of Mormon, and long before the revelation upon polygamy made them the shining mark of the reformer. Smith was extremely unpopular wherever he went, yet he everywhere gained new converts. There was friction between him and his earliest adherents, and some of them deserted him. They accused him of numberless enormities. He was mobbed and tarred and feathered. Thirty-nine times during his career he was cited into court without being once condemned—so Dixon says, and suggests that he contrived to have himself falsely accused for effect.

The Mormons were not so bad that every one need hate them. "Socially, morally, and industrially, they were far in advance of their neighbors," says one writer. Still, their exclusiveness and superior airs only excited enmity; and the more people fell under the magnetic influence of the prophet, Smith, the more his disagreeable personality and character became the objects of attack. On the other hand, the "Saints" have not been altogether without excuse for their hostility to the Gentile world. For example, in Missouri, in 1838, an attempt was made to prevent Mormons from voting. A riot ensued, and as a result 13,000 men, under an order of the governor, expelled them from the State. Smith and seventy others were imprisoned, tried by court-martial, and sentenced to death, but escaped. Six years later Smith was again imprisoned, and while in jail was attacked by a "blackened-faced mob" and killed.

The "Saints" well understand that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church." Each time they were forced to migrate, numbers were added to the persecuted sect. Their missionaries were instructed, says Burton, not to praise the charms of their mountain home, but to tell of their persecutions. "Come out, and be ye separate," is the cry of the Mormon evangelist; "come and join the Lord's peculiar people."

From the settlement of Utah until now the Mormon has re-

sisted every effort of ours to whip him into line, first by force of arms and again by more and more stringent legislation. He clings to his ideal of separateness even while asking a share in the government. Sociologically we are right and he is wrong. Separateness is reactionary. Union is the genius of modern civic life. A "peculiar people" is an anomaly in this age and country. Every one must fall in line or be left behind.

Have we no common ground with the Mormon? Yes; we want him in the Union, and he wants to be in it. But we want him on our own terms. Our terms were made known by the law of 1887.

Exclusive as the Mormons are, they have not been unaffected by the great formative processes of this century. Starting out with the idea of being apart from the rest of the world, and drawing to them the Lord's elect from all quarters of the globe, they made their home in a remote and isolated valley, expecting to remain at a distance from the commerce and culture of the Gentiles. In consequence of the rush of gold-seekers to California, they almost immediately found themselves in the track of the most cosmopolitan movement of civilization that ever took place. They made much profit out of the necessities of the Gentiles thus brought to their doors; and, though they at first resisted the contact, they were forced by self-interest to change their policy to a certain extent, and finally to become a part of the great American commonwealth, instead of realizing their first ideal—independent sovereignty. Salt Lake City is full of Gentiles. The blessings of exclusiveness are no longer enjoyed by the "Saints" at the cost of the more substantial advantages of commerce.

The Mormons are not a set of fanatics, but are a canny and practical folk. Every man, woman, and child is a worker—in house, shop, or field. Many of the apostles have been mill-owners. Brigham Young was a stock-raiser, and greatly improved the herds of Utah by importing the better breeds from the East. His fortunes were principally made in business, he having been in his day the chief commission merchant,

lumber dealer, and importer of the West. "Brothers and sisters in the Lord Jesus Christ," he said, addressing a party of immigrants, "you have been chosen from the world by God, and sent through his grace to this valley of the mountains, to help in building up his kingdom. Your first duty is to learn how to grow a cabbage, and along with this cabbage an onion, a tomato, a sweet potato; then how to feed a pig, to build a house, to plant a garden, to rear cattle, and to bake bread: in one word, your first duty is to live." Mormons disregard the law against polygamy, but they are not gipsies, tramps, or outlaws—they have homes and children; they have business interests; they have a stake in the country. Among themselves they are law-abiding, temperate, and honest. They are not bad—bad men cannot govern as the Mormons are governed, nor will bad men submit to such constant restraint. Now, with the tide set against exclusiveness, as it is, have we not reason to hope that the Mormons will, if let alone, give up polygamy—the one obstacle to their entire assimilation as citizens, and the one irreconcilable element of the Mormon problem?

As we have seen, the mingling of ecclesiastical and secular power, formerly a dangerous peculiarity of Mormonism, was practically done away with before Utah became a State. Polygamy is all that is left of the Mormon trocha. It has a strong hold upon the "Latter-Day Saints." First, it is a mark of exclusiveness; second, it has been a means of appeal to the carnal mind; third, it is a "sacred institution," justified on various grounds. As a mark of exclusiveness, it certainly costs more than it comes to, for it makes inevitable a degree of exclusiveness at present quite in the way of their interests. As a means of drawing men into the church, its utility—whatever it may have been in the past—is practically at an end. Polygamy is illegal in Utah as elsewhere, and a person willing to break the law can do so without joining the Mormons. As a sacred institution it is still in full force—in the old legal phrase, "time does not run" against it! However, not even the sacred institution is wholly proof against the logic of events, as was shown by the fall of slavery. A needless

amount of misunderstanding and mutual uncharitableness exists between us and the Mormons, all on account of the matter of plural marriage; perhaps, then, one may be forgiven for passing by the question whether it is practised now, in Utah, in violation of the law, and considering it theoretically.

When polygamy was instituted, the key-note of Mormonism was *control*, by the church, of every detail of life; no man was expected to control himself. Moreover, no action could be kept secret. Wise parents find that, when children know they are watched, absolute obedience must be required and their surveillance must not be relaxed for a moment. As the family grows, this becomes a harder and harder task. Such was the undertaking of the Mormon leaders. They intended that Mormons should be better than their neighbors. They were obliged to keep their followers in the straight and narrow way, but the human nature they had to deal with was crude and undisciplined. Under these circumstances we need not be surprised to find the church legalizing polygamy, but pronouncing adultery no less a crime than murder. Plural marriage, as sanctioning sexual relations otherwise beyond control, may well have been a social necessity. There was no woman without a husband, and no child without a legitimate father. Thus the church kept its finger on the pulse of private morals, and established a system of social economics that was rude but effective.

We may well ask ourselves why, if polygamy is only a licensed form of sexual immorality, Mormons do not now fall in with its other common forms, instead of persisting in living with their plural wives to their own legal detriment. Mormonism, though materialistic, is not essentially a cult of sensuality. The Mormons have virtues with which sensuality is incompatible. It would be no less absurd to pronounce their sobriety, industry, and other merits the effect of plural marriage than to find in that institution the effect of a natural viciousness beyond that of other communities.

Le Gallienne remarked that the Turk with his four wives may be more moral than we with our one: "The question is, whether *relative to his conditions, his matrimonial complexi-*

*ties*, the Turk does or does not struggle to follow the law of his higher nature." However, the greatness of races does not always show itself in their "struggles" with the animal nature, and individuals find their moral laws ready made. We should not condemn the Turk, nor the Mormon, if he does not keep step with us in the grand march. "He hears another drum." Adam was under two laws—"increase and multiply," and "thou shalt not," etc. Some races progress as they obey the first—the natural law. With others the passion for virtue is supreme—the strongest, most vital and indestructible germ in this world. With us monogamy is probably the expression of a true desire for a higher and holier life—a nobler phase of human existence. Yet polygamy was adroitly turned into a moral agency by the Mormons; for, while it may be "mandatory," only those able to support two or more women and their children, in favor with the Prophet and otherwise eligible, were permitted to marry more than one. At the same time the highest happiness and honors of the future life were supposed to be reserved for the husband of the largest number of wives; while he who had only one became a mere servant of the gods—a "bachelor angel." All believe in polygamy, but comparatively few practise it. Like the un-ambitious voter, who adheres to republican government without hoping to be President himself, the rank and file of Mormondom adhere to polygamy for its indirect benefits. But these benefits are becoming more and more problematical.

Mormonism allowed women the ballot; but it is not a "woman's movement." A wife of one of the Apostles once wrote a letter defending polygamy at great length and with relentless and unblushing valor; yet her arguments are too far-fetched to convince a woman. They do not contain one word of the logic of love and happiness. The ideal Mormon wife is a Sarah, who sweetly consents to her husband's marriage with a younger and more buxom woman, thus interfering with the process of sexual selection and with the natural evolution of the higher phases of love. Polygamy may have been a benefit to women in certain transition stages of the world, when no man would care for or protect a woman unless she

was his wife, and when the ability to rob two or three other men of possible mates proved the man a worthier husband and father. But this argument does not apply now. Neither does that threadbare sociological one, that population increases faster when one man has several wives. Brigham Young had forty-eight children by his twelve wives. Suppose each Mormon woman to have been the mother of four children, the women being twice as many as the men. The increase from generation to generation would then be as three to eight—a rapid rate, but nothing compared to the actual growth of Mormonism by proselytizing during a like period. “Thirty years ago,” said Dixon in 1866, “there were six Mormons in the world; now there are 200,000.”\* The Mormons, then, were not, like Abraham, the much-quoted father of the faithful, dependent on their individual success in the production of large families for their numerical increase. With the rise of *thought* as a conquering power, the importance of the large family has waned. In the Mormon heaven, the Apostle’s baptizees rank with his children, and of course far outnumber them.

Polygamy is out of date. It may have been socially and economically necessary in ancient times, or even at the foundation of Mormonism—it may have been justified by circumstances while the “Saints” were pilgrims and strangers, with every man’s hand against them; but now it has clearly outlived its usefulness. It is condemned by those races which hold individual progress, wealth, learning, civilization, and virtue, rather than population, to be the strength of a nation. The Mormons may still hold to the contrary, and justify their “sacred institution” by the old sociological argument; but they live in a country where they must compete, not by numbers but by genius, for the prizes of life. We do not want the Mormon to perish from the earth; we want him to come to terms. We think he will; for he, like ourselves, is human. Has his peculiar religion of separateness greater power over his mind than the forces that tend to assimilation? No; it is a case where it is better to surrender than to die.

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\*In 1899 there were, in the United States alone, 343,000.

## CRIMINAL SOCIOLOGY.

### I. THE MAKING OF HONEST PEOPLE.

**M**R. Charles Dudley Warner, in a late number of **THE ARENA**, accuses the great American public of making criminals; but he sets out only in small part the facts that underlie his claim. All that he charges the public with doing occurs after the first incarceration of the criminal—the hardening process of lock-ups and jails. But before that are all the years during which the prospective criminal is gradually approaching the first overt act—the hardening process of mal-education and environment.

It is well that prison-reform associations engage in the amelioration of prison conditions and methods. What they have accomplished from the first measures large in the advance of civilization. But they have had to do more with the jailer than the jailed. In the actual reform of criminals, the gain has been meager compared with the effort put forth. Nor is this surprising when we consider the intent with which prison reformers proceed. Speaking of the Elmira system, Mr. Warner said:

“The Elmira system is not an attractive one to the criminal. I read somewhere to-day that criminals would be very well satisfied if the whole of punishment, as it was called, was reduced to education, so that all a man had to do was to commit a crime, get a certificate, and go to a first-class college to be educated. That was about the idea. Evidently the writer of that did not know the man he was talking about. There is nothing so disagreeable, nothing from which he so reluctates, as to change his bad habits for decent habits. I believe the majority of criminals, if given the choice of undergoing the hardships of an education such as they must go through at Elmira, would prefer to go to Sing Sing and have done with it.”

The initial assertion in that statement condemns it. Whatever the system adopted, if it be effective it must be attractive

to the criminal. It is not to be expected that in prospect it will be attractive to him; but, somewhere in its course and before he is through with it, he must be won. The difference between the criminal and the law-abiding man is one of mental attitude. If some influence could operate to change the thief's desire or temptation to steal into a strong respect for the rights of property, it would at once change his status in the community. This influence, then, is the one thing needful. It has never been found in punishment or repression. It is clear that he must be convinced of his error. This is possible only with a reasoning being, and as such we must treat him.

In order to reach any man with moral suggestions or help, it is first absolutely necessary to get upon a common plane with him and establish relations of mutual confidence. This certainly cannot be done by arousing the criminal's antagonism with the threat of punishment. It is true that detention and incarceration must be employed, and that the first impression made thereby upon the prisoner's mind will be necessarily that of punishment; but it must be removed as fast as possible. It must be replaced with the idea of education and mental growth. The betterment of his condition, morally and mentally, must be made his principal thought. It must lead to complete restoration of the privileges of citizenship.

The effective and economical making of honest people must begin with the individual in his most plastic state, before he has formed opinions and beliefs. The making of criminals is begun there. The first impression made upon the child's mind is that he was born bad. Consciously or unconsciously, we crush him beneath the "fall of Adam." He is prone to evil as the sparks fly upward; he is shapen in iniquity; and in sin did his mother conceive him. That is the manner of his instruction. If it is not given in so many words, in all cases, it is nevertheless conveyed. The race is dominated by the idea, and the child naturally grows into it.

Mr. Warner says: "It is all very well to say that human nature is bad: we admit that." We will never begin rightly the making of honest people until we cease making such ad-



missions. To make good people is a hopeless task if the material is wholly bad. We cannot make iron out of potter's clay. True, he says: "It is becoming a very unsafe thing to say of any human being that he is absolutely incorrigible;" but he repeats in another place that old, senseless, sounding antithesis: "There is in every man something by which he is either going upward to be an angel or going downward to be a devil." That is the sort of thing that holds the race back. The race *does* get better in spite of it, and thus shows how false it is; but it is a dragging weight. This thought of indwelling evil grew out of the legend of Adam's creation and "fall." We do not believe the legend any more, but we cling to the most pernicious thing in it. We now believe that our far-off ancestors were very low in the scale of intelligence; that they had risen to that state; that the race has constantly risen since, and is now and will always continue upon the up grade. Its origin may have been brutish, but it was not evil. There was ignorance, but not sin.

Measuring from our conception of prehistoric man to his present status, we are convinced that vast progress has taken place and that it will continue. If this be so, it cannot be true that there is anything in man's nature drawing him downward. It is inconsistent with the evolution of the race. The sensible view of the matter is, that men are naturally moral and that the constant tendency in every man is toward better moral conditions. It is true, there are men that do not get better; but there are trees that do not grow—that even wither away and die. The faith that takes hold of every sane individual, presently criminal or presently law-abiding, as an active unit in the great plane of evolution, will be wonderfully rewarded.

Helen Zimmern, in the *Popular Science Monthly*, suggests that criminals show physical and psychical peculiarities, and that they and madmen are in a similar pathological state—manifesting itself in lunacy in the one and crime in the other. In August, 1898, Professor Kollmann, of Basel, at a meeting of the German Anthropological Society, said: "The influence of heredity is far stronger than that of environment. The

ethnic traits are immortal and persist, though the peoples who bear them may disappear from history." M. Jacques Bahar, reported in the *Revue Scientifique*, asserts that crime is simply a species of atavism—a recurrence in the individual of some lower ancestral type in which he traces a predominance of the cannibalistic trait.

But the doctors do not agree. The *British Medical Journal* remarks, relative to the asymmetrical development of Luccheni, the murderer of the Empress of Austria: "It would have been more satisfactory if the criminal anthropologists could have recognized all these evidences of criminality before Luccheni had perpetrated the crime which has given him the notoriety of infamy which he coveted." In the *Revue Scientifique*, Dr. Cesare Lombroso says: "The influence of environment is potent enough to annihilate all ethnic traits." M. Dallemagne, author of "Anatomical Stigmata of Criminality," rejects "criminal type," although admitting that a larger proportion of the stigmata of degeneracy is present in the criminal than in the non-criminal class. Prof. Brentano, the well-known Berlin authority on sociology, calls attention to the fact that every increase in the price of bread increases the number of thefts.

The suggestion of insanity carries with it the idea of irresponsibility. If the criminal is to be found susceptible to reformation, it must be through an appeal to his reason. This can never be effective with irresponsible people. The term *insanity* is so comprehensive that with some people it takes in the whole human race. The defense of "insanity" so often set up by criminal lawyers, and so often admitted by juries, is subject to frequent and just suspicion on the part of reasoning men. Nature draws the line between sanity and insanity much more distinctly than does the average jury. I am convinced that most criminals are sane, and it is with them we have to do.

There is no doubt about the influence of heredity. It is potent enough, but not all-potent. Were Professor Kollmann's position correct we would still be savages. Education would be

useless if environment did not exert a powerful influence upon the so-called degenerate. But the cause of criminality is valuable only as it suggests a remedy. The chief thing sought is not the cure of present criminals, desirable as that may be, but the prevention of future criminality. There are but two causes that operate in the production of criminals—heredity and environment. Environment includes all that goes to the training of the criminal, whether it be good or bad. If the hereditary influence was bad, it arose from the bad environment of the ancestors. It is evident, then, that the primary cause of all criminality is mal-education. The criminal standing in the dock, vicious and sullen, is the victim of a mighty wrong. Some time, either in his life or in the lives before him, indifference, niggardliness, ignorance, or bigotry shut the door of light for him.

“Through this dread shape humanity, betrayed,  
Plundered, profaned, and disinherited,  
Cries protest to the Judges of the World—  
A protest that is also prophecy.”

We should approach the reformation of the criminal with the thought strong upon us of righting this wrong. We can never “make right the immemorial infamies” which have made him the thing he is, but we can point out the way to an honorable life. It must be remembered, however, that repentance is not the road to honesty; it is not even necessary. Repentance is merely incidental to the mental process of reformation. To be sorry for wrongdoing, a man must first be convinced that it is wrong. To convince a man that a certain course of conduct is wrong, you must first convince him that another course is right. The only way to accomplish this is to contrast the two courses, so that the man can see that the latter rather than the former tends to his happiness. After a man has adopted a new course he may regret the former. That is repentance—a late and not necessary item in the process.

The reformation of a criminal is not different in kind from the conversion of a tailor into a farmer. Whenever upon investigation the business of farming becomes sufficiently at-

tractive to the tailor, he but awaits the opportunity to become a farmer. Convince the criminal that an honest life is better for him than a criminal career, and you have rendered him an honest man. It is a question of opinion. Every man passes through this process many times in the course of his life. In matters of business, of habit, of association, after careful consideration he adopts new courses and methods. Every time he does so it is a conversion, differing only in degree from the conversion of a criminal.

The conversion of the criminal can never be secured through the application of penalties. No man was ever converted to anything by force. Nor is it true that we obey law, either State or natural, because of force behind it. There is no force behind or in any law that can compel obedience to it. A community is law-abiding because the majority is so. Force cannot be applied to majorities. The majority is law-abiding because of the essential agreement among its members. There is a force in the law, but only those feel its effects who are out of harmony with the law and thus come in contact with it. It operates not as a punitive but as a correctional agency. This is true of both State and natural law. To secure obedience by the individual he must be made to know that the law points out for him the best way; that for every step in life it marks the path; that this lawful path leads always to his highest happiness; that when he ignorantly leaves the path the law exerts itself to replace him; that whatever discomforts this brings come solely from his lack of harmony with the law; that the law is not a vindictive agency and does not punish, but that his sufferings spring from his error.

I have said that this training of the individual must be begun at a very tender age. It is certain that very young children gain from their environment lasting impressions. It is important that the earliest surroundings of the child be of proper character; that the parents and associates be law-abiding. Those having in charge the training of the child must define education, not only as training to do and inciting to know, but as an adjustment of his nature to right lines of conduct. This

adjustment must be so complete that, when the individual shall become convinced of the righteousness of any course, he shall immediately and as a matter of choice conform himself to it.

"Indwelling evil" must not be taught; and if by any chance the child is cursed with the thought, it must be eradicated. Satan must be killed first of all. Let the child have no scape-goat "devil" upon whom to lay his transgressions. Clothe him with the full panoply of responsibility. This thought of original sin comes to the child because it dominates the teacher. "Lombroso thinks," says *The Journal of Hygiene*, quoting a lecture to teachers in Turin in 1896, "that all children are criminals by nature; that is, they will lie and steal and do many wrong things, but that they either slowly or quickly outgrow these tendencies as they grow older. Those who do not outgrow them become adult criminals." That thought has hampered progress during all the conscious existence of the race. It is the same world-old fallacy that Jeremiah believed when he said: "The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked;" and Paul when he wrote: "Because the carnal mind is enmity against God; for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be." Let not the dead past clutch with phantom hands the promises of the future! Let it not cast its blighting shadow upon the path of childhood! Let honest children grow into honest men and women!

Helen Campbell, in *THE ARENA* for January, 1896, said: "To-day we are studying the child, and recognizing as new something old as time, yet never acted on before—that in the soul of the child lies the future of the race, and that that future is built upon the homes of the race: homes developed and perfected by every means that science and art together may bring to bear." But it is unfortunately true that, until the home shall become what our ideals would make it, we cannot trust it with the formation of character. In the very lowest stratum of society there is no home; nor is there usually an ideal home in the highest stratum. Mr. H. M. Boies, in his "Prisoners and Paupers," says: "It is commonly understood that social morals and religion are at their lowest ebb in the

upper and nether strata of society the world over." The real home is found in the great middle class, and, candor compels us to admit, not often enough there.

Undoubtedly the greatest formative influence on American character to-day is found in the school. While it is true that the child passes but a few hours daily in the school-room, yet school interests dominate the formative period of his life. Beyond the occasional and incidental, distinctive moral instruction is not a part of the curriculum.

Religion in the public schools is still the subject of sharp controversy. In the view of believers in denominational schools, morals cannot be taught without religion. Dr. Josiah Strong, in "Our Country," says: "The principle of the separation of Church and State undoubtedly forbids sectarian instruction in the State schools; but we have the highest legal and judicial authority for saying that it does not forbid undenominational religious teaching. . . . The State must teach in its schools fundamental religious truths, not because the child should know them in preparation for a future existence—the State is not concerned with the eternal welfare of its citizens—but because immorality is perilous to the State, and popular morality cannot be secured without the sanctions of religion." Daniel Webster, in a Fourth of July oration, said: "To preserve the government we must also preserve morals. Morality rests on religion. . . . To secularize the schools is to invite the corruption of popular morals, and thus endanger the very foundations of our free institutions." Mr. Thomas Davidson, in the "Encyclopedia of Social Reform," says: "Perhaps the deepest evil in our schools is the lack of moral teaching. Until this century moral teaching has gone principally with religious teaching. The modern divorce of Church and State, the opposition of secularists to all religious teaching, and, above all, the opposing views of Protestant, Roman Catholic, and other religious bodies, having led to the disuse of religious teaching in the public schools, a lowering of the tone and the time given to moral teaching has almost inevitably though not necessarily followed." In an address

before the Patria Club, of New York, in April, 1896, Andrew D. White declared that more attention should be given to simple elementary instruction in morals in the schools.

Like the idea of indwelling sin, we have inherited from the past the thought that morality cannot be taught apart from religion. This, as we are told, has driven moral instruction from the schools and has left it to the indifference at home and the obsolete and inefficient machinery of the church and Sunday-school. Although there is now an awakening upon the subject of physical training, it has been almost universally neglected in the past. In the face of this neglect we have driven mental development to the limit.

The natural fruit of this inharmonious development is what the criminal anthropologists denominate as degeneracy, criminal type, atavism, etc. Suppose we subject an average individual to experiment and note the result. Train him physically, with slight mental and no moral instruction, and it is plain that the result would be a semi-savage, ready at suggestion for criminal acts. Suppose you add to his physical training a thorough mental course, but still omit moral instruction, and you have probably the educated criminal. Train the individual physically and morally, omitting mental instruction, and you have the man with enthusiasms but without ability to carry them out, or possibly in later life the religiously insane. Omit the physical training and he dies at the door of performance, having paid back the world's neglect with diseased offspring. When we add to these cases, all of which exist, inherited tendencies, we have a permutation capable of producing all the anomalies that criminologists have found or suspected.

The foundations of the making of honest people lie in education, in the homes and in the schools of the land. So long as bad homes exist, the making of criminals will continue. So long as the thought obtains that moral instruction is inseparable from religion, the making of honest people will be retarded. Legislation must take hold of the whole matter. The children of the land must all be gotten into school. There

they must be naturally, consistently, and completely educated. There must be no faculty left untrained to wield a riot influence in the land. There must be physical training to the end that healthy men and women may inhabit the land. There must be moral training to the end that healthy moral sentiment may control their actions. There must be mental training to the end that a healthy and wise judgment may direct their energies.

In mental instruction the present methods seem sufficient and satisfactory. To secure proper physical training there should be gymnasiums in all schools, public and private, and scientific instruction of both sexes maintained throughout the entire school life. This is the most important thing in education because it is the foundation. Without health, mental and moral training goes for naught. The healthy man is naturally balanced, mentally and morally. The physically weak man is more liable to mental and moral abnormalities. Mrs. Lew Wallace, in *The Ladies' Home Journal*, says: "Go into any public school and you will see girls pallid as day lilies, and boys with flat chests and the waxen skin that has been named the 'school' complexion." We must have better material than that for the making of wholesome, honest people. We can get it by putting such boys and girls into gymnasiums and giving them health. In morals there should be a graded course, with proper text-books, continued as with physical instruction throughout the school life. It should be scientifically correct, and should omit no fact necessary for the man or woman to know. It should meet the necessities and exigencies of existence as they arise, and should eliminate that false modesty which now stands in the way of much needed instruction. Its aim should be to arm the child at every stage of life against false ideals and notions, and at its completion to turn out the young man or the young woman wholly armored in right principles.

The homes of the land will follow the schools. If we properly educate the children we create good homes. We are making honest people now, and every day we are making fewer criminals; but if there is a better way, the daily



broadening demands of a broader humanity command us to seek it.

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## II. THE TRUE PURPOSE OF PENITENTIARY PENALTIES.

IN most States of the Union there are constantly from five hundred to one thousand persons confined in penitentiaries, and at hard labor, for terms varying from one year to a life-time, as punishment for various crimes of which they have been found guilty by a jury of their peers. Human wisdom has not been able to devise any more rational and effectual deterrent for crimes (less than murder) than that of confinement at hard labor. It has three leading terrors: disgrace, deprivation of personal liberty, and toil without compensation.

In the discussion of what reforms and improvements should be introduced into prison life, I shall omit the cases of men confined for life for murder in the first degree. I am unable to decide that a person who, with deliberation and necessarily malice aforethought, takes the life of a fellow-being, just as dear and sacred as his own, is entitled to a chance for future liberty. Nor do I feel that capital punishment itself is too severe in such cases. The only weak place in the chain of this logic is that an innocent person may, sometimes but probably not often, be found guilty. But this is possibly unavoidable in the administration of human laws.

There can be no valid objection urged to the fact that the inmates of penitentiaries are required to work. That is both fairness to the State and a mercy to the prisoners. And yet it is the duty of the State so to apply the results of this labor that it does not come in conflict with the wages of outside, non-convict labor; and this is seldom a source of complaint on the part of the prisoners, for it is regulated by the demands of people on the outside.

But who shall look after the best interests of prison life? The men incarcerated have very little influence; they are regarded as not having a right to complain or ask for anything

in their favor, and other persons not under the ban of criminal disability must speak in their behalf. Even then the plans of those who are not criminals are not usually regarded with favor, for the reason that they are supposed to be moved by a mere theory or sentiment in favor of a class that does not deserve the proposed consideration. There is, indeed, a class of criminals who make crime a business; who may be serving their second, third, or fourth term for discovered crime, and for whom nothing better than the rigors of the law, strictly enforced to the full sentence, can probably be devised. And for the purpose of this discussion, on the basis that will be chosen, there should be kept in the possession of the penitentiary authorities as faithful a record of the personal history of each convict as is possible. But, after making all due allowances for murderers and hardened criminals who may cease to show any penitence or inclination to be anything more than a prey on society, there is a large percentage of young men, and men with families, who are charged with their first crime, as well as others who may be convicted under peculiar circumstances, that should have special treatment.

The State has progressed so far that "cruel and unusual punishments" are forbidden by our national Constitution. In former ages it seemed that the public authorities, in both Church and State, were most ingenious in devising the most cruel and painful punishments, even for offenses that perhaps deserved no punishment at all. For the observation of instruments used, the British Museum may be visited. But now public punishment of crime is getting so free from malice and revenge toward criminals that still further progress in their treatment can be considered.

It ought to be the settled policy of the State to deal with the unabandoned or yet hopeful class of convicts on the same principle that prevails in all the other departments of society; that is, the State should act altruistically. Perhaps only a small proportion of the crimes actually committed are discovered, and the criminals at large have the aid of the moral antiseptics of society to recover themselves. There are possibly men outside of our prisons worse than those on the inside.

I would challenge the judgment of our public men—with the object of putting a better hope than they now enjoy before that class in our penitentiaries that includes “salvable” cases—both for the sake of the State and of the convicts. The two great principles that underlie and preserve the State should be applied to prison life: conserving and developing moral beings from infancy toward virtue and intelligence, and seeking to save all that have promise of salvability among those who are fallen. The laws governing prison life vary in the several States; yet they are substantially the same. And there is no danger that prison life will be made so attractive that people will seek the pleasure of it, even if some new features of reform be adopted.

These are some of the changes that should be introduced: Every prisoner should have an opportunity to lessen his term by meritorious conduct. Of course, every prison should have the best possible superintendency, and the most capable and manly overseers—shrewd judges of men, of a humane disposition, and well balanced, so as not to be carried away by a temporary spasm of “good works” on the part of the prisoner. A court in sentencing a prisoner must of necessity be controlled by the circumstances that surround the case; and the judge cannot do more than fix a definite term and leave the question of mercy to subsequent developments. It would be well to restrict the pardoning power of the Executive of the State, and enlarge the domain of the prison authorities in deciding the cases that should be subjects of pardon. And pardons based on mere outside petitions and recommendations cannot in their very nature be offered on as meritorious grounds as those based on conduct from day to day. Persons having influential friends can often procure pardons that are based on questionable data; besides, if the absolute power vested in the Governor to pardon were modified, it would be a genuine relief to that official, who is often beset with the applications of friends that he feels a great temptation to yield to without having the surer foundation that a careful and special prison record would give.

Every convict should be "a prisoner of hope"—based on his every-day conduct. The prison should be a place that gives an opportunity to reform and begin a new life. A virtuous State can have no object in simply dumping a prisoner into the disgrace of a penitentiary term without any "hope set before him" that he may make a record for a new and better life. Moreover, this ever-present hope should be supplemented with educational and religious privileges. Many criminals may have had very little access to either of these sources of help to character.

If we are to make a proper effort to reform and restore to good citizenship as many persons as possible, the men that have charge of the prisoners should have exceptional moral qualities. There is a temptation to be indiscriminately harsh and often unkind in the treatment of prisoners. This may be necessary in some cases; but if there is anything of which convicts have usually an overdose it is severity. And so long as "like begets like," mere severity will leave a prisoner's life unbenefited by the imprisonment penalty. Imprisonment is not to be decreed in a base spirit of revenge. Underneath the severity of the law there should be the help of kindness, gentleness, and even courtesy; for if the lowness and brutishness of the convict be met with nothing better, how can the punishment of imprisonment have any motive other than revenge, which leaves men quite as bad if not worse than they were before its infliction?

Perhaps one of the most gloomy periods of a prison life—to the mind of any "prisoner of hope"—is the time when he is to leave the prison and begin life anew. Men that go to prison are usually poor; if they had any property before, they usually have to give it up in the endeavor to prove their innocence. Unless they be allowed to accumulate something during prison life, therefore, the temptation to evil in beginning anew is very great. In the first place, a discharged prisoner can seldom go back to where he was known for help with much confidence of success. If he goes to strangers he is no better off, as he cannot well give references that would help him; so that at the

point where a man leaves the prison and starts anew—however anxious he may be to be honest—he is beset with peculiar difficulties. It is no wonder, therefore, that all Bible-readers remember how much the Nazarene had to say in favor of consideration toward those who are in prison; “sick and in prison” were put on an equality: one was as much in need of kindness and help as the other.

In view of this difficulty in starting to lead a virtuous life, the State should place a portion of the earnings of every prisoner on deposit, for his use when he becomes liberated. The State could afford this probably, in a broad view, on financial principles alone: it ought to lessen the returning of criminals. But the State, of course, ought to take a higher view than that. A man’s life and a new preparation to live right should be of more consideration than the mere dollars. And this right of a prisoner to a portion of his earnings would be a great stimulus to a new and better life. This privilege, like any other credit-mark in favor of a prisoner, might properly be dependent upon the record of his prison life—to be withheld or granted as each case might deserve. In other words, the prison life is one in which ordinarily all avenues to hope and ambition are closed; and the convict ought to have the opportunity to be tempted with inducements that are motives to a new and better life, after he has paid the penalty that his offense has made due to the State.

There is a stream of many thousands constantly going in and out of our prisons; and shall the question with this Christian age be whether, when the prison door shuts them in and when it gives them release at the end of their sentences, they shall have had in the interim all hope of respectability’s return and every motive to right living suspended by the cold indifference of the State? Should there not be mingled with the “law that worketh death” the sunny sentence?—“Go in peace, and sin no more, lest a worse thing come upon thee.” Who among our lawmakers will plead for a classification of prisoners, and the giving of a better hope and opportunity to those who will strive for it?

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## PROPERTY: ITS PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGY.\*

OF the manifold phenomena of our world ever presenting themselves to invite the attention, or to arouse to flight the imagination, none present phases of keener interest than those that cluster around the name of *property*. Like the hundred-armed Briareus of ancient myth, property stretches out a hundred hands, each of whose fingers touches a key that sets off some one of life's activities. Government, politics, business, and even life itself find in property the acme of their existence. To use a good old Baconian phrase, property is a thing that "touches men's bosoms and pockets." Innumerable definitions have been made of this term—from that of the Catholic divine, who defined property as "communion with God through the visible world," to that of the fanatic who said, "Property is theft." A scientific definition must be a broad one and extend beyond any legal conception. We will consider property from two viewpoints, viz.: biologically, as anything an individual has acquired that tends to the protection and prolongation of life; and psychologically, as anything that arouses in the mind the idea of ownership, or the concept "mine."

Investigating the field of biology, we find property-getting to be a fundamental instinct, extending all through the animal world; also, that property-getting becomes more intense during the period just before giving birth to young—that many animals only acquire property to enable their offspring better to make a stand against cosmic forces. In other words, the end is to bridge over the gap of death. We conclude that it is this unconscious self-sacrifice of parent for offspring which implanted in the breast the germs of altruism, and that altruism assumed a living activity when higher up in the scale of organic

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\*EDITORS' NOTE.—This article is the outcome of an extended investigation of the Psychology of Ownership, carried on by Dr. Linus Ward Kline and the author, C. J. France, at Clark University, Worcester, Mass., in 1898. It aims to present the vital aspects of property from the genetic standpoint, and is a unique and important contribution to the literature of sociology.

life this unconscious self-sacrifice budded out into a conscious one.

From a study of anthropology we find that the desire for individual property was the one great stimulus to activity among primitive men; that no one factor has had greater influence in evolving *mind* and creating civilization than individual property. The most savage peoples lived in a condition of laziness—of inertia and lethargy—the consequence of which was that nearly all the property they possessed was held in common. It was only when man learned the power of individual property in raising one man above another, of individuating and expressing individuality, that he began to awake from his lethargy and throw off his laziness. The quest for private property thus became the first great stimulus to continued labor. Here man first learned to labor; and here *attention*, that most valuable of psychic qualities, was developed. To cite the effects of this all-absorbing passion for individual ownership is needless. Consider only the love of power in the human breast, and the stimulus to the human mind when it learned wealth was the one great power. What inventions, what discoveries, what knowledge do we not owe directly or indirectly to this continual strife after power through individual ownership? Dr. Brinton says: "So far as we can trace the history of man from the Old Stone Age upward, the one efficient motive to his progress has been the acquisition and preservation of his property. This has been the chief incentive to individual exertion." According to the view of L. H. Morgan it is impossible to overestimate the influence of property in the civilization of mankind; for property was the "power that brought Aryan and Semitic nations out of barbarism into civilization." He says that "monogamy resulted from increase in the variety and amount of property through the establishment of inheritance in the children of its owner; that property introduced slavery, and after several thousand years it caused abolition of slavery upon discovery that a free man was a better property-making machine."

The one great lesson taught by this anthropological study is the fatality of all communistic schemes. Communistic systems prevailed among states of savagery because lethargy and laziness prevailed. The desire for individual ownership and love of that power which private property brings emancipated the savage and set him to work—that most beneficent of all God's gifts to man. Those who advocate communism would put mankind back on a level with the savage. They would annihilate individuality, "classify men like so many bricks;" subvert that most potent of the instruments of progress—love of power; take away from manhood all that is admirable—its energy and will to act, its self-assertion, push, and love of beating in life's race. They would palm off, in place of these, lassitude, inertia, lethargy, and lack of ambition.

The transforming power of property on the ego is a unique psychological and sociological phenomenon. One sees sudden cataclysms occurring in the very fundamentals of character on sudden increase or decrease of things owned. One sees personality expanding and contracting under property as a stimulus—growing in proportion as things owned increase, and shrinking with their decrease. One finds character and individuality so metamorphosing as to be almost unrecognizable by friends. This leads one to conclude that a man's personality is dependent for its well-being on whether or not he has some things he can call his own; further, that personality must to a large extent be made up of those things a man does recognize as his own. Hence, a man is apt to be what he considers of value and makes his own. A man's possessions almost mirror the man. Nor should we be surprised to learn that one's personality is so largely dependent on ownership, if we consider that no one factor in civilization is so intimately associated with all life's activities; that property has been and is the great power in society; that the evolution of mind owes so great a debt to it; that civilization is largely the fruit of property. Property is the most comprehensive as well as the most extensive of social phenomena, and conscious personality is largely a reflection of it as a natural result.



This expansive effect of property on personality explains that exquisite pleasure in getting and that keen satisfaction in having, familiar to each of us, pleasures analogous to that of eating—great devices of Nature to insure against the danger of these activities ever ceasing. So strong does the passion to own become that we find as a result what Magnan calls “*onomania*,” or the buying craze. The victim cannot see anything without impulse to acquire it. *Kleptomania* is also an expression of this passion in control of one. The multimillionaire is an example of the strength of this same passion to get and to have. The result of the struggle in business instigated by this passion is often to be deplored. It tends to sap out all of a man’s sentiment, and to atrophy his ability for enjoyment of play, that most charming of activities for the sloughing off of hypernormal anxiety and nervous irritability—an activity too little employed in adult life. Further, this struggle, when intense, hardens the better parts in a man. One of our sociologists has said that “it is almost impossible for a man to succeed in business at the present day and be strictly honest.” Modern advertising, with its “marked down sales,” its “all-wool materials,” its “fire sales,” its “cheaper-than-cost goods,” its “absolutely pure labels,” to say nothing of every brand being in some miraculous manner “the best in the market,” or “better than all others,”—these and a thousand other prevarications, thoughtless but not the less weakening to moral virility, give adequate justification for the statement quoted above. Nearly every publication, religious and secular, has a hand in the mischief. Fence-posts, barns, sign-boards with proportions like unto those of Solomon’s temple, and even our trees, are brought into the service. Our rural scenery is not only defaced and rendered unbeautiful, but, what is worse, the sacrifice is made to a large extent in behalf of dishonesty. Maudsley, in his “*Physiology and Pathology of Mind*,” shows that a life devoted exclusively to money-getting tends to degeneration in the offspring, either moral or intellectual inferiority resulting. Though this great passion for property and wealth has rendered an unparalleled service to

mankind, still, like all other great factors in history, it has dangers, a few of which are interpolated here as a warning, that "he who runs may read."

Certain psychoses have arisen in relation to property of not a little interest and significance, among which are those unwarranted feelings of dread that steal over one of being left defenseless in the world without a penny, of becoming assimilated with tramps and outcasts, dying in poverty, spending one's last days in the poorhouse, and finally to be buried at public expense in the potter's field; feelings of distrust concerning one's property, cropping out among those who place their money in some safe investment at small interest in preference to putting it where benefit and pleasure in a large revenue could be derived. This same distrust is manifested among those who hide their possessions in strange and all but unthinkable spots. Among other psychoses developed out of property, we find that inherent tendency to obey—that willingness, almost amounting to a desire, to be led by the rich and powerful; also the tendency to believe in and give way to the man of wealth. The general feeling of contempt for the man who performs manual labor—in particular the agriculturist—pointing back to that period when no man who labored was a gentleman; considering wealth instead of merit the rank of superiority; feelings of servility and littleness in the presence of wealth—all these are property psychoses. Pride is but a sense of superiority arising from the fact that one owns much that is of value to friends or society. Vanity is the same feeling minus any such possession.

One finds, then, four great incentives to property-getting: (1) To bridge over the gap of death, to provide for one's offspring. (2) The fact that property is power. (3) The fact that things one calls his own form a large part of one's personality, the result being that property-getting and property-having give exquisite pleasure. (4) That deep-seated emotion, fear, and its relation to property and life. These stimulate the will to *have* that becomes identical with the "will to live," and he that possesses nothing has little will and is likely to possess

little. Every acquisition of material wealth, each new bit of knowledge a man makes his own, increases his ability to acquire and strengthens the desire. The character of things acquired determines what a man desires and strives for.

As is often reiterated and as every-day life shows, the relations of property and society give rise to questions of wide pedagogical and sociological import. The reason of this is readily made clear. One of our leading anthropologists states all forms of government are reducible to two plans: one formed upon persons (*societas*), the other upon territory and property (*civitas*). Mr. McGee, of the Bureau of Ethnology, says "the chief characteristic of civilization is social organization on a basis of property right." It is because of this close relation between government and property, together with the complexity of each, that knotty problems are continually arising to baffle the legislator.

At present property problems are being brought into sharp relief. The fundamental bases of property and property right are being discussed as they never have been. Especially is this true of Europe. The results of this discussion are seen in the strong grip taken by socialism and socialistic principles on the minds of great masses of people. In Germany for many years one of the leading parties has been the socialist party. London is practically in control of socialists. The same is true of Paris. Socialism has gained a foothold in nearly all European countries. In this country socialism has not been so much in evidence. It is clear to all, however, that socialistic tenets are gaining strength here day by day. Evidence of its prevalence is seen in the fact that a city in conservative Massachusetts not long since elected a mayor on a socialist ticket. The time has come when our intellectual citizens should turn their attention to this agitation—not that many socialists are not men of deep thought and insight; yet history in a lamentable manner has shown that most great reform movements have been initiated by men with hearts larger than brains, with more sympathy than intellect; and that such warm hearts glowing with a burning enthusiasm have often unwittingly ignited the fires

of revolution, which intelligent foresight and cool judgment might have averted. The French Revolution and our own civil war are cases in evidence. Political economists and thinking men in general have too long dismissed with a word the property problem and socialism.

The problem in this country is one peculiar to our form of government. Biology teaches that all along the line of evolution individual welfare has been subservient to the welfare of the species; that, in fact, individuals exist *for* the species. Forms of government have divided themselves unconsciously into two great classes in accordance with the above principle. One class is based on the assumption that the greatest good to mankind (the species) results from a government constituted on the principle of caste, and that "great men" are the true agents of progress; that the masses add little to evolution except in their service in being instruments in the hands of the master workmen. The other class is based on the assumption that the greatest good to mankind (the species) results from a government based on an equality of rights; that the masses are true agents of progress; that they have greater influence in working out evolution than the few "great men." The relative merits of these two systems, the aristocratic and democratic, it is not our present purpose to compare. It is necessary, however, to bear in mind the antithesis, and to remember that in our country we have enunciated the democratic ideal. In the present discussion we speak only from the democratic point of view; we discuss the problem only as it relates to a democracy.

The most serious question in the minds of the framers of our present Constitution was, Can such a system long exist? Pessimistic scoffers the world over looked upon it as a foolish as well as a dangerous experiment. Few indeed were they who believed in its validity. For some years back the American people, borne along on the tide of triumphant success, with that popular optimism peculiar to us as a race, have believed the validity of our present form of government has been abundantly proved. In the minds of a few, however, traces of skepti-

cism still remain. These believe the old vital question faces us to-day. As a representative of the latter class the writer would ask, Can our democratic form of government in purity exist?

Let us consider for a moment wherein lies the strength of a democratic form of government. Brooks Adams, in his "Law of Civilization and Decay," points out the fact that the strength of ancient Rome lay in her small landholders and agriculturists; that it was these men who formed the bulwark of her armies and gave stability to the nation; and that it was through centralization of wealth, taking away the possessions of these small individual owners, together with the production of an "economic type of mind," keen and sagacious in money-getting but lacking virility and strength, that overthrew Rome. So that, as one writer has aptly expressed it, "the northern barbarians did not conquer Rome, they only dismembered her corpse." What is true of Rome in this case is true of Greece also.

Wherein exists the strength of *our* Republic? In the small landholders and property-possessors so numerous on our soil. We are a people born of every nation in Europe. Yet we are one in heart, one in our sympathies, and one in our great ideals of equality and freedom. What has been the amalgamating factor; what has been the center of attraction, the lodestone to the peoples of the world; what has wrought this nineteenth-century miracle? Simply the fact that freedom and independence, so dear to each human heart, have here been no myth; that each man has been able to come to this country, take a plot of ground, build his house and home upon it, and call it his own—or at least to own *something* individually. Men have come from a life of dependence, a life of working for large property-holders, where they could possess nothing—in reality a mere "existence"—to a life of individual ownership and independence.

We have seen that individual ownership has been the one great incentive to activity; that the desire for private property has been the one great element in progress; that property is the one great power; that in it are reflected the hopes and joys

as well as the fears of mankind; that individuals as a result have a personality dependent for its well-being on whether or not a man has something he calls "*mine*." Our Republic has satisfied this need of the soul. It has enabled men to own something; it has given men something to work for and to protect—something to live for, and if occasion arose to die for. It has assured men that the hopes and endeavors of honest industry shall not be vain or fruitless. This has been the common element—the amalgamating factor—among our American people. As its fruit we have a people with a strength of manhood and a national spirit unsurpassed by any people, even by those of the palmiest days of Greece and Rome. This is the one element lacking in Europe to-day. If the United States is a glory to herself and to the world, she must not forget to give honor to whom honor is due.

It is with mingled feelings of sadness and perplexity that one beholds through invention that evidently necessary concentration of wealth with the concomitant exploitation of small individual owners. President G. Stanley Hall says that a few years ago the New England farmer was master of sixty different trades and handicrafts; that he possessed his own farm, tools, and material. To-day we see this gradually disappearing, and with it those sturdy, independent men of keen intellect and indomitable courage we take pride in holding dear to memory. From off these farms came the men who formed the backbone of our nation. They were the men our Constitution was written by and for. To say all men have the right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" was natural and easy for them. They believed it, saw it, and acted on it. Nor would we say this element of strength has disappeared entirely to-day; this is far from the truth. But concentration of wealth has begun in our country. We need but refer to history to prophesy the result.

The question is asked, Can a pure democracy exist where the property is accumulated in the hands of a few? A democracy is founded on individuals. Each man is in a sense a ruler. Democracy, then, presupposes strength of personality and the freedom and independence of every man. An effort has been

made to show what is necessary for this—how individual property is the motive force to the will, and how personality is dependent on individual ownership; that, as Blackstone says, "property is the condition of personal dignity, and he who is without it is a slave and must act on the will of another." We must conclude that the man who possesses nothing is all but worthless as a citizen. With little will, with a shrunken personality, with nothing to fight for or protect, and as a consequence with weakened patriotism, readily he loses his independence and becomes a mere tool in the hands of a keener mind. When such a class become the majority, the real rulers are the few remaining. Democracy exists in mere external semblance; in reality it is a sham. Oligarchy truly prevails. That such a process is going on and such conditions exist to some extent among us to-day is undeniable.

Not only do governments thus change their character, but, what is worse, they lose their stability. Aristotle, one of the keenest minds in the history of political science, is very explicit on this point. He says:

"Political revolutions spring from a disproportionate increase in any part of the State. For a body is made up of many members and every member ought to grow in proportion that symmetry may be preserved, but loses its nature if the foot be four cubits long and the rest of the body two spans, and should the abnormal increase be one of quality as well as quantity, may even take the form of another animal; even so the State has many parts, of which one may often grow imperceptibly, for example the number of poor in democratic and constitutional States. Revolutions arise from this cause in democracies as well as in other forms of government, but not to so great an extent. When the rich grow numerous or properties increase, the form of government changes into an oligarchy or a government of families."

Such is the problem. The question arises, Is there imminent danger?

As a democratic government has its foundation in the people, the people constitute its most accurate barometer. In the great underlying strata of our society are heard frequent rumblings that to many presage some great upheaval—forewarnings of violent eruptions. The cause is the growing discon-

tent of the masses. Nor is it difficult to conclude that something is wrong—that the people have a grievance. The writer believes it is not, as some would have us think, that the people are becoming dissatisfied with their humble portion and are crying, like the babe for the stars, for the unattainable wealth and luxury of the few. Nor does he believe that the ancient remedy for the child—a good spanking—will in this case effect a cure; but that the reason is that we are drifting away from a pure democracy, not living up to our ideals. We stand and have stood before the world for the value and worth of each human life. We have enunciated the principle that men are born free and equal; that caste and individual inferiority could never take root in American soil—principles that Christianity initiated and has emphasized, until, over the whole civilized world, men more and more feel and believe they are true. This country has been the place where such ideals have been most nearly attained. In the light of this we behold the conditions, which make possible the practical realization of such ideals, disappearing, and with them the democratic spirit engendered by their presence. The result is that great masses of people are being treated as mere commodities, looked upon as inferiors and as slaves, caste becoming almost as prevalent as it is found where no pretense of equality is made. Against this the heart of the citizen of the United States, inoculated with ideas of individual worth and freedom, rebels; hence these rumblings of discontent foreboding danger.

If this be true, wherein lies the remedy? Are we not destined to become stranded on the same rocks upon which each of the democracies in the past has gone to pieces and sunk into the sea of fatality? Is not the concentration of wealth, resulting in oligarchy, as Aristotle pointed out, the inevitable conclusion? The writer believes such a question reveals the most difficult problem that has ever arisen for the nation to solve. Not that it is recent in origin. It faced the framers of our Constitution and has grown in perplexity as our Republic has grown in wealth and power. The one chief method of solution lies in this, viz.: we must come before that most unflinching of tribunals—political justice, which in a democratic State



is the one panacea for all ills. In this two difficulties exist—one to arouse interest requisite to discover how justice may be established; the other to discover just wherein the justice of the matter lies. As to the first—how to arouse the nation into a living activity over the problem—the writer believes it is futile to appeal to humanity, universal brotherhood, or to sentiments of liberty, fraternity, and equality. That words and phrases, like tools, lose their sharpness with constant use is a psychological truth. So these weapons have all but lost ability to move a reading and listening public. The urgent need of action must be thrust strenuously upon the mind. People must be made to see there is here a mutuality of interests; that mutual welfare is at stake, and for this reason action is absolutely essential. Dr. Brinton truly says:

“It is a discovery of modern times of no mean importance that, after several thousand years of open trial, government and religion, friendship and love have all failed in relieving the misery of human life; but the intelligent recognition of a *mutuality of interests* does not fail, and when properly organized may be counted on with utmost confidence to prevent most of the disasters and to secure most of the material blessings of life beyond the dreams of the most sanguine reformers of earlier generations. There is no reason why we should have the poor always with us—except the ignorance of men as to their own material interests or their indifference to them; and these difficulties must in time diminish if not disappear.”

The second difficulty—the establishment of justice—must find its solution in the rightful distribution of property. It needs to have turned upon it the microscope of the sociologist. The advocates of communism believe they have found a solution. In the light of the fatality of communism already pointed out, we need entertain no further consideration of it. The promoters of socialism believe they also have a scheme that will solve all difficulties. Socialism, however, has assumed so many and such various forms that it perplexes one to discover just what the socialist believes; and it is because of this, together with the rashness of the radical views held by many of the adherents of socialism, that it has fallen into disrepute, and a

large body of progressive and intelligent men calling themselves socialists have thereby been misapprehended. If socialism means that all property is the result of labor, and hence all property naturally belongs to the laborer, we cannot accept it. This theory as to the right of property was advocated by as great a philosopher as John Locke, and also seems to be the key-note of the elaborate discussion of Karl Marx. To the mind of the writer only a portion of the truth is therein contained.

There is a theory, however, that has formulated itself in the minds of not a few thinking men of our day, which is worthy of notice. It is substantially as follows: Property is of a three-fold nature: (1) Property resulting from labor; (2) property resulting from intellect, or mind, which is not *strictly* labor; (3) property resulting from neither mind nor labor. Property resulting from labor belongs by right to the laborer; that from brains to the man possessing and employing the same; that resulting from neither should be held by all in common. The first two are self-evident; the last, perhaps not so clear. Nearly all students of sociology of note have pointed out that the earth we live on is not created by any one individual or set of individuals; and, further, that the right of one or a few to use the earth and to exclude others therefrom is inconsistent with the idea of equal freedom. Herbert Spencer treats this subject in a masterful manner in his "Social Statics." He says:

"We see that the right of each man to the use of the earth, limited only by the like rights of his fellow-men, is immediately deducible from the law of equal freedom. We see that the maintenance of this right necessarily forbids private property in land. On examination all existing titles to such property turn out to be invalid—those founded on reclamation inclusive. It appears that not even an equal apportionment of the earth amongst its inhabitants could generate a legitimate proprietorship. We find, if pushed to its ultimate consequences, a claim to exclusive possession of the soil involves a landowning despotism. We further find such a claim is constantly denied by the enactments of our legislature. And we find, lastly, that the theory of co-heirship of all men to the soil is consistent with the highest civilization; and that, however difficult it may be to embody that theory in fact, equity sternly commands it to be done."

This is from the pen of perhaps the greatest thinker of the present day; and, though Mr. Spencer is an advocate of the *laissez-faire* doctrine, saying legislation should meddle little with great problems, yet he advocated the policy that England should purchase all her land from private owners. That innumerable and perhaps endless difficulties would probably arise in putting any such theory into practice is not the question; as Mr. Spencer intimates, action is all important, for "equity sternly commands it." The above theory is only put forth as a suggestion. That it is adequate, more extended investigation would show. Nor is the writer fully persuaded that any distribution of property according to absolute justice would eliminate the main question at stake—the tendency of democracy to fade out into oligarchy. That it is the first great step in strengthening and making a democracy more stable is certain.

The next important step in the solution of property problems, the writer believes, is to be found in *education*. Pestalozzi, who was a philosopher and socialist as well as an educator, said that any "scheme of social reform that left out the changing of the individual and formation of character through education is a failure." In giving a man an education you put him in touch with a larger world than the material; you place him above the caprice of his external environment; you enable the man to adjust himself to the new régimes that must inevitably come with inventions and discoveries. He acquires *possessions* of a higher order, as he lives on a higher plane. When one thinks of these loftier aspects of property, he is tempted to ask himself whether or not this self-centered acquisition points to some higher end. The writer feels in his heart this is true; that selfishness is not the meanest thing in the world; that egoism and altruism are but instruments for a larger purpose beyond and above the earthly. There comes to mind that old but beautiful conception of Aristotle that the soul is a *growth*. The question arises, Are not these higher aspects of ownership the elements that nourish and sustain this growth? If there be an element of truth in such a speculation, that which a man calls his own has a sacred character. It gives a man a philosophy of life in which there is no room for pessimism, for

each of us is a master builder of that holy citadel of the body. What we value, what we make our own, the soul is dependent on for its growth. The world about us is the clay in the molder's hand. The intricate mazes of our universe are formed of the threads which, disentangled, man shall weave into the fabric of his soul. Such a growth must finally be dependent on the character of the individuals and the race. That government which depletes and does not care for the masses of individuals not only saps out its own vitality and tolls its own funeral knell but also aims a direct blow at evolution and progress. History has shown that, as individualism is the most efficient factor in civilization, so also individualism carried to excess operates against civilization. Letourneau says: "In her best days Greece swarmed with men; during her decadence she died for lack of men." She languished and declined through excess of individualism.

We are a people grafted upon the best stock the world has ever produced. To be born in the Anglo-Saxon race is to obtain one of the richest inheritances of the nineteenth century. Enlightenment and civilization have taken root in every soil whereon the Anglo-Saxon has pitched its tent. In this paper we have tried to show wherein lay the dangers and the strength of our democracy, which is grafted upon this Anglo-Saxon stock. We have also attempted to point out how that strength may be preserved and the danger averted. To sum up in a few words: The strength of a democratic State lies in the content, the confidence, the happiness, the general welfare of the masses of the people. To attain this, property must be distributed according to absolute justice; also, each individual must have some private possessions, material or intellectual. The psychological relation of the individual and ownership makes this essential. Above all, these conditions are necessary in order to preserve the feeling of independence, respect for the worth of each individual, and regard for freedom and equal rights of each, which are the elements constituting the true spirit of democracy as well as that greater commonwealth—*Christianity*.

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## SECULAR QUESTIONS IN THE PULPIT.

**I**F I comprehend the true office of the Church aright—and I wish it to be understood at the outset that I use the term *Church* in no narrow or restricted sense, but in the larger signification of the aggregate religious influence of the country—it aims to cultivate a genuine religious spirit; to present high ideals of living; to advocate uprightness, sobriety, patriotism, benevolence, and all the Christian graces. Confessedly, in all movements that seek the substantial betterment of the temporal conditions of the human race the Church does not consent to take a merely secondary or nominal position. It insists that in promoting the welfare of mankind in material things it is and always has been a pioneer; with it, the missionary spirit has been uppermost in material quite as much as in spiritual things, when the real improvement of conditions that make for the happiness of man is involved. It is claimed for the Church that its aim has been and its purpose always should be to lead the advancing hordes of humanity toward higher and better conditions of existence—in the moral, the social, the intellectual, the political, and the spiritual world; that it advocates a large intelligence; that it fosters a liberal spirit; that it cultivates a generous forbearance; that, in an emphatic sense, it espouses the cause of the poor and needy; that it assists the unfortunate; that it befriends the despised and the oppressed. Essentially and justly, the Church fails in the discharge of its true office unless it reasonably meet all the requirements above enumerated.

Conceding the correctness of the foregoing contention, why should all pulpit efforts be solely directed along religious lines and the discussion of exclusively religious and Biblical subjects? What is the paramount good that can come from so unvarying a course? How can there be loss in the presentation from the sanctuary of *any subject* that vitally concerns the public weal or woe? Who shall deny that *many questions*, of a

purely secular nature and of great public import, are seeking an adequate solution at the hands of the best thought of the land? And do not the pulpit and its audience represent, in marked degree, this best thought? If we are willing to be fair, I think it must be granted that much of the best thought, though perhaps not the wisest or most profound, is found within church walls.

It has been freely charged against the pulpit, and with some show of reason, that we get from it too much theoretical righteousness and too little of practical, every-day right living. We have been treated to learned disquisitions upon theological dogma—appetizing, it may be, to the intellectual sense of a few listeners, but, on the whole, distasteful and discouraging to the average congregation. There is neither inspiration nor helpfulness in such efforts. They tend to confuse the mind of the plebeian; and confusion is a somewhat complex mental state, which often results, if not in the absolute destruction of all desire for spiritual improvement, at least in the promotion of religious indifference resulting in ultimate spiritual decay and death.

That church organization which gets in closest touch with its congregation and the community of which it is a part performs the greatest service to the human race. Of course this is to be accomplished in many ways; yet it can be comprehensively stated in the single word *helpfulness*. Withdraw the spirit of helpfulness from the church life and you have a church dead in everything except in name. This is natural; but the church need not be sensational, nor court the approving smile of the unthinking, and hope thereby to become the popular church. Indeed, no thought of popularity should precede or succeed ecclesiastical endeavor. If by good works the church should strike a popular chord, well and good; but let this be incidental.

Among the means of helpfulness within easy reach of every church organization is the use of the pulpit in the consideration of practical, every-day questions of life as they are always found in the material world. The pulpit may sometimes be

advantageously occupied by laymen—depending largely upon the nature of the matter to be presented. The reason for this is obvious. Some questions are beyond the province of the pastor, and specialists are in constant and growing demand everywhere. The problem of how to secure better government for our American cities of the larger class belongs, for its possible solution, not to him that can speak upon it negatively only, but to him that has given years of study and investigation to the matter and goes before his audience with facts and figures that make him master of the subject. To him we can look for helpfulness with confidence. A contagious disease threatens the community; it is apt to become epidemic. Who can so well perform a public service to the congregation as that physician who by years of study and preparation has become skilful and expert in that particular malady? Where could the spirit of helpfulness be more pronounced or acceptable? For the physician's timely advice, given in this public way, would serve to prevent much of the sickness and many of the deaths incident to the sweep of such a disease. The public-school system, local or general, stands in need of greater facilities in the way of apparatus, or books, or buildings. Who is so well fitted to present the needs of the community or the State to the congregation as that public officer who has at his command the definite data with which to make plain the educational needs of the hour? And is not the spirit of helpfulness again accentuated by awakening the dormant activities of a too careless public opinion?

Masters in all the great walks of thought and action are the demand of the hour. Activity is so great and competition is so strong, aided by recent discoveries and inventions, that the old order of things has undergone a radical change. Specialists now seem to be the only persons who can speak with absolute authority on many disputed questions of vital moment. It is too much to expect the pastor to be able to lead his flock in all the intricate ways made possible by the rapid strides in the domain of invention and discovery. Yet he is not to be supplanted in the duties of his sacred func-

tion; at most, the value of his office is to be augmented, both to him and to his congregation. Many present-day problems, like the labor question, the strike, the trust, imperialism, and a score of others, are pressing upon public attention for a satisfactory solution; and it is the proper business of the pulpit to study and discuss them as befits the time and the occasion.

Some of the notions and customs of the past are rapidly losing their hallowed significance. One of these is the almost insane notion with which the pulpit has been regarded as a sacred place, to be used exclusively to explain and expound the Scriptures by a chosen few, who are not always the world's wisest and best. It is a hopeful sign of the spiritual and intellectual emancipation of the race. It is the advance-guard, which is to be followed by more liberal, enlightened, and helpful views. It has the undoubted stamp of popular approval; and the behests of public opinion are all-powerful and will ultimately prevail.

It has seemed to me that the best thought and purest lives must hail with pleasure the day when the pulpit can be used as a direct avenue to the masses, where can be heralded the thought, the wisdom, and the patriotism that every important public and economic question should evoke; where declarations may be made by laymen who are fitted by education and experience to discuss secular questions; where intelligence, sustained by pure motives, shall always be recognized as the safe and sure rock on which to build lofty ideals, noble ambitions, holy purposes, and great achievements. With a more general acceptance of this idea by the Church, we shall, I firmly believe, have greatly increased congregations, with no loss in the attendance from among those who now regularly attend. If mere church-going is a virtue in itself, it will be at once made greater. The effective, practical work of the Church will be immediately enlarged, and its usefulness in the community more plainly emphasized and augmented.

The tendency is toward something in keeping with the ideas herein outlined. But the change comes slowly, because all human flesh is selfish—and the average minister is no ex-



ception to the rule. He fears that with the advent of laymen in his pulpit, and the discussion of secular questions therein, may also come the uselessness of his high office. But he should not concern himself. It may be better that the change should come slowly, however; for sudden or great upheavals of thought or action are rarely desirable. They tend toward revolution, and revolution is always to be avoided. But the omens seem to be pointing in the right direction. The Church must undoubtedly lead its flock to right action upon all questions in the diversified fields of human endeavor; for in this way it is able to stamp its usefulness on the individual life in a practical and helpful way beyond the ken of the wisest of his time. Such a Church, which must be in close touch with the congregation, is nearest to God.

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## GENIUS AND REGENERATION.

**I**N the works of Lombroso and Max Nordau, there is so much coupling of genius with degeneracy as to rob the former of much of the high esteem we have always entertained for it—if we let their opinions stand in our minds unchallenged. Hirsch, however, in his admirable work, "Genius and Degeneration," has done something to relieve these anti-genius impressions. The purpose of the present writer is to present what he believes to be an original view of the subject; and to this end he will be guided by his understanding of natural laws and the reasonableness of the view that life is to a great extent self-purifying and self-regenerative.

Nature is constantly reaching higher and higher. The acquired characteristics of parents tend to become instinctive in their children. When a family or class of individuals have, during several generations, been called upon to give especial exercise to a certain set of faculties, is it not reasonable that aptitude should be increased in the later generations for that particular exercise? We often see children and youths who are veritable prodigies in art, music, mathematics, or philosophy. Too rapid collective differentiation is modified by atavism, or reversion to an original, or at least to a much earlier type. A child may resemble one of its grandparents or great-grandparents much more closely than its father or mother. Not only does this atavic tendency extend to ancestors a few generations back, but sometimes apparently to a primordial type. Conservative Nature evidently reserves to herself the accumulations of ages of inheritance upon which to draw for her processes of evolution and to repair breaches in the line of progress.

I was recently standing in Bowling Green Park, New York, looking at a group of Italian immigrants. A question arose in my mind at the time whether atavism will not so assert

itself with the descendants of these poor people as to make them resemble their old Roman-world ancestors, before the race had its nobler nature crushed by the weight of poverty and wrong of centuries. If this be true, there may lie beneath the matted hair and behind the lusterless eyes germs that, planted in the soil of freedom and opportunity of America, may produce a Marius, a Pompey, or a Cæsar.

The miniature watercress of our salad is of giant ancestry, but, like the Italian, it has become dwarfed in the struggle for existence. Planted in the more congenial climate of Australia—resembling, perhaps, more than ours its ancient environment—it grows so rank and large as to turn the rivers from their courses.

The writer believes that the influence of personal attainment is, in a high degree, hereditary. In judging Nature we can often aid reason by adopting the self-evident proposition that that must always be best which best serves Nature. If character, modified under education and experience, were not to some extent hereditary, and if intellectual attainments in the parent did not make it easier for the child to acquire learning and practise mental application, then Nature would wrong herself—and she never does that.

When a composite photograph is made of several persons, the tendency is to eliminate peculiarities of expression that differ most widely from the average or type of the group. Composite photography may be likened to marriage. A composite face, the child of such photography, is an expression in which all the subjects participate. As a rule, the composite is a better face than that of any individual of the group, unless, of course, a particularly fine face be photographed with others widely different. When several faces possessing average good looks are taken together, the composite will be a better face than that possessed by any of the individuals.

Nature strives to protect herself against degeneracy; and, though bad conduct on the part of the parents harmfully affects the child, yet such influences are less potent than those that are regenerative. If this were not true, Nature's ends

would not be so well secured; being true, Nature is better served.

There is in all animal organisms a certain innate power of resistance to germs of disease, and there is likewise in man a similar power of resistance to degeneracy, or moral disease. The forces that operate to protect the individual also operate to shield the species by affording protection against evil inheritance. However, as the individual may override Nature and debase himself in spite of her, so may degenerate tendencies be transmitted in spite of her; but for the utter defeat of Nature three or four generations are usually required.

Abnormal types are not always representative of diseased or degenerate conditions; other considerations must be weighed. Even some criminals may be atavic examples of a class of individuals who were better suited to live under the savage conditions that existed many generations ago than the finer men who dominate our modern civilized life. As the conditions of life change, men of different character are required for the altered environment. The present age is vastly different from that in which our early ancestors battled for existence. Many criminal types of to-day are doubtless simply relics of a species of humanity that society has outgrown. It is well known that instances of atavism are most common among inferior races and classes.

When the great ice sheet had melted from the face of Europe, in recent geological years, the new opportunities presented by the changed conditions had upon our race a character-building effect, adapting it to the great possibilities of the present era. The closing of the glacial epoch was a great geological springtime—a period of rejuvenescence, when, with the expansion of land areas and all the concomitant opportunities, man's mentality was also expanded. As environment shapes the character of the individual, so it affects the race. The quick eye, upon which security depended in the remote past; the strong arm, with which to strike for food or life; the awakened sense, trained in battling with the wild beasts of the forest or with the still more savage fellow-man—were all builders of that brain which now builds the locomotive,

defies the ocean's hurricane within an ark of safety, harnesses the lightning in the service of man, and brings the whole earth within touch of the family.

The discovery of America, with the mingling of races under changed conditions of life, within a new world offering greater resources and possibilities—above all, greater freedom—has made almost a new race of men: a race having a more independent way of thinking; one reasoning more from experience and less from theory and dogma; a race more resourceful, active, and determined. The greatest influences to break the chrysalis of medieval superstition and clear the mind for action have been exerted by Americans. Braver than those they left behind, a daring few who placed themselves on the bleak New England coast—with the great ocean behind and the unbroken forest, filled with savages, before—were the right sort of spirits, and in a suitable environment, to pioneer a strong and inventive race. The substance that could be grubbed from the barren soil in the brief summer was not sufficient for the long winter without recourse to every expedient that human ingenuity could devise.

A few generations have swept away the forests and the Indians. Workshops and factories dot all the waterways, where is produced every conceivable mechanical and scientific thing demanded by our civilization. Labor found honor in New England, where inventive genius brought both praise and reward. As a result of these genius-building conditions, America has produced probably more than seventy-five per cent. of the inventors and inventions that have revolutionized life. New Englanders and their descendants, multiplied and scattered throughout America and all over the earth, have led and still lead the inventive genius of the world. But for the inventor we should all be running wild in the forest, clothed with leaves and the skins of beasts. It is the inventor who has taken man out of caves and hovels and placed him in mansions; who has developed every convenience and every luxury of modern life; and who has made this earth a fit abode for something better than simple savages.

“Necessity is the mother of invention.” Without needs

there can be no progress. Labor is the great factor formative of genius. Love of labor is indicative of true genius. It is an unvarying rule that love is an accompaniment of capacity, because of the pleasure in the exercise of strong faculties. Pain is but impeded function, pleasure unimpeded function; happiness is consciousness of unimpeded function, and of conditions favorable to its continuance. Capacity for work and a disposition for usefulness are inseparable concomitants of happiness. Those animals are the most intelligent which are endowed with the best faculties for the examination of things—and man is no exception. The opposable thumb has been an important factor in the development of mental faculty, which in turn has made of the human hand the most wonderful of instruments.

The complex conditions of civilized life are constantly forcing upon us new capacities for usefulness. As these conditions become more and more exacting, we are all required in one respect or another to be geniuses—although universality of genius becomes impossible by reason of limitations of time, attention, and endurance. Civilization demands that labor be divided and functions specialized. Love for the work in hand is the mother of success in that work. A true conception of genius is best had by an understanding of the springs that prompt the mind to action. The logic of Pope's statement that—

"Man never is, but always to be, blessed,"

will hardly hold under analysis. Neither is Pope's definition of happiness the true one, as expressed in the following lines:

"O Happiness, our being's end and aim;  
Good, pleasure, ease, content—whate'er thy name!"

It is in its *pursuit* that happiness is found. The struggle for existence serves two purposes—constructive and destructive; it builds and it eliminates. The fittest find pleasure in the struggle—it constitutes their chief happiness; the unfittest find in it discord, disintegration, and destruction. He with whom the whole world goes wrong, to whom the whole order of social life appears upside down, sees and feels but his own lack of accord with the order of things.

By one's "environment" is meant everything that does not form a part of his organic structure. Not all that is within one's body is of the individual. The food taken, the waste materials not yet thrown off, and all foreign substances and bacteria in the blood belong to one's environment; they constitute a part of that upon which, as external, the individual operates, and which in turn operates upon him, exercising his faculties and affording him pain or pleasure. Mental impressions in the storehouse of the memory form a psychic environment. High genius largely depends upon the power of interior vision—the faculty of seeing mentally-recorded objects in all their relations. The mechanical inventor must be capable of constructing and reconstructing his every device within the mind. He must be able to add and to take away. To him the device in his mental view must be a real entity, and seen with as clear a vision as if it actually existed under his eyes and hands.

The normal exercise of faculty being the source of pleasure, the higher the order of faculty and the more completely the personality is utilized in that exercise the greater the pleasure. A dog best enjoys running and playing at hunting-games with his fellows, because thereby his dominant faculties are most exercised. We are pleased by a beautiful painting or a lovely landscape, because of the exercise it gives our esthetic faculties. Robert G. Ingersoll once remarked that "the man who stands and looks out upon the ocean receives all that he is capable of receiving; the man who looks into the eyes of the woman he loves receives all he is capable of receiving." Love is but consciousness of the exercise of faculty.

The value of life consists in utilizing the opportunities it offers for doing things, for exercising others and being exercised, and for making ourselves and others better and happier. To illustrate this view, let us take any moral, upright, and highly intellectual man, whose whole heart and soul are in the bosom of his family; a man fond of art, music, letters, and philosophy; a man happy in the consciousness of the exercise of his higher faculties. Let us now, in our imagination, take him away from his home and country—away from all human

companionship—and place him in an environment replete with every other necessity and luxury of civilized life. What would his life be worth? It would be misery. It is plain, therefore, that if, for an individual disassociated from all human companionship, existence is worthless, then life, to have any value, requires society. It is but rational that the efforts of one's life should be devoted as much to the interest of others as to self-interest; in fact, self-interest cannot be disassociated from interest in others. This is proof that mutuality in the enjoyment of possessions gives them their value, and that work, action, exercise of faculty, and the doing of service constitute the mainspring of life.

“Imagination rules the world.” The treasury of the memory is a storehouse of impressions—a bank upon which the more we draw the greater grows the balance to our credit. The galleries of the mind are hung with pictures that far transcend in truth to Nature all the possibilities of human art. They are living pictures, endless in variety and so perfect in sequence that we forget their unreality and they become entities. Much of the pleasure of life consists in mentally living over again the pleasant past. These picture-galleries of the mind are the playgrounds and laboratories of genius; they are real art galleries, libraries, machinery halls, and workshops, wherein the inventor delves and experiments, dissects and reconstructs, free of expense and with the ease and speed of thought, anything that in fancy he may choose to work upon.

The greatest possible rewards for effort are the inner visions bestowed by Nature upon him who serves his family, his friends, and mankind at large so well that all of them, the dead and the living, look in upon his soul and surround him with smiling faces. Good works make all the world smile upon the worker. Noble purposes, high ideals, and enlightened conception of what constitutes true happiness are regenerative influences: they are lifting the race higher and higher. Great genius is but great capacity for usefulness, and great happiness can exist only in the exercise of the highest faculties.

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## EVOLUTION AND IMMORTALITY.

### (II.)

**I**N the last paper we dwelt at length on the function of death in evolution, because the mere fact of physical death is the main argument for the denial of immortality. We pass now to a treatment of some other considerations. We will inquire, first, Is immortality possible from an evolutionary standpoint? and second, Does evolution furnish any grounds for the probability of immortality? In other words, is the doctrine of immortality consistent with the evolutionary philosophy?

Perhaps the best way to answer these questions is to give the views of a few eminent scientists and scholars. Mr. Le Conte, of the University of California, one of the best known scientists of America, holds "that the spirit of man was developed from the *anima*, or conscious principle of animals, and that this again was developed out of the lower forms of life force, and these in turn out of the chemical and physical forces of Nature; and that at a certain stage in this gradual development, *viz.*, with man, it acquired the property of immortality, precisely as it now, in the individual history of each man, at a certain stage, acquires the capacity for abstract thought." According to Mr. Le Conte, the soul as well as the body of man is the product of evolution. It is not something injected into the body from without, but something developed along with the body and within the body. And immortality is not a gift bestowed *ab extra*, but a power obtained *ab intra*. Thus viewed, immortality is entirely in harmony with the principles of evolution. Mr. John Fiske, of Harvard University, says: "According to Mr. Spencer, the divine energy manifested throughout the knowable universe is the same energy that wells up in self-consciousness. I can see no insuperable difficulty in the notion that at some period in the evolution of humanity this

divine spark may have acquired sufficient concentration and steadiness to survive the wreck of material forms and endure forever." Like Le Conte, he holds the notion of an acquired immortality. The divine energy rises higher and higher—becomes more and more individualized and concentrated—until in man it attains survival power. We will let Dr. T. T. Munger represent a theological view: "The space between an ascidian (an animal intermediate between vertebrate and invertebrate) and a thinking brain is as wide as that between temporary existence and unlimited existence. If an ascidian can evolve mind, the briefer life of an ascidian may evolve endless life. Somewhere along the process it may pick up the quality of continuance, as somewhere according to the theory it picks up the sense of moral freedom; for there is nothing in this assumed potentiality of matter adverse to continuance." This line of argument seems to be sound. If the power of thought and the sense of moral freedom be evolved from an ascidian, then the evolution of immortal spirit is not impossible. The evolutionist least of all should deny the possibility or even the probability of an acquired power of survival. If from the ameba has been developed man, it ought not to be considered impossible that from the *anima* of mortal animals should be developed immortal spirit. And if from sensation has been developed consciousness, and from consciousness self-consciousness, should we not expect that from self-consciousness would be evolved a power as high above this as this is above mere sensation, *viz.*, the power of perpetual self-consciousness? The theory of acquired power of survival is consistent with what we know of evolution. We find an analogy to this in the life of the plant. When and whence comes its power of self-perpetuation? This power is not bestowed upon it from without, but is developed within the plant itself. It is not an original power—it is not in the tiny shoot when first it is born from the earth. Cut it down at a certain stage and it dies, to live no more. The self-perpetuating power is acquired at a certain stage of its growth by development; and then "it bears a seed around which it folds its faded petals as a shroud

and falls into the dust, no longer to perish but to live again." Thus, it is believed, does Nature develop a survival power that enables man to bridge the gulf of death and endure forever. The answer, then, to our first inquiry is that from an evolutionary standpoint immortality is possible.

We come now to our second inquiry, Does evolution furnish any grounds for the probability of immortality? I believe that it does. In the light of evolution one of the oldest and most familiar arguments for immortality may be restated and given scientific form and force. Much stress has been rightly laid on the universal hope of immortality. Among all nations and races there is a belief in a future life that shall never end, and a longing for a happier and nobler life beyond the grave. The Indian has his "happy hunting-ground" in some mystic land of the spirit world; the Scandinavian had his green Paradise amid the eternal wastes; the Greek had his Elysian plains, where the shadowy images of the dead moved in a world of spirits; the Christian has his New Jerusalem, the abode of a race of immortals. In every human heart there is a longing after immortality and a hope for a deathless life beyond the grave. As Colonel Ingersoll eloquently said, "In the night of death hope sees a star and love hears the rustling of a wing." Whence comes this hope? Theology answers, God put it there. Evolution answers, It is a product of evolution. Both are right—God put it there by a process of evolution. Viewed from the evolutionary standpoint, there must be a profound significance in this universal fact.

Now, Nature has her prophecies, and when not violently interfered with her prophecies are always fulfilled. The development of lungs in the embryo is a prophecy of an atmospheric environment in which it shall live and breathe. The development of wings in the embryonic bird in its shell is a prophecy of air in which it shall fly. The development of eyes in the rayless darkness of the prenatal home is a prophecy of coming light. So the development in man of this hope of immortality is a prophecy of an environment in which this hope shall find fruition. Nature makes nothing without a pur-

pose. Fins would never have been developed had there been no water in which to swim; nor wings had there been no atmosphere in which to fly; nor eyes had there been no light with which to see. And would these immortal aspirations have been developed in the human mind had there been no spiritual realm in which these aspirations could be realized? It is observed that, with every desire that Nature evolves, the means for its gratification already exist. For hunger there is food; for thirst there is water; for acquisitiveness there is untold treasure; for esthetic desires there is a world of beauty; for passion there is the differentiation of the sexes. And shall we say that for the desire of immortality Nature has no satisfaction; that Nature has developed this desire when there was no possibility of its gratification; that Nature has created a hope only to mock her children? Shall we not rather rest with confidence in Nature's consistency and believe that with the desire there must also be means for its realization? Joseph Cook has well said: "Nature makes no half-hinges. God does not create a desire to mock it. Our constitutional instincts raise no false expectations. Conscience tells no Munchausen tales. The structure of the human constitution is not an organized lie." Viewed from any standpoint this universal hope of humanity is the voice of Nature and the voice of God, speaking through intuition to the human heart, whispering of immortality, and prophesying a deathless life beyond the tomb.

Another consideration leads to the same conclusion. We must bear in mind that man is the goal of evolution. The evolutionist believes, not only that man is the last and the highest result of evolution, but that in all the evolutionary process throughout the ages man is the goal toward which Nature has been striving. He believes that every successive step in the development was a struggle toward man. He sees in all the ages an underlying purpose in Nature's movement—the making of man. When the lowest form of vegetable life appeared upon the wild wastes, it was a step toward man. When the first animal began its semi-conscious existence in the primeval waters, it was a step toward man. When the reign of

the mollusk was succeeded by the reign of the fish, Nature took another step toward man. When the fish kingdom was followed by the reptile kingdom, then there was another great step toward man. When the reptile gave place to the mammal there was a still greater stride toward man. And when at last man in all his glory stepped upon the stage of this world's history, the goal of Nature's development was reached and evolution's purpose was fulfilled. When one believes that "the whole creation is focussed on man," that throughout all the ages God has been evolving the *genus homo*, that the one great purpose of that mysterious force we call Nature is the evolution of Humanity, it is impossible to believe that the end of all this is threescore years and ten—and then annihilation. "He who regards man," says Mr. John Fiske, "as the consummate fruition of creative energy and the chief object of divine care, is almost irresistibly driven to the belief that the soul's career is not completed with the present life upon the earth. . . . The more thoroughly we comprehend that process of evolution by which things have come to be what they are, the more are we likely to feel that to deny the everlasting persistence of the spiritual element in man is to rob the whole process of its meaning."

Tell me that God has spent ages in making a fruit-tree to live only a few years and give food to man and then to die and molder back to dust, and I say it may be. Tell me that God has spent ages in making a horse to live only a few years and be a servant to man and then return to dust, and I say it may be. Tell me that God has spent eons in evolving the earth to make it a fit habitation for man, and that after awhile when it has served its purpose in the evolution of man it will return to nothingness, and I say it may be. But when you tell me that God has used what seems to us an eternity in evolving man only that he may live a few short years and then be utterly annihilated, I say such cannot be. "It is inconceivable," says Dr. Abbott, "that God should have spent all the ages in making a Gladstone, a Lincoln, a Jefferson, a Shakespeare, only that he might make a body with which to fill a grave." With-

out the immortality of man this long evolution is without a purpose, this beautiful cosmos without a meaning—as Le Conte says, “an idle dream, an idiot tale signifying nothing.” He who believes that behind all the forces of Nature is a Supreme Being, an infinite Intelligence, and an infinite Love that never acts without a purpose and always does what is right and good, can never accept such a conclusion. It seems to me the evolutionist should agree with Mr. Fiske when he says, “I believe in the immortality of the soul as a supreme act of faith in the reasonableness of God’s work.”

No; man was not made to die. The sun sinks behind the western hills only to rise on another clime. The seed falls into the ground and dies only that it may spring to life again. Man passes through the shadowy gates of death only that he may enter into immortal realms. The night of death only brings out the stars of heaven and reveals a kingdom of immortal life and love—

“Only waiting till the shadows are a little longer grown,  
Only waiting till the glimmer of the day’s last beam is flown;  
Then from out the gathered darkness holy, deathless stars shall rise,  
By whose light my soul shall gladly tread its pathway to the skies.”

WALTER SPENCE.

*Kingfisher, Okla.*

(Concluded.)

## THE FEMININE FACTOR.

### I. WOMAN AND THE INDUSTRIAL PROBLEM.

THE Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company proposed some months ago to discharge all women who had not been in its service for two years or more. In explaining the motives of the board, one of the directors said:

"The move was not because the women proved inefficient, but is simply carrying out the company's policy in the matter of promotion of employees. The Northwestern wishes to advance its employees from low positions to offices of trust. Can you imagine a woman as general superintendent or general manager of the affairs of this great railway system? I think not. But just so long as we have women in the clerical positions the source from which to draw valuable officials in the future is narrowed to small limits."

If other large employers of labor follow the precedent thus established an enormous industrial change is inevitable. The question narrows itself down to this: Has a woman the right to work for wages?

In the ideal world of Edward Atkinson and Grant Allen the entire human race is divided into blocks of six—a father and mother and four children. Two of the latter invariably die or are "defectives," and the other two reach maturity at just such a time as to preserve the unalterable family of the statistician, which antedates the millennial dawn, when "there shall be no more an infant of days, nor an old man." But, unfortunately—though the statisticians may be right in their aggregates, which are but "the loud sum of the silent units"—for thousands of years we have been going to the funerals of countless John Rogerses, who have left behind them "nine small children and one at the breast." Now, the question is, What is to become of Mrs. Rogers? Once she could take in washing, or make shirts, or spin, or weave, or knit, or go from house to house and make soft soap and apple butter for

her neighbors—and all of these were peaceful, feminine, and not too remunerative avocations. But Mrs. Rogers is confronted with a very different condition to-day. If she takes in washing the National Laundrymen's Association denounces her for competing with men, and she is accused of taking away men's work and lowering the rate of wages.

The whole industrial and social system to which we have become accustomed during the centuries is arraigned. We have heard for so many years that the proper sphere of woman is "the sweet, safe corner of the household fire, behind the heads of children," that we have accepted the statement as true in its entirety, and have regretted the necessities and the mistaken policy that have forced woman into the industrial field. But "the thoughts of God are broader than the measure of man's mind," and unconsciously, with much misgiving and not a little stubborn resistance, the race is making one of its most vital changes. Is it not strange that, believing in evolution in the past, we refuse to recognize its processes in our own time, and cry out against that which is really the law of being? For what exists is not perfect; only the statisticians, with their blocks-of-six families, believe it to be so.

Try as we may, it is impossible to go back of Bebel's hard saying—the root of slavery is financial dependence. It was through this dependence that woman became "my goods, my chattels, my horse, my ox, my ass, my anything;" and it was because of this economic condition that marriage became the goal of her existence. The primeval woman was as fleet of foot and as strong of hand as her mate, whom she chose because of his superiority over other competitors for her favor. She bore her children, and their entire care devolved upon her. It did not occur to her or to her fellow-beings that she was by nature an invalid, as Michelet insists, or that a process of Nature limited her to that single function of her being. It was necessary for her to become thoroughly civilized before she became, as a healthy, normal animal, the inferior of the horse she drives and the mouse she fears; for in her native state the mare can take care of herself, and the mouse, albeit



a well-conducted creature (monogamic in her habits and devoted to her family), knows a grain of corn or a bit of sponge-cake when she sees it.

The favorite argument of those who resent any change of the existing order of things is that innovations tend to destroy the family; that is to say, the only way to keep woman content in the state of wedlock, as it now exists, is to make its alternative starvation. It is a noble and at the same time an ignoble selfishness that makes man desire woman's dependence. The noble man wishes to care for her—to give her everything, counting it as a small matter compared to her love; the ignoble man, in plain terms, merely wishes to keep her under his thumb. Neither is right, if we are to consider woman as half the race, and not merely an adjunct of man—a procreative necessity. It has been requisite that man should have the softening experience of a family entirely dependent upon him, in order that family ties might be knit more closely about him and the instinct of paternal love—the sense of paternal responsibility—awakened in him; but with this awakening there is no longer any need for the subjection of woman. The awakening comes just as the subjection is ceasing, at a time when industrial conditions are compelling a sharp and bitter contest for the chance to work. This contest forces a threefold and terrible rivalry: man against woman, woman against man, and against them both the feeble fingers of little children, pushing slowly inward the heavy doors of the Masters of the Bread. This is the true meaning of what we call competition; and it is this which arrays men and women against each other, wrecks the home; and breaks the bodies of babies upon its modern wheel.

According to the last census there were three million wage-earning women in the United States. During the last ten years the number has increased rapidly; for woman is weary of slavery, even when its fetters are gilded and its chains silken. She is fulfilling the law of evolution, and it is too late to stay her course, even if we believe it to be wrong in its inception and ruinous in its results upon the home. But the home is in no danger. Possibly nothing less than the realization on the

part of man that it is woman he is fighting, and the recognition by woman that it is baby hands she is crushing, could make us realize as a race the meaning and end of competition—while dimly outlined in the shadow stands the specter of the machine, which supplants us all and requires neither food nor raiment. It takes the threefold sacrifice to make us comprehend that the hour is at hand when machinery will take the place of the children of Gibeon. Mill said, "Hitherto it is questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have lightened the toil of any human being." It is a foregone conclusion that men and women must and will work, but it is for them to say whether the machine shall be a benefactor or a curse—whether it shall work for them or in place of them; and most of all it is for them to say whether or not they will sacrifice their children to this Moloch.

Women have always worked, but they have worked without wages and sometimes without thanks—often with blows and curses as their only reward. The woman of the future will be an economic unit, not a cipher. She will marry, because it is essentially her nature to do so; and she will prepare for and accept maternity with gladness rather than resignation. She will not marry for the sake of being supported in idleness, nor exchange paid service for that which is not only unrequited but unappreciated.

Coöperation is solving the problem of woman's work, so called. Every laundry, every bake-shop, every dairy-wagon, every creamery marks the progress of the coöperative idea. When we realize our interdependence, and that we cannot enrich ourselves by robbing our neighbors, laundries will not use substances that rot clothing, bakers will not raise their bread with alum, and milk will be an unmixed blessing. For what shall it profit a man if he save a little yeast and lose his own soul; or shall a man give flour and water in exchange for his soul? The wrong to his neighbor's digestive apparatus is a bagatelle compared to the wrong he has done himself. True, he may *have* a little more—if he be willing to *be* a great deal less.

If the home of to-day were so perfect that it left no room for improvement there would be more ground for the fears of those who believe it endangered. There are plenty of houses in which families live, but it does not follow that they are *homes*. If "not even a home in the heart of one we love," as Emerson puts it, "can satisfy the awful soul that dwells within," how much less will even a palace bring peace or happiness when its walls do not shelter congenial spirits! It has frequently been said that a man can build a house, but it takes a woman to make a *home*. Will it be less a home when it represents her labor as well as his? Is a nest less a nest because both birds carry the sticks and wool and feathers of which it is composed?

We learn slowly and unwillingly that we cannot put the chicken back into the shell; and we cannot put woman back into her old environment. The world is a vast and frequently an uncomfortable place for the new chicken and the new woman; but, even at the risk of the chicken becoming an ostrich and the woman overtopping Bartholdi's "Liberty," Nature's processes must be permitted to go on.

The industrial antagonism between men and women is natural, but it will not last. Thousands of men have taught their boys to swim by deliberately throwing them into deep water. The method is heroic, but it generally proves effective. Unwittingly they have done precisely the same thing, industrially, with their daughters. The result is a good deal of surprise and a little resentment on both sides, but if we care to watch developments we may see for ourselves whether or not a duck will swim. When we have thoroughly grasped this singular phenomenon we should be able to look through Nature up to Nature's God, and comprehend vaguely that the Power that has made the duck to swim and fly as well as the drake has not been less mindful of half the race created in His own image.

In the growing similarity of aspiration and employment between men and women there is nothing to fear; we should behold in it rather the fulfilment of these words of Junius

Henry Browne, written more than a quarter of a century ago: "Love is the highest agent Nature employs to execute her aims and reveal her mysteries. In her plans for the amelioration and final perfection of the race, man and woman, as they love each other more, will resemble each other more and more; for love begets love and likeness at once, until not only union but unity, not only conjunction but communion, will exist and grow together in the eons of perfectibility."

ELLIS MEREDITH.

*Denver, Col.*



## II. WOMAN IN RETROSPECT.

WHILE congratulating ourselves upon the progress made by the nineteenth-century woman, it may be well to turn over the pages of history, lest we forget that previous centuries have shown equally remarkable achievements of women when the conditions were less favorable and the opportunities less frequent.

The preparation of a hospital ship for South African waters, the gift of American women, naturally recalls to mind the fact that the only daughter of Benjamin Franklin, Sara Franklin Bache, rendered herself distinguished during the Revolutionary War by her humane and patriotic efforts to relieve the sufferings of the disabled and destitute soldiers. Less recent is the act of Bobalina, a Greek heroine, who in the revolution of 1821 equipped at her own expense three vessels, one of which she commanded. These she offered to the government to assist in the blockade of Nauplia, which for fourteen months they successfully maintained. Of a more aggressive nature is the record of Artemisia, the warlike Queen of Halicarnassus, who, after the death of her husband, joined the fleet of Xerxes with her ships in an expedition against the Greeks; she distinguished herself for both bravery and skill in the naval battle of Salamis, 480 B. C.

We have frequently been told of the difficulties encountered by the women of a generation or two ago, and of the obstacles they surmounted in their efforts to pursue the study of medi-

cine; but we do not remember that any of the pioneers in medical courses were obliged to assume male attire as did Agnodice, an Athenian woman, who, thus disguised, studied medicine under Herophilus and practised it with success in the third century before Christ. Another Grecian woman, Axiothea, came to Athens about 300 B. C., attired in masculine garb, for the purpose of attending the lectures of Plato. The necessity to assume male attire was not confined to Greece; for we learn that Baret, a Frenchwoman born in 1741, disguised herself as a man and followed Commerson and Bougainville on their voyage in 1766, for the purpose of studying botany. Baret was rewarded for her persistent efforts by having several plants named after her.

When entering upon the earliest fields of literature, one is confronted with such profusion and variety as to make it almost impossible to cull only a few where there are so many of equal merit. All nations contribute to this great variety. We find English, French, Italian, German, Swiss, Scotch, Sicilian, Grecian, Spanish, Portuguese, Prussian, Persian, Irish, Dutch, and Danish writers of every known style of composition; nor are they spoken of as indifferent authors, dramatists, scientists, novelists, poets, translators, biographers, etc., but each is quoted as being "distinguished for great excellence." Several years ago, when one of our colleges for women bestowed upon one of her graduates a scholarship in a famous university, as a distinction for superiority in mathematics, it was considered a matter of so great importance and of so unusual occurrence as to render the young lady famous in college circles; yet we read that a young Italian writer, Maria Agnesi, born in Milan in 1718, at the age of twenty discoursed in several languages on abstruse problems in philosophy and mathematics. It is said that her Latin was remarkable for its purity and correctness. In 1748, when only thirty years of age, she published a treatise on algebra, including differential and integral calculus, in the treatment of which she is said to have displayed remarkable knowledge and superior judgment.

Only within recent years have the doors of colleges been opened to women—enabling them to pursue the higher courses by which they may secure the distinguishing literary titles; yet, so long ago as 1732, Laura Maria Catarina Bassi, an Italian who had attained great celebrity for her knowledge of mathematics, philosophy, and languages, was appointed professor of philosophy in Bologna, having previously had the title of Doctor of Philosophy conferred upon her.

The writers of the drama to-day are rarely actresses, but in centuries gone by it was no uncommon thing for actresses to be also authors of tragedy, comedy, and opera. Many of the poets excelled in the dramatic style. In 1763, Teresa Bandettina was born in Italy; she became a writer of tragedies and poems, and was regarded with such favor that in 1794 she was crowned with laurels at Rome, and later writers of eminence have commended her superior genius.

Some generous-hearted women of the present day have made themselves prominent, and have brought happiness to many less fortunate than themselves, by founding charitable institutions or by establishing colleges and universities. But this is by no means an inspiration of the nineteenth century; for as early as 1610, Duchess Marie d'Aiguillon, a niece of Cardinal Richelieu, was born and became famous by establishing several charitable institutions. If we go back a century and a half we find that Countess Margaret Beaufort, born in 1441, became distinguished for her patronage of learning. She founded not only Christ's College but also St. John's, Cambridge, besides establishing the professorship of divinity; she also contributed to the literature of her day by translating religious works from the French.

Nor did the fine arts suffer in those earlier days, for either patrons or advocates. Anna Amelia, a Prussian princess born in 1723, is said to have devoted her whole life to music; her musical library was considered the finest and most complete that was ever collected. The painting of flowers had attained a degree of perfection of which it is difficult for us to conceive. A French lady, Madeline Francoise Basse-

port, born in Paris in 1700, became so proficient as a painter of flowers and birds that she held the position of designer of the Jardin des Plantes. The collection of plants painted on vellum for Gaston, Duke of Orleans, is regarded as her chief work that has been preserved.

It is true that we do not read in early history of the "Club" movement among women; but we *do* find that they belonged to different academies, which in those days took to a certain extent the place of the modern advanced club. Although the term *academy* was first applied to the school of philosophy established by Plato in the Athenian grove, it afterward became a general term given to any society of authors, savants, or artists, founded for the purpose of self-improvement in literature, science, or art. As far back as the third century before Christ there was a similar institution called the "Museum," a society of scholars established by Ptolemy Soter at Alexandria. Not very different in idea and scope are the Browning clubs, the geographical societies, the musical and the art associations, of the present day. In the life of Marie Anne du Boccage, a French poet born in 1710, we learn that she was a member of several foreign academies as well as of those of Lyons and Rouen.

The civil and political movement we are accustomed to think of as being a development of the nineteenth-century woman loses somewhat of its luster when we remember that Marie Amoretti, a learned Italian born in 1756, has left a valuable work entitled "The Right of Dowry among the Romans;" and by going back a century farther we find that Mary Astell, an English author born in 1668, published in 1697 "A Serious Proposal to the Ladies for the Advancement of their True and Greatest Interest," and that instead of receiving adverse criticism she was highly esteemed by her contemporaries for her logical acumen.

To return to more practical work, we are surprised to learn that, as early as 1719, Marie Catherine Biheron, a French anatomist, was born. She attained such proficiency in her profession that she was patronized by the most celebrated phy-

sicians, among whom were Jussien and Villoison, in Paris, and Hunter and Hewson, in London. Her anatomical cabinet, which was of great value, was purchased at her death for Catherine II. of Russia. A little later in the century (in 1773), Marie Anne Boivin was born. She also made a specialty of anatomy and of obstetrics, and was appointed in 1801 chief superintendent of the Maternity Hospital in Paris. A number of treatises on her profession have been preserved.

The revival and survival of Jane Austen have been too recent to require mention here, and we pass rapidly over the long list of literary celebrities to pause for a moment only at such names as Aspasia, the celebrated Grecian woman who possessed such remarkable political influence that Plutarch says, "Many Athenians resorted to her on account of her skill in the art of speaking;"\* and Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus and mother of Xerxes, whom Hellanicus has immortalized as being the first writer of epistles, 500 B. C.; and Marie Catherine Annoy, one of the ornaments of the Court of Louis XIV., and a writer of fairy tales that have not only run through numerous editions but have been translated into various languages; Anna Cooke Bacon, born in 1528, versed in Greek, Latin, and Italian, who translated into English the celebrated work of Bishop Jewel, "Apology for the Church of England;" Anna Lætitia Barbauld, an English writer of prose and poetry, who in 1793 published a sermon on the "Sins of the Government, the Sins of the Nation," which title sounds strangely applicable to the present day, and who wrote numerous books for children, all her works being specially characterized by a spirit of elevated morality and deep religious feeling; Charlotte Biehl, who translated "Don Quixote" into Danish, a work that was highly esteemed; Friedrike Sophie Brun, a German author who journeyed through Russia, Switzerland, and Italy and wrote a series of letters about her travels; Lady

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\*She received the credit of having composed part of the famous funeral oration pronounced by Pericles over the Athenians that had fallen in battle. Need we longer doubt the rumor that a woman teacher in a Western college composed the "maiden speech" of one of our late Presidents?



Maria Callcott, born in 1788, who spent two years in India with her husband, and afterward traveled through Italy and South America and wrote several works on her travels; and Elizabeth Caminer, born in Venice in 1751, edited "The Encyclopedic Journal" in 1777, and made translations from Shakespeare and other writers into Italian.

But why multiply illustrations of the activity, the culture, and ability of women in the past? Not to disparage the achievements of women in the present, but to prove that every age as well as every clime has had its representative women—though perhaps in greater numbers at present, in proportion to the greater number of avenues open to woman's progress; but is it fair to suppose that greater excellence is necessarily in proportion to the greater numbers?

Those interested in the social and political position of women in England and America to-day have devoted pages to the evolution of woman in the nineteenth century—all of which we grant, and for which no woman of intelligence can fail to be profoundly grateful; but we deprecate the idea so frequently entertained that the present condition presents the only claim to consideration, as being the result of the changes that have evolved by reason of woman's "mental emancipation," as it is termed. To the student of history it seems deplorable that the brilliant achievements of women in the past should be overlooked through the eager desire to laud the recently acquired recognition of the present. That "history repeats itself" is too often forgotten by the optimist, and its quotation is too often mistaken for pessimism.

HARRIET BROCK SWINEFORD.

*Philadelphia, Pa.*

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.  
They master us and force us into the arena,  
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*  
—HEINE.

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# THE ARENA

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## OUR COLONIAL RESPONSIBILITIES.

### I. CHINESE EXCLUSION FROM THE PHILIPPINES.

THE future government of the Philippine Islands will be a prolific source of questions of interest, not only to the people of the United States but to the Cabinets of other nations. Commercial competition has become so severe and absorbing that the market afforded by an archipelago of the size and extent of the Philippines will necessarily attract world-wide attention. Europe has outgrown her limits commercially and is seeking foreign fields of enterprise. Unless the United States is to remain stationary and petrified in structure, evolution will force us into the race. China is the prize for which all are striving, and its proximity to the Philippines has brought Congress to a consideration of its policy toward the Chinese. Two antagonistic movements have already been inaugurated—one demanding the exclusion of the Chinese and the other favoring their unrestricted immigration. Major-General Otis emphatically favors the former course, while Admiral Dewey is quietly aiding the efforts of the Chinese Minister to secure the free admission of his countrymen. The Philippine Commission, as a body, is too much divided in opinion to reach a reasonable recommendation, and the question must therefore be solved by the application of intelligence to the facts as they are.

Opposition to Chinese immigration to the Philippine Islands arises from the theory that its toleration on any extensive scale would injuriously affect existing and proposed American interests. Those who favor unrestricted immigration base their opinion upon the belief that, from a strictly American point of view, no policy could be more effectual in producing such changes and conditions among the people as will ultimately give the United States commercial supremacy in the Philippines and a decided advantage in China. Enlightened self-interest is and should be the governing force in the affairs of nations. It is well to gain much in China, but it is better to gain much in both China and the Philippines when the means are easily accessible. It may, therefore, be interesting to point out why a study of this question in Manila convinced me that the social, political, and commercial welfare of the Philippine Islands would be greatly promoted by Chinese immigration.

The history of the Philippines was transferred to us with their sovereignty. It teaches clearer than anything else that the Filipinos are, in character and disposition, unstable, restless, and revolutionary. Their insurrections occurred at frequent intervals extending over three centuries. The war with Aguinaldo was simply another outbreak of the same spirit of dissatisfaction with existing conditions, and a desire to establish the dominance of his faction. The certainty that American occupation of the Philippines would result in the betterment of the government and the improvement of the material being of all classes did not avail to check the spirit of revolt. If we may judge by past experience, it will not be a visionary indulgence to assume that, if the population remain as at present, insurrections will continue. Their existence would indicate a vital defect in the character of the Filipinos, rather than any administrative shortcomings on our part.

The United States has a twofold interest and responsibility in the Philippines: first, to establish on a firm basis a government of law and order, and secondly to reap such benefits as will attend the thorough development of insular resources. The successful accomplishment of either of these purposes demands

peace and stability among the people. Insurrection and industrial progress cannot thrive in the same atmosphere. It is therefore of the greatest importance to foster and encourage the growth of any element that will contribute to the overthrow of the one and the advancement of the other. It is a problem of deeper significance than will appear at first sight, because its solution means a gradual but certain change in the characteristics of the Filipinos, not only by education but by ingrafting upon them a stronger and better stock. If notice will be taken of the qualities of China, I believe many will admit that a large Chinese population in the Philippines will more effectually accomplish the desired result than any other means at our disposal.

The Chinese are the most stolid and immobile race on earth. They are the world's hewers of wood and drawers of water. Their monumental characteristics are patient endurance and industry. The spirit of unrest and open expression of discontent does not abide with them. They are the first to appreciate good conditions of government and the last to attempt any armed change. Constituted authority is not only unquestioned by them, but receives their fullest support. They are docile, obedient and tractable. The retrogressive tendencies of the Chinese are prominent because they are governed by men in whom the same tendencies exist. In other countries, whose people are alert and progressive, the Chinese have become invaluable as a means to execute large enterprises conceived and superintended by others. In the coast cities of China—such as Hong Kong and Shanghai—in Japan, the United States, Mexico, and South America, Chinese labor has established its own worth. Even in California, the storm center of the exclusion movement, there is an ever-increasing demand for Chinese labor in the fields and gardens and on railroads and steamships. A large number of people have discovered that the Chinese have materially assisted in developing the industries of the State and added largely to its wealth. It is an indisputable fact that wherever Chinese laborers have been permitted to work they have made a welcome for others in the face of bitter prejudice,

and have enriched every nation where they have claimed a residence. This is especially true of the Philippine Islands.

If the patient industry of the Chinese and the restless energy of the Filipinos can be combined, the task before the United States is more than half completed. If the present population of the archipelago should be doubled it would not overcrowd the islands, as their proper development could easily support in comfort a population of 20,000,000. For many centuries the Chinese and Filipinos have lived peaceably together; and by intermarriage, which is the rule and universally obtains, they have become one people without the least degree of friction and without any animosities. The influence of the Chinese during all this time has been steadily exerted in the direction of industrial pursuits and for the maintenance of peace. Their homes and their business were of more moment to them than the flag under which they lived. The American occupation of Luzon has shown the substantial and stable element of the population to be primarily the Chinese and the Chinese-Filipino *mestizos*. The city of Manila and its surrounding district contain 60,000 Chinese and half-castes. The American authorities never had a moment's trouble with these people, who indeed in many instances facilitated the military operations of the army. In the matter of the civil government of the city, the records of the Provost Marshal General's office disclose the fact that fewer arrests were made in and among the Chinese quarters than elsewhere, and that even in sanitary measures the Chinese were the first to obey directions. The efficiency of the Chinese, when employed in field service and as litter-bearers, is attested by every general officer in command of troops. It is this leaven of stability and usefulness that should be cultivated and enlarged. Additions to the native population, other than their natural increase, can be made in no other way; and the Chinese already there have made a constant improvement in the character of the inhabitants.

There are many districts in the Philippine Islands that have never been systematically cultivated. The richness and fertility of the soil assure certain returns for the money and labor in-

vested. The mountainous regions and the river beds are rich in mineral wealth that has never been developed. The Filipinos do not seem to comprehend what industry on a vast scale may do for them and their country. Great forests of valuable woods remain untouched. Pearl fisheries of known value are but scantily worked. The attention of the natives appears to have been limited to sugar, tobacco, and rice. I am aware that unfavorable land laws have had some influence in retarding the progress of the islands, but Congress is in a position to remedy these defects by applying to the great tracts of church and public lands the laws of the United States in reference to proprietary rights. If this be done, and an industrious, plodding people like the Chinese be given an opportunity to acquire the ownership of land, the Philippines will become as rich an estate as a nation ever owned. Prosperity in the Philippines will produce commercial activity out of which the United States will reap its financial reward. It will also, by encouraging the immigration of the Chinese, secure the fulfilment of its two-fold object: first, by securing stability among the people, and secondly by the benefits resulting from a highly productive dependency. When one sees the remarkable agricultural skill of the Chinese in their walled and terraced gardens on the mountain-tops, one may form an estimate of their capabilities in a land fertile and rich beyond measure.

I cannot give an accurate estimate of the wealth of the Chinese residents of the Philippines, but it is greater than that of any other foreign nationality. It has been accumulated from every branch of industry the islands afford. Much of it is in the shape of permanent investments, whose value is dependent upon the conditions prevailing throughout the archipelago. The hardships and disasters of war bring as great losses to the Chinese as to any other people. As non-combatants, their property is taken to maintain in part the contending forces of both sides. The effect of this danger has made them an actively potent force for the preservation of peace and tranquillity. All they ask is to be allowed to conduct their affairs without interruption. When you give the Philippines a Chinese population

of 5,000,000, and attach them to the country by ties of self-interest, under the protection of the best government the Orient has ever known, organized insurrection will be an impossibility.

The trade of China is said to be the reason for the permanent retention of the Philippines. On the pretext that they will be a stepping-stone to China, the policy of expansion has been most ably justified. This is another reason why, in my judgment, no barrier should be raised against Chinese immigration. China is the natural and inevitable market for the products of the Philippines. Its proximity and the similarity of wants of the two peoples make it a natural outlet. If the Chinese population be materially increased, the trade with China will be increased. If the Chinese market can furnish goods for use in the Philippines, the difference in traffic charges, on account of the comparatively small distance between them, will find employment for that market; and if the Philippines can furnish what China wants the advantage will be reciprocal. Chinese and Filipinos alike regard China as common ground and home territory. The traffic between China and the Philippine Islands will become flourishing and prosperous if the intercourse between the two countries be untrammelled. President McKinley was wise in insisting upon the adoption of the "open door" policy in China for the commerce of the United States, and he was far sighted in throwing the ports of the Philippines open to the trade of all nations alike. He secured the performance of the one by adhering to the other. A free interchange of products between Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Manila is an object to be sought. It is also desirable that there should be population enough in the Philippines to augment the production of exportable articles. Chinese goods and staples sell most readily to Chinese, and the operation of this law can and will confer common benefits upon China and the Philippines.

There is another substantial advantage to be gained by the United States from Chinese immigration—in the operation of manufactories in Manila to supply the Chinese market with articles that are salable to them. It is self-evident that the

Chinese demand for manufactured articles can be supplied more cheaply from Manila than from San Francisco or New England, if the raw material is obtainable. It is also true that American operatives cannot hope to compete with Chinese or Filipino labor in Manila. The Philippines do not offer any encouragement in this line. The manufacturing institutions in China are run by Chinese labor, which is sufficiently capable and intelligent to be satisfactory. The islands themselves will afford a certain amount of raw material. Organization and development should at least treble the present production of the staples. Chinese thrift and industry would make certain this result. If cotton is needed it can be shipped in its raw state and manufactured in the Philippines for the Oriental market. There are three sources of supply open to the Philippine buyer—the United States, India, and China. The distance from Manila to Hong Kong is 660 miles; from San Francisco to Hong Kong it is over 7,000 miles; and from New York and Galveston not under 12,000 miles. From this situation, if we deduct the difference in traffic charges and the difference in the cost of labor in these different cities, the advantage in favor of supplying the Orient from Manila is overwhelming. Great Britain imports raw material, and exports it when manufactured by her people: why should not the Philippines follow the same course? Their sources of supply are nearer, and their labor is infinitely cheaper. I know of one cotton factory, located in a Western State, whose entire product is consumed by the Chinese market. Its manager has informed me that he is able to undersell the product of Great Britain, in spite of the higher wages for labor he is compelled to pay. If such a result may be obtained in this instance, how much greater an advantage would accrue to him by the location of his factory in the Philippines? It is true that he would be compelled to pay more for his raw cotton, but the difference would be much more than equalized by the very short haul of the manufactured article. And, even if no saving could be effected on the basis of distance, the saving in wages would be an increased profit. But why should the Chinese be neces-



sarily employed? Because they are more skilful artisans than the Filipinos, their work is much better, and their service is more reliable. Wherever they have been employed as manufacturing operatives they have shown a capability to handle and care for machinery which the Filipinos do not possess. Their work in the factories at Shanghai has proved this. Let the United States manufacture for Europe, and the Philippines for China. From New England we should be able to capture the European market, and from the Philippines our goods could claim the first place in eastern Asia. What is said of cotton is true of many equally important articles.

It is admitted on all sides that the most pressing need in the Philippine Islands is to bring the entire group under the influence of modern civilization—not by force of arms, if it can be avoided, but by assimilation and intercourse. The army is there for that purpose, but its use will be only as a last resort. The only class of Chinese who would go to the Philippines are merchants and laborers who have been brought into contact with European and American civilization and know something of civilized conduct. This class would carry their knowledge and example into isolated districts and islands and thereby open up the way for more vigorous and intense methods.

In Mindanao, Panay, Negros, Cebu, and even parts of Luzon, the mountain tribes are not civilized and have retained many of their primitive and savage customs. Spain was never able to extend her rule over them, nor have they recognized any governmental authority or laws other than their tribal chief. Many of the richest tracts of land in the islands are under their domination and influence. Intercourse with other tribes has not improved their condition. Where the European and American have encountered hostility, the Chinese have received a welcome. In Mindanao the Chinese are the only people who have been able to trade with the natives of the mountains; and the bartering of cloth, glass, copper, and brass for their products has been going on for years. The Chinaman has been the medium through whom they have communicated with the outside world. They naturally affiliate. The Chinese junk in the

harbor, or the hut in the mountains, is a center of influence and civilization among the natives which all respect. It is an influence that is good and beneficial. If the Chinese are given an opportunity to acquire homes, and are permitted to engage in business without the danger of confiscation hanging over them, these centers of influence will be multiplied and become greater and more valuable to the government—because they will be attached to the government. For commercial purposes alone it would be invaluable to encourage Chinese settlements throughout the islands, and use them, not alone for themselves but as a means to open up the resources of the islands and, through commerce with Chinese middlemen, gradually reach the producers. A chain of such settlements around the islands would be of more permanent utility than a line of fortresses. The influence of railroads for civilization cannot be overestimated, but capital must see at least some steps taken in the direction of industrial development before it will enter these regions. No better pioneers for this work can be found than the Chinese. There is an absolute equality maintained between Chinese and Filipino families. The children of Chinese fathers and native mothers are taught to follow the land, language, and religion of the mother. In the cities they are educated in the same schools, their spiritual welfare is cared for by the same priests, they speak the same language and are filled with the same emotions. Their Chinese descent appears in their larger stature and their quiet attentiveness to whatever work they undertake. As a class they are a distinct improvement over the native, and I should say of even better promise than the Chinese.

The most urgent objection to the Chinese in the Philippines arises from the unfounded fear that they must displace American interests. There are two answers to this objection: first, Americans can never undertake to colonize the Philippines themselves, and secondly their spheres of action and utility are not the same. Climatic conditions are too unfavorable for any large American population—at best there can scarcely be more than a sprinkling of Americans. It is not a land where

American homes will or can flourish; and by a strange anomaly it invites just that class of American citizens who under no circumstances would make it their home—the capitalist and promoter. The American will go to the Philippines to make investments and to establish commercial enterprises; the Chinese will go there to find work as laborers and farmers. In mercantile affairs the American must conduct his business as a wholesale merchant, as an importer and exporter; while the Chinese, without capital, must conduct his business as a retail merchant and middleman. There is no other course open to them. Competition with hundreds of little stores and shops, owned by Chinese, is impossible. In the larger number of cases their total capital does not exceed \$50 in gold; yet it is such insignificant establishments as these that supply the mass of the natives with their daily necessities and make a scanty living for their proprietors. It can readily be seen that, so long as such conditions prevail, there will be no friction between the American investor and the Chinese laborer, but that their presence must be mutually beneficial and advantageous.

The United States, in undertaking the government of the Philippine Islands, has an economic and ethnologic problem to solve. While using them as a stepping-stone to China, it should keep in mind their own prosperity. American treatment of the Chinese in this country has created a prejudice against us in China. We say the Philippines are invaluable on account of their proximity to China. If this be true, is it not the policy of wisdom to use them in such a way as to bring to us the good will of the great nation with which we wish to trade? The statement of the proposition is its own answer.

SAMUEL W. BELFORD.

*Denver, Col.*

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## II. THE NATURAL RIGHT OF SELF-GOVERNMENT.

THERE has recently been much discussion concerning the right of a people to self-government. It is assumed that mankind is one in genus—that God has made all races of one

blood; that the different species have different capacities and possibilities of development, but that all are capable of mental and moral education and progress; that the oneness of the race is confirmed in the fact that physical multiplication can take place by the pairing of any two of opposite sex, however much they may differ in mental, moral, and physical characteristics; and that all men are held morally accountable for their actions both to human and divine government and laws.

Concerning the American doctrine as to the right of a people to freedom and self-government, this is what was declared "in Congress, July 4, 1776, by the unanimous consent of the thirteen United States of America: "

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Until recently no question has been raised for over a century in America as to the right of nations to self-government; but doubt seems to have arisen in some quarters as to the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands and other recently acquired territory. The reason given for the proposed exception is the alleged "incapacity" of those distant peoples. If this is meant as a sincere objection, and not a mere subterfuge to compass some ulterior object, then we are placing these people below the capacity for self-government attributed to the African slaves, whom we endowed with the right of self-government a couple of decades ago, and to whom we make no objection on the ground of political incapacity. And it must be admitted that the proposed denial of political rights by the United States to any of the peoples in question furnishes no argument for invalidating the doctrine nor to make an exception to the position taken by our revolutionary fathers. But it may also be said that the lack of practical experience on the part of the peoples to be deprived of self-government is no ground for its denial, because our American forefathers were likewise without ex-

perience in political matters, being mostly former subjects of King George, who represented a government in which they had had no voice.

Let us now consider the doctrine of political self-government from a practical and philosophic standpoint, since the "self-evident" right thereto, as laid down by our forefathers, is called in question. Of course, the denial of self-government to any conquered race, as practised by the imperial governments of Europe and elsewhere, is a precedent that should have no weight with us, as these governments could not be expected to give their conquered colonies rights that they do not grant to their home population. And according to the showing of Major J. E. Runcie, in the *North American Review*, as to our present misgovernment of Cuba, the refusal or failure to provide good government for colonies may proceed as well from a democratic form of "parental" authority as from a monarchy.

But in what school of philosophy does the right of political self-government *inhere*? Is it fundamental to human development, or is it a mere political gift to be withheld from or bestowed by a stronger upon a weaker nation? We must go back a little—to the individual human life, before it ever reaches contact with the social compact in the State—in order to get a clear view. Denial of self-dependence does not inure even to the good of an infant's physical body. If you fastened a baby to a seat in a cage, and fed it liberally but did not give it a chance to crawl and climb, it would never learn to balance itself successfully against the laws of attraction and gravitation.

But if the mere physical life demands liberty and self-activity, what does the call to moral and social responsibility require? It is said that Adam failed in the very first attempt to discharge the function of life in contact with outer things. Mere innocence is not a qualification for life. We are looking for the progression of man. How is he going to learn? It is said of Christ, "for in that he himself had suffered [experienced], being tempted [tried], he is able to succor them that are tempted;" also, that, being a "Son, yet learned obedience by the things that he suffered." You can develop no moral quali-

ties without the aid of moral responsibilities; neither is a man qualified for citizenship by being kept in a state of slavery—mutely obeying the mandates of a superior.

The excuse of imperial rulers has ever been that the mass of the people are not capable of self-government. Ancient Rome, for instance, applied this theory to all grades and classes within the Emperor's domain. They were fit to fight her battles, to plow her fields, to build her cities, but not to select her rulers. This is the waning doctrine of modern imperialism—whether it blossoms in a monarchy or sprouts from a democratic form of government. The doctrine of self-government is to be cut up and limited—not directly, but through exceptions.

The United States may say: "We still believe in the doctrines promulgated by our revolutionary forefathers—where the people are capable of self-government, as in America." That, however, would not be fair—only pharisaical. But how are even *we* exercising the right of self-government, considering our experience and education? Can we thank God that we are not, in this, like other nations? What nation had a greater domestic war than the United States carried on for four years? What kind of self-government do we present in Kentucky, or in the Montana Senatorship, or even in Pennsylvania, where a great State was in a deadlock so partizan that it could not find one fit man to represent it in the United States Senate? In Utah they offered us a polygamist Congressman—to help legislate for a nation of supposed monogamist homes.

To trace all the meanderings in the administration of our "free" government since we started out, and to see how many blunders we have made, should render us modest enough to let other peoples have the right to try to make their own laws. Let us remember, also, that only a few years ago Mexico was all "Mexicanized" politically; yet to-day those people enjoy the blessings of peace and good order. They have learned by what they "suffered." Take again our South American republics. They have had a rough sea most of the way, but they are making progress by falling down and getting up again. Take the history of the French Republic. It is one of alternate suc-

cesses and failures; yet France is a highly cultured and educated nation, and to-day has a firmer hold on political self-control than at any time in her history.

Is not the African ex-slave in the United States better qualified to-day than when liberated to exercise his prerogative as a voter? And is not this because he has had a chance to respond to a political demand? Have not four hundred years of Spanish rule in Cuba left its people as "incapable" of self-government as they were before? Would the continued condition of American slavery have ever prepared the negro for freedom and the elective franchise? Would the old servitude have developed such Afro-Americans as Professors Booker T. Washington and Burghardt Du Bois—the latter one of the brightest graduates of Harvard College?

England thinks that when the Queen dies the Prince of Wales will make as good a sovereign as the people of that nation are capable of selecting for themselves; yet they hold that they are better able to select rulers for the Boers and to make laws for them than the South African republics themselves. "Incapacity for self-government" has been the excuse for foreign and colonial governments and imperial ownership of peoples ever since we have had nations that were ambitious for empire; and, according to Major Runcie's statement, Spain's tyranny over Cuba has been reinstated under the new republican régime that intervened for the liberation of her people.

All history and philosophy prove that established governments seek colonial possessions and control more for self-aggrandizement than for the dissemination of light, knowledge, wealth, comfort, or prosperity; and in very few cases are the parent governments willing that their dependencies shall have political self-government—a right to which every people is entitled and which every people desires to enjoy, unless prevented by superior force or the fear of it.

The United States, in its continuous territory, is a great and prosperous nation, and should not aid in depriving any people of self-government—of which principle we are the most potent modern exemplars, and to which we are committed by every

consideration in our history and consistent present obligation. Expansion of a homogeneous population in contiguous new States has been a benefit to our nation; but foreign acquisitions—with a heterogeneous if not hostile people, not intended for nor susceptible of assimilation into American States, but to be held in subjection as colonies—cannot help us in anything but “entangling alliances,” and by direct consequence to a standing army and the denial of the great principle of political self-government upon which our nation was founded.

AMOS STECKEL.

*Bloomfield, Iowa.*



## THE CLAYTON-BULWER "ENTANGLING ALLIANCE."

**I**F a treaty ever were framed in whose features the innocence of the lamb blended with the harmlessness of the dove, it was surely the instrument regarding the Nicaragua ship canal, signed, on April 19th, 1850, by John M. Clayton, on behalf of the United States, and by Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, as the representative of Her Britannic Majesty. Not only was it superficially harmless and innocent: its real intent was to be both benevolent and beneficent.

The mutual interests of the two nations demanded that an Isthmian canal should be constructed as speedily and effectively as possible. There had been no war between the signatories. For once militarism had no hand even in the preliminaries to the framing of the compact; and no military advantage on either side was contemplated. Time had been available for ample consideration of all facts, opinions, and theories. After mature deliberation a document was drawn up, of mutual self-abnegation and friendly coöperation, to compass an end distinctly utilitarian and humanitarian. Sanctioned by Talleyrand's maxim that words are instruments for the concealment of thought, there may have been mental reservations, more or less numerous, on both sides. But the occasion demanded and warranted perfect sincerity, for the well-being of both peoples was involved in the promised impetus to commerce. The proposed work was in accord with the spirit of the age; for Prince Albert's first World's Fair, which was to inaugurate a new era of peace, was already building in Hyde Park, London, and the discovery of gold in California made a canal especially desirable to America. The progress of humanity itself was involved; for the great Macaulay had just published his dictum that, "barring the alphabet and the printing-press, those inventions which abridge distance" had done most to further that progress. The canal scheme was essentially a plan for the abridgment of world distances.

Specially to avoid any subsequent misunderstanding or malinterpretation, Sir Henry, prior to the ratification of the treaty, made "explicit declaration" at our Department of State that the Queen did "not understand the engagements of that convention to apply to Her Majesty's settlement at Honduras, or to its dependencies."

The treaty itself consisted of a preamble and nine articles. The former set forth that the contracting parties, mutually "desirous of consolidating the relations of amity which so happily subsist between them," fixed "in a convention their views and intentions with reference to any means of communication by ship canal which may be constructed between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans," by what is familiarly known as the Nicaragua route. Article 1, and each article that followed, contained some proviso distinctly conceived with a view to the accomplishment of this desirable end. Each party agreed not to "erect or maintain any fortifications commanding the canal or in the vicinity thereof, or occupy, or fortify, or colonize, or assume, or exercise any dominion over Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito Coast, or any part of Central America." But hardly was the ink dry and the seals affixed when the treaty, so benevolent in intent, became an obstacle between the contracting parties. And such it has remained for half a century—a bar to the very action it was meant to forward.

There had been some misgiving on either side as to the intentions of the other in the matter of the occupation of territory in Central America; and on November 8th, 1849, Abbott Lawrence, our minister at the Court of St. James, had written Lord Palmerston, England's Foreign Secretary, frankly disclaiming "all intention of obtaining territory in Central America." Palmerston replied, in similar vein, in a letter dated March 8th, 1850, to Bulwer, "that the British government has no intention to make use of the protection which Great Britain affords to the people of Mosquito, for the purpose of doing, under cover of that protection, any of the things the intention to do which is disclaimed in the letter to Mr. Lawrence" referred to, of earlier date. That the misgivings on the part of the United States

were justified, events soon proved; for to use General Lewis Cass's words to Lord Napier, in a letter dated November 8th, 1858, "the British government proceeded in 1851, only a few months after the signature of the treaty, to establish a *new* British *colony* in Central America under the name of the 'Bay Islands;' and when this government expressed its great surprise at this proceeding, and at the failure of Great Britain to comply with the terms of the convention, Her Majesty's government replied that the islands already belonged to Great Britain at the date of the treaty, and that the convention, in their view of it, interfered with none of their existing possessions in Central America, but was wholly prospective in its character," etc. The establishment of this new colony of the "Bay Islands" by Great Britain was naturally deemed by the United States as an invalidation of the whole treaty. It led to the reopening of a host of questions. What was a "colony," as distinguished from a "settlement"? What were the boundaries of the British "settlement" as it existed prior to the treaty? What was the ground that Sir Henry Bulwer's declaration covered as to Great Britain's rights in connection with that settlement? About the only question *not* raised was as to *how and when to construct the canal*. This, the purpose for which the treaty was ostensibly framed, seemed to have utterly passed out of the minds of the disputant diplomats.

On the very day of the signing of the treaty, Abbott Lawrence had written from the United States Legation in London to Mr. Clayton a letter, of ominous length and import, telling him the history of the Mosquito Coast from the time when "Columbus in his fourth voyage first made land on the North American continent at Cape Honduras, near the present town of Truxillo, on the 17th day of August, 1502," and took formal possession in the name of the crown of Castile. Mr. Lawrence had caused to be consulted a long list of authorities, and from much deep delving into original sources he arrives at the conclusion that Spain not only "discovered Central America and occupied it," but that "she did much more: she discovered, circumvallated, explored, conquered, settled, retained posses-

sion of, and governed it," etc. Any claim of sovereignty inhered, therefore, in the Central American republics, as representing Spanish dominion. On the other hand, he states that the "Mosquito country," claimed as a British "settlement," "is now defined by Lord Palmerston as reaching to the San Juan River, embracing the northern bank so as to take in San Juan de Nicaragua [anglicized into Grey Town] and command the mouth of the river." Mr. Lawrence then gives his opinion that "it is quite immaterial where the royal geographers are directed to draw the line, as I am satisfied the whole claim is without just foundation. All the good maps of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries—French, Spanish, Dutch, and English—carry Honduras from coast to coast; Nicaragua the same," etc. The English settlement simply enjoyed the privilege of logwood and mahogany cutting, and no right of sovereignty.

Evidently here were the elements of a diplomatic quarrel. For fifty years those elements were employed to feed animosity and stir up strife between the two countries. Disputes as to phraseology and conflicts as to interpretations were endless. Sometimes there was talk of patching up matters by fresh compacts, of which the Dallas-Clarendon treaty, signed in 1854, but never ratified, was a sample.

All such attempts failed, however, of success. Sometimes there was correspondence as to abrogation. In 1858 Lord Napier wrote from the British Legation in Washington to Lord Malmesbury, of the Foreign Office in London, that "the obligations of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty were repugnant to the people of the United States," adding that on two occasions he had informed General Cass "that Her Majesty's government would not decline the consideration of a proposal for the abrogation of the treaty by mutual concert." Malmesbury replied to Napier "that Her Majesty's government entirely approve of your having placed on record, by delivering to General Cass copies of those despatches [from one of which the previous quotation is an extract], that they were ready to abrogate that treaty." Despatch followed despatch, interview succeeded in-

interview, till a mountainous mass of diplomatic matter accumulated, of tedious prolixity and utter uselessness. Hopelessly a bar to any adequate action in the direction intended, the treaty hung like a millstone on the neck of the American nation. All sorts of proposals were made on both sides, but nothing could be arranged to relieve us of the incubus.

As early as 1858 Great Britain apparently was ready to ignore the whole previous negotiations. Malmesbury wrote Napier that "modification, arbitration, and abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty have been flatly rejected. Great Britain and Nicaragua are now about to treat as independent States."

All proposals for canal-building between Great Britain and Nicaragua having proved abortive, the United States, during the Presidency of General Arthur, entered into direct relations with Central America looking to the construction of the canal by the United States. Again the hopes of the friends of the canal were raised—only to be again dashed by the fears of President Cleveland's Administration that complications might ensue because of the historic bugbear, the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.

I think the extracts from official correspondence already given sufficiently show the futility and cumbrousness of this treaty—from the day of its signing to the year of its jubilee anniversary. From first to last it is a self-invalidated document. It has not only ridiculously failed to assist in the construction of the Nicaragua canal: it has been a most effective obstacle in the way of that enterprise. Moreover, in place of increasing international amity, it has proved a bone of bitterest contention, frequently imperiling the peace between the signatories.

History is said to repeat itself. It should be the aim of statesmen to study history with intent to prevent any mischievous repetition. When a convention so environed with happy auspices and good intentions, so harmless and innocent in its verbiage, and so actively benevolent as was the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, can become so malevolent and can so traverse

any and every good end, it surely becomes us to look warily on any new "entangling alliance" proposed.

Some politicians now affect to look on George Washington as a "back number" whose advice the American nation has outgrown. Let us listen, then, to James G. Blaine: "If it be asked why the United States objects to the assent of European governments to the terms of neutrality for the operation of the canal, my answer is that the right to assent implies the right to dissent, and thus the whole question would be thrown open for contention as an international issue. It is the fixed purpose of the United States to confine it strictly and solely as an American question, to be dealt with and decided by the American government." This resolve of the American people was communicated by our great Secretary of State to that eminent patriot, James Russell Lowell, our ambassador to the Court of St. James, in a letter dated November 19th, 1881, and was no doubt fully explained by him to Lord Granville, the British Foreign Secretary. May the American people of to-day abide by the resolve then so ably formed and expressed!

EDWARD BERWICK.

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## THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR OF RACES.

**I**N their present struggle with the English, the Boers are being repeatedly compared to the American colonists of a hundred years ago. Our daily and periodical press is largely responsible for this and similar misjudgments, which have only tended to make the American people assume an attitude of so-called "sympathy" for the Boers at once ridiculous and unnatural. If we knew the Boers as well as we know our Indians, however, it is likely that our sudden and highly popular fancy for them would calm considerably.

The Boers are likened to us in our historical capacity as fighters for liberty against a tyrannical and oppressive foe. Nothing could be more misleading. If anybody is fighting for liberty it must be the Uitlander population, which for nearly two decades has suffered from Boer exploitation and maladministration of the most unpardonable order. The Boers are merely fighting for existence—in very much the same manner as our Indians have fought from time to time. If we will cease to regard the Boers as a race with any genuine claim to the standard of modern culture and civilization, we shall have made the first step toward a just and correct understanding of the crisis that resulted in the present war.

The Boer lives in the saddle. He is the aboriginal ranchman of the Transvaal veldt, and as such he has had an up-hill fight against bloodthirsty native tribes. He has suffered the untold hardships of the pioneer, and the country he has settled has become dear to him because of the blood it has cost to acquire it. Historically he had no right to the pastures, which belonged to savage tribes; but he vanquished the blacks in warfare, and settled down to ranching in the territory that formerly belonged to the enemy.

The Boer is an ignorant and uneducated man. He reads his Bible with difficulty, and sometimes a stale newspaper drops into his hands; but he has no intellectual craving to extend his knowledge beyond the limits of his pastoral life. He is a gloomy lover of solitude—as unsocial an out-of-door man as

the North American Indian. He is a restless nomad—as unyielding a foe of modern progress as the Bedouin of the Arabian deserts or the pastoral Tartar. His religious faith is an heirloom from the French Huguenots, abandoned ages ago by even the most orthodox of the Dutch Reformed Church, and he persists in interpreting the words of his Bible in the literal sense that prevailed in the beginning of the seventeenth century. Among Transvaalers this is faithfulness; in cultured society it is stupidity and dogmatism. For more than two centuries the Boer has been ranching across the veldt without making a forward stride of progress, and in many cases he has gone backward—a danger that threatens every kind of life that ceases to go forward. Whenever newcomers other than his race showed themselves he invariably preferred to “trek” away to unsettled parts in the interior rather than mix with them and witness the undertaking of improvements and consequent changes. The Transvaal Boers may be regarded as the surviving contingency of the grumbling, obdurate, rebellious Afrikaners of South African colonial history. The better and more social element of the Boer race never “treked” to the Transvaal, but are to this day to be found in large numbers throughout the Orange Free State, Natal, and Cape Colony, where they get along favorably with the Uitlanders.

To compare these slovenly nomads with the class of enterprising colonists that declared their independence on these shores one hundred and twenty-four years ago would be an insult to American society if it were not so ludicrous. Nevertheless, we have witnessed, in print and orally, a great spectacular outcry against British tyranny, aiming to classify the present plight of the Boers in the same category with the troubles besetting the American revolution of 1776—to enkindle a sort of brotherly feeling for the Transvaalers as being in the “same boat” with us historically. As the smaller man fighting a bigger—as the aboriginal settler making a stand for existence against the invasion of a superior race—the Boers command the sympathy not only of the American nation but of all the world. The Boers are getting sympathy from nearly every quarter on this account; and wherever sym-



pathy is not handy a stored-up sentiment of prejudice against England's colonial success is generally making up for it. The ridiculous thing about it is that we are carrying pro-Boer sentiment beyond all bounds, using it as a platform for an ill-timed and uncharitable attack on the integrity of Great Britain's South African policy.

During our wars with the North American Indian, our government was criticized abroad in very much the same stupid manner—from lack of intimate historical knowledge of our internal affairs and constitutional policy. We were branded as the rude and selfish exterminators of a brave aboriginal race. We were the money-mad sharks of a superior race who swooped upon the poor Indian, outnumbering him in fighting strength, outclassing him in arms, bent upon the conquest of these United States of ours which originally belonged to him. The ameliorating and coöperative policy of our government in dealing with the various tribes was as persistently ignored abroad as it was misunderstood and distrusted by the Indians themselves. We frequently made mistakes, and we did things that history has proved should have been left undone; but, whatever crimes individuals and communities may have committed against the race of the red man, the governing policy of the United States in dealing with him was and still is based on equity, liberality, and magnanimity. The red man has cost us hundreds of millions of dollars, we are annually paying out other vast sums through the Department of the Interior for his maintenance, and we have placed at his disposal 130,913 square miles of reservations and hunting-grounds—which is 16,500 square miles more than the kingdom of Italy, and about 8,000 square miles more than the area of the Transvaal. In spite of the comparative success of our attempt at Indian education on a limited scale in some quarters, the American nation long ago arrived at the conclusion that there is nothing to be done with the red man. We are powerless to prevent his extinction; we can only soften and ameliorate the successive stages by which his extinction is destined to take place.

Now, the prototype of these conditions exists approximately in the conflict between the British and the Boers in the Trans-

vaal. The British, too, have found that they can do nothing with the Boer. He is not a savage, but he is as hostile to civilization as the red man. He is a white man of good European descent, but for two and a half centuries he has roamed in the manner of a savage across the African veldt. Like his Dutch ancestors of the seventeenth century, he devoutly believes that his people is under the special providence of God at the expense of less favored peoples. The sullen Puritan of the African veldt, he has cleansed the wilderness from heathen foes, striking with one hand and holding the Bible aloft with the other, while glorying in self-righteousness. Whenever he has come in contact with the aboriginal tribes it has meant war to the knife; he has made no attempt at civilizing them; he has seldom failed to return their savage ways of waging war with no less savagery of his own; he made his Kaffir prisoners slaves, and despises the black race as the Jews despise the flesh of the swine. The English have been giving the Boers as much, if not more, elbow room than we have been giving the Indians; in fact the Boers have always had the larger share of the territory at their disposal, the English generally remaining in the towns. Although the British government has made not a few mistakes in its South African policy, which is conceded by statesmen to be by far the most difficult and puzzling in the entire history of colonial expansion, yet it has never made the blunder of attacking the rights of the Boers or of conducting and encouraging an aggression against territory belonging to them. Whenever such movements have been on foot the government has risen to annihilate them. The mistakes committed directly by the government were as a rule of such a nature as no living man could have foreseen. The wonder is that greater errors were not made. No government has ever conducted a colonial policy without, so to speak, learning by mistakes. Compared to that of England, the colonial policy of France, Spain, Portugal, etc., clearly points out that these countries were repeatedly making mistakes without learning; and the comparative failure of these nations as colonizers is as notable as the success of the British abroad.

In denouncing the English for trespassing upon Boer territory, our vociferous pro-Boer agitators apparently forget that the policy of the English government was primarily to discourage the acquisition of additional territory beyond Cape Colony. The inhabitants of the Colony were constantly clamoring for an extension of the boundary, but until as late as 1870 the English Parliament held that the Crown already owned as much territory as it could ever expect successfully to govern; and the desire for expansion of the Cape Colonists was flatly discountenanced. Of all Great Britain's colonial possessions none have given her more trouble and worryment, and from the start none have caused more expenditure and less satisfaction, than that of South Africa. Not until 1867, when the first diamond was picked up from among the pebbles of the Orange River, did any one suspect the mineral wealth of the veldt. The conservative, non-aggressive policy of the British Crown was maintained until it became apparent that other nations, notably Germany, evinced a strong desire to acquire a dangerous neighborhood to Cape Colony. England could frustrate this move only by extending the border line. Then, and not until then, was the British conservative policy withdrawn in preference of an active acquisition of neighboring territory. Many believe it was the discovery of gold that tempted the British to move their boundary. However, it was not a case of temptation but rather of protection, for when Germany established herself in Damaraland in 1884 it proved to be the signal for a general advance of the British border. The old policy was broken, and under the new policy, which demanded a free coast-line and an open road to the north, the work of annexation began the same year. In 1885 vast deposits of gold were discovered at Witwatersrand; and as the Boers did not care for the mines, nor were they competent to work them, the English, assisted by the immigrating Uitlanders, naturally undertook the enterprise, buying the mines from the Boers to their manifest delight.

Primarily, the English had as much right to the country as the Boers, for both races emigrated to South Africa in past times—the British to maintain a naval station at the Cape, the

Boers to make a new home for themselves on the veldt. Historically, the country belonged to the aboriginal tribes of the Kaffir people. The British could not possibly put themselves under the "suzerainty" of a handful of Boer cattlemen or of the cow-herding Kaffirs. They could not properly protect their boundary-lines as long as the Boer territory remained like a bridge between their own and the boundary of other European Powers. If protection from an invasion of the colony by a foreign Power would be necessary, the British, not the Boers or the Kaffirs, would be called upon to fight off the enemy. Consequently, the British were compelled to put themselves into a position to meet possible hostile attacks on the most advantageous terms, and hence the extension of the boundary. Although the Boers would never have fought as much as a skirmish to protect the rights of the Uitlanders, or in fact for any other people but their own, yet they grumbled loudly and persisted in regarding the protectorate of England as an entering wedge to overthrow their nation and curtail their liberty. How unfounded their suspicions were is a matter of local Transvaal history.

If we will consider the British acquisition of South African territory as a task reluctantly entered into by the Crown up to 1870, we must view its later activity on these lines as aggressive in the interest of original territory that she was bound to protect by treaty. It is plain that, if England had not extended her borders at opportune times, other European Powers would have appeared on the scene with this end in view; and, as South Africa has cost England a pretty penny and a great deal of worryment, it was natural that she should take the lead rather than allow a foreign government to scour her dominions. To blame England for moving her borders under such conditions is as foolish as to condemn the thirteen original States of the American Union for expanding over the rest of the continent.

Until the discovery of the diamond fields in Griqualand in 1871, the national aspect of the South African colonies was Dutch rather than British. The Boers roamed across the veldt, and, though they were not numerically strong as compared

with the Kaffirs, they were everywhere in evidence in the country on account of their equestrian mobility. There was only a small British population in the towns, and the Uitlander had not appeared on the Rand with his pick. With the discovery of the diamond and the gold mines, the aspect of the country began to change from Dutch to British. The large and sudden immigration of the Uitlander element, largely English speaking, contributed mainly to this change.

In 1885 there were 180,000 Uitlanders in the Transvaal, against a total of 65,000 Boers. The Uitlanders at the time held sixty-three per cent. of the landed and ninety per cent. of the personal property of the republic, and they were increasing at a rate that would rapidly have made the Boer element an inconsiderable factor numerically. The Boers became nervous. They refused to enfranchise the Uitlanders for fear that they would in time be able to beat them at the polls owing to the continuous immigration. If the Boers had been a cultured and progressive people they would eagerly have joined hands with the Uitlanders in the mining industry, knowing that its development must ultimately benefit themselves. But the Boers are anything but industrious. They do not care to learn. They acquired an appetite for wealth as soon as the mines were opened, but they were too lazy to work for it. The "nuggets" were there, and the "crystals" were there; the Boer sold his claim, and the Uitlander dug such riches out of it that the Boer became envious and wished he had not sold out. As a race hovering between civilization and barbarism, now revealing the superior gifts of the white man and now betraying the acquired traits of the savage, the Boers were shrewd enough to see, although not cultured enough virtually to acknowledge, that the Uitlander was the smarter man, and that they were themselves unfit to enter the race for industrial supremacy with him. Primarily, the Transvaal was a ranching country well suited to the taste of the Boers; it had now become a mining country distasteful to them, but attractive to the foreign immigrants. The unprecedented success and growth of the latter element became a scare to the Boers. Looking about for methods to impede their progress, the Transvaalers found that

the only way they could effectively checkmate them would be through hostile and partizan legislation. This means was seized and applied to such an extent and with such vehemence as would have caused the interference of the foreign governments represented by the Uitlander population if England had not entered repeated protests. The manner in which the Boers acquired monopolies, through heavy customs dues, in dynamite and in the principal necessities of the miners, is as well known as the various ways they tried to hamper the latter by unjust and oppressive legislation are generally unknown to the world. The miner was pressed for extortionate taxes, but he was denied the privilege of having a say as to how the taxes were to be expended. Fancy for a moment the people of Oom Paul as the settlers of the Klondike dictating such terms to the American invaders of this region, and we would have something like a prototype of the conflict in the Transvaal.

Hostile as the Boers have always been toward foreigners, they are a good-natured set of Afrikander boys among themselves. Their internal social relations are morally sound, and characterized by a willingness to help their fellows, to contribute individually to the dignity of the Boer customs, and to preserve the dogmatic faith that has made them slaves to the ideas and prejudices of the seventeenth century. Only when brought into contact with people not of his faith and blood does the Boer show the grim, repulsive qualities of his nature, which is sure to cause ill-feeling wherever he goes outside of his own stockyard. It is not enough to be a Dutchman: you must be a Dutch Afrikander, born on the soil of the veldt, to suit the Transvaaler. He cares nothing for the traditions of Holland. His knowledge of the country consists of hearsays, and he speaks a mongrel dialect of the seventeenth-century Dutch, interspersed by Kaffir expressions, that is so unlike modern Dutch that natives of Holland cannot understand him. Accordingly, there is no interchange of thought between the Dutch of the Netherlands and the Dutch of South Africa. Be like him, and wear an uncombed beard; be like him in your tastes, your religion, and as to the cut of your veldt-shoes; be like him in everything that appertains to life—and you will

notice his native charms and homely graces: but dare not be otherwise!

Many are looking for a solution of the South African problem in the issue of the present war, forgetting that it was solved already in 1885, when gold in great deposits was first discovered. As soon as it became a fact that the Uitlander, not the Boer, was to extract the wealth of the Rand, the future of the Transvaal as a mining country became a settled fact also, though not forever. The power and capacity of modern mining machinery are such that the enormous wealth of the African mines, allowing for possible discoveries of new deposits in considerable quantities, will be exhausted in less than threescore years. If the deposits last throughout the twentieth century, it will be a practical confutation of the sentiments of mining scientists. With the abandonment of the mines, the present Uitlander population will disappear as swiftly as it rushed to the claims, and the Boers will once more lord it over the barren veldt, which will again assume a Dutch aspect. Scientific research has discouraged the scheme of turning the soil into agricultural uses by a vast system of irrigation. The country lacks the natural sources and conditions essential to sustaining a considerable white population. It is a vast table-land, with a few Boers and a swarm of Kaffirs to the square mile—an ideal place for large game in great quantities, for roving Boer ranchmen, and for kraal-building Kaffir tribes. The parts habitable for white men are already settled, and the rest, the great plateaus of the veldt, will remain the hunting and ranching ground of the Boers as long as their race continues to exist in a nomadic way. No other white people care to cross the rights of the Boers as ranchmen of the veldt, and native races are no longer strong enough.

From the beginning of the settlement of South Africa the conflict between the Boers and the British has been a war of sentiment and of race. The action of Great Britain in abolishing slavery was the first radical step that incensed the Boers to a man. The Boers wanted to keep their slaves, and refused to recognize the humanitarian principles that moved the British to shatter the bonds of the blacks. As the years went on, the

two races, the English and the Boer, would occasionally clash in similar issues, in spite of the best efforts of the British Crown to avoid it. But could any human power prevent the civilization of the present, as represented by the English, from clashing with the civilization of the seventeenth century, as stubbornly upheld by the Boers? Could any government prevent local misunderstandings and ill-feeling between the progressive, industrial spirit of the Uitlander and the backward, pastoral, and distrustful ways of the Dutch Afrikaner? It is sad to witness a human race succumbing to the principle of the survival of the fittest; but how much sadder would it not be to see the superior race succumb to the inferior?

The issue now being decided by force of arms among the kopjes of the Transvaal table-lands began in earnest as a race war over a generation ago, and as such it is being fought out.

The discovery of the Kimberley diamond fields and the Johannesburg gold reefs was merely an incident of a long protracted but inevitably impending struggle against the industrious new and the stagnant old race spirit. Wherever such a struggle has been fought between the white man of cultured society, as colonizer, against a native race hostile to assimilation, we have had pretty nearly the same principles to deal with as underlie the present war. Intricate and puzzling as are the practical details of a satisfactory solution of the conflict, there is nothing new in the main principles involved. But it is doubtful if there ever was a time in modern history when sympathy was expressed in so wholesale and superfluous a manner toward a race in direct and arid opposition to the advancement of civilization. It is feared, however, by men who have tramped the veldt that a few months under Oom Paul's rule in the Transvaal would tend to disappoint his most enthusiastic admirers. Public opinion is something like a whirligig spun by the popular whip of the day. Only a short while ago it was "the Union Jack and Old Glory forever!" In the same manner the Afrikaner fancy will remain with us—forever; that is, until we are ready for our next excitement.

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## OUR PROCESS OF LAWMAKING.

A GOOD machine has no useless parts. It may be complicated; it may even have parts that are seldom used; but its maker has built the simplest machine that would do the required work, putting into it nothing useless to clog it or add to its cost. In government, however, we have no such aim. Our system is needlessly and wastefully complex. New parts are added without any careful consideration of their usefulness or of their effect on the rest of the system; and when one of the older organs comes into disfavor we let it run on unchanged and invent a new organ to help it out in its work. As a result we have a system that is exceedingly complex—whose real absurdity we do not see only because we are so used to its existence and to the way in which it has been built up. Let us recall a few well-known facts in illustration.

At first blush the making of a law seems a simple affair. A bill goes through the legislature and becomes a law. But is this all? How does it reach the legislature? What is its course there? What is its course afterward? Are these easy steps or lengthy and intricate processes?

It is true that a bill may be—in the United States it always is—introduced by a Senator or Representative; yet it is not likely that he has originated it. It may have come from another organ of government, the Executive or Judiciary, or from one of our numerous commissions, or from a local governmental unit. Nor is its origin restricted. Some private citizen or organization of citizens, a law association, a trades-union, or a chamber of commerce may have taken the first step; or it may have started in a political convention, being discussed there by the resolutions committee and the convention itself, and afterward being made the theme of countless campaign speeches; or a caucus of members of the legislature may be responsible for it; or it may have been introduced to give effect to some provision of the Constitution or an amendment,

which has been adopted by a previous legislature or a constitutional convention and then accepted by popular vote—for our Constitutions nowadays often direct the passing of laws on certain subjects.

Whatever its origin, the bill has only started on its course. New terrors await it in the legislature. It is referred to one or more committees and debated by them and their sub-committees, and perhaps by a committee of the whole. It is passed three times by the House itself. In the Senate it goes through the same mill. Then, if there is a disagreement, it is referred to a joint committee and afterward reconsidered by each House.

But the bill is not yet a law. The Executive may veto it and send it back for another vote in each branch of the legislature. If it is in New York and the bill relates to municipal affairs, the mayors of the cities affected may veto it and return it to the legislature for further consideration. In any of the States, even after all these authorities have approved it, we cannot be sure that it is a binding law until it has run its course through all the courts and the judges have decided that it accords sufficiently with their ideas of the Constitution for them to enforce it.

If the bill is one delegating legislative powers—granting local option or allowing laws on certain subjects to be passed by the local authorities—it is nevertheless a law, although it may need a further vote to give it practical effect. But there are other complexities that already exist, or have been proposed, or are followed elsewhere and might easily be adopted here. Many of our office-holders, for instance, are chosen by two elections—one official and the other unofficial; and our Federal Senators have an additional official election. While the latter method of choice does not exist in our State governments, it is compensated for by the referendum, which, in various forms and to various degrees, is used in many of the States. The allied Swiss system of popular initiative has been urged upon us, and so has the right of ministerial initiative, which exists in all the central governments of western Europe.

Or, if we are to make any changes, we might develop our present committee system, as McConachie's recent book on the subject suggests; or we might adopt the French method and have a committee to decide whether a bill introduced by a private member shall be allowed to go to a committee; or, as France and Prussia and Italy and Belgium now do, we might divide the legislature into bureaus, either by election or by lot, and allow each bureau to choose one or more members for each legislative committee, after the bureaus have themselves, perhaps, superficially considered the proposed laws; or, if the bills need further discussion, we might add a few more Houses to our legislature—have four, say, as Sweden had until 1867: many if not all of the countries of Europe had more than two Houses to their Parliaments during the Middle Ages, and we might follow their example.

Such changes as these would go well with our present tendencies. We are beyond any "cup-and-saucer" arrangement, as Washington called it; that was fit only for the nursery days of the Republic. What we want now is an up-to-date system of condensers, complex and grand. We may not understand the machinery, but we think that the more parts we put into it the better it will be, and the less chance there will be for wicked politicians to interfere with it.

Yet if the machine will not run itself it is sure to be managed by these same politicians. Its very make-up is enough to put it into their hands and to prevent any effective popular control. The ordinary citizen cannot master its details and keep it in good running order, or even see clearly what is the matter with it if it turns out bad work. He must perforce leave it to a set of experts, men who get their power not always because of their knowledge of law or of economics, or on any such ground, but simply because they understand the workings of its various parts. Their power is a natural result of our system, and so is their character; for we have a Gresham's law in politics as well as in finance. It is not worth while for a politician to have any useless virtues or useless talents. He meets the test we set, and that is enough.

It will be said, however, that complexity has good points as well as bad; that it prevents hasty action, for instance. The Houses rush through their work without time for anything except passing the bills that the committees are struggling to report. The pressure is too great for any serious discussion; to get that the bills must take a longer course. But we cannot atone for an insufficient consideration in one body by a like treatment in fifteen or twenty other bodies, and we may make matters worse. In times of excitement, when debate is most needed, public opinion prevents it; the usual course of procedure would take too long, and so we allow no consideration at all. And even for ordinary times our system is wrong. It gives public opinion a chance to form and express itself, but it makes it hard to enforce that decision. It lessens the responsibility to the people, and it lessens the sense of responsibility to themselves; for a body of men will not give sufficient attention to a measure if it feels itself only a part of a great machine.

These rehashings, it is true, prevent hasty action by the government as a whole, but they do not insure deliberation. To get that we must give time for discussion to each body that passes on the bill, which we will do best by relieving it of unnecessary work. Our governments do too much, and each department does work that should be left to other departments or to the local authorities. To take a single instance, our local laws are often passed by a body of men most of whom know nothing of the districts affected; if we were to let the localities pass such laws themselves, it would be better for the localities and better for the legislature. Each department would get time for its own duties if it attended strictly to them.

Even though the complexity of our system cannot give us good laws, yet it may save us from bad ones. Any single organ can prevent the passage of a bill. But why stop here? If all new laws are bad, why not abolish the legislative power? If they are sometimes useful, why expose them to so many dangers? For a good law is as apt to have enemies as a bad one,

and we are needlessly adding to its chance of defeat. A moderate number of checks in government is undoubtedly necessary, but we are prudent to the point of rashness.

It is clear that all these arguments in favor of complexity are arguments after the facts, and that many features of our system, like the epicycles of the Ptolemaic astronomy, have been added because the original system was defective and needed modification. They may have had advantages that atoned for the added intricacy; and we may have new organs in the future that will improve our system. But it is to be hoped that some new Copernicus will arise to find a new system that will give us better results than the old and a simpler procedure.

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## SCIENTIFIC ASSESSMENT AND TAXATION.

**U**NDER the system of taxation now in vogue throughout the United States, millions of dollars' worth of property escapes the vigilance of the assessors. From this vast accumulation not one cent of the tax intended alike by the spirit of the law and the dictates of justice is collected. Notwithstanding this fact, the two great political parties, in drawing up their State platforms, almost invariably ignore the existence of this evil and fail to propose a remedy. This abuse is usually favorable to the rich and unfavorable to the poor, as nearly all the non-taxpaying property belongs to the wealthy class. Such being the case, the time has assuredly arrived when a change in our methods of taxation should be made. There is need of new legislation, to relieve the poor from paying more than their equitable share of taxes.

Probably every well-informed person knows of instances where individuals have evaded payment of their just dues to the tax collector. A retired clergyman, living in a small town in Massachusetts, who was assessed for *over* \$50,000 worth of personal property, declared on oath that his possessions did not exceed that sum in value; and he was taxed accordingly for that year, and for every year thereafter until his death. But when his will was probated it showed that he was worth over \$200,000 in personal property; also, that he had owned this amount when he swore to the contrary before the assessor. This instance, which is not uncommon, shows the imperfection of our system of assessment and taxation of personal property.

Absence of mosquitoes, fine bathing, boating, and fishing privileges, and cool sea breezes combine to make a certain town on the Massachusetts coast a very desirable location for summer homes and to create a good demand for real estate. At this place, a rising headland projecting into a bay is the joint property of two speculators. This land is still in a wild state, and its assessed value is \$750. The owners were offered

\$20,000 for it, but refused to sell for less than \$25,000. The local tax rate is \$16 on a thousand. Hence, these land speculators, instead of paying \$400 in taxes on their \$25,000 worth of property, as they should have done, paid only \$12. Such is the result in all similar cases, because each city or town determines yearly how much money shall be raised by direct taxation to defray the expenses of the local public service.

Before issuing the annual tax bills, the assessors make out a list of all the taxable real and personal property in their community of which they have knowledge, and, estimating its value according to their best judgment, ascertain the total amount, which is called the assessed valuation. From every dollar that forms a part of this valuation is taken a certain percentage, which is always just large enough to yield a sum equal to the amount necessary to maintain the public service. Hence, the larger the assessed valuation the smaller is the percentage of taxation; and *vice versa*. Every piece of property assessed at less than its real value causes its owner to pay less than his proportionate share of taxation, and by lessening the assessed valuation of the community causes a larger percentage to be taken from every dollar represented in the total amount. In such circumstances a great majority of the people must pay more than they really should, and no redress is obtainable. This is a most reprehensible condition of affairs—a financial injustice that should immediately cease, as it benefits only rich or dishonest taxpayers; for honest people make it a rule to pay their full share of taxes.

The poor widow, the laborer, and the farmer have no taxable personal property to hide from the assessor; and the little homes or farms they have acquired through hard toil and prudent economy are generally so cheap and commonplace that any competent assessor can quickly estimate the real value of their property. But, alas! this is not true of the millionaire speculators, stock gamblers, trust promoters, syndicate managers, railroad magnates, and great manufacturers; for assessors cannot tell whether their individual personal property is worth one million or ten million dollars, or whether there is a

yearly increase in their wealth of fifty thousand or a quarter of a million. It is impossible also to estimate within thousands of dollars, by looking at the grounds and palaces of such persons, the value of their real estate; yet judging by appearances is the only way assessors determine such values. When the real or personal property of the wealthy class is overtaxed, they promptly protest and have a reduction made in their assessments; but if taxed too little, no protest is made, and the poorer taxpayers have to make good the deficit. This inequality is beneficial to the rich and detrimental to the poor, and will never cease so long as the present system of assessing taxes is maintained; for even if assessors be thoroughly conscientious, never neglecting adequately to tax the property of rich citizens, three forms of injustice are inevitable: First, there being no law compelling people to furnish accurate lists of their personal property, or prescribing punishment for the hiding of such property from the assessors, enormous possessions escape taxation; secondly, as no assessor has the acumen required to tell correctly, by his unaided judgment, the value of different parcels of real estate, great areas of such property are undervalued; thirdly, many cities and towns evade the payment of their just proportion of the State tax, thereby causing other communities to pay more than is their due.

The State levies its taxes upon each community according to its assessed valuation. Suppose the towns A and B are worth each \$3,000,000, and each of them decides to raise \$30,000 for public expenses. The assessors of A tax all property at its real value (\$3,000,000), requiring a tax rate of one per cent. The assessors of B tax all property at two-thirds its real value (\$2,000,000), requiring a tax rate of one and a half per cent. Under either rate of assessment, a piece of property in either town worth \$1,500 would pay the same amount of taxes—\$15. Clearly to perceive the injustice of undervaluing property for assessment purposes, suppose these towns are the only ones in the State, which levies a tax of \$10,000 upon them—apportioned according to their assessed



valuation. Justly, each town should pay \$5,000, since their real valuation is the same; but in reality A's assessed valuation of \$3,000,000 would require that town to pay three-fifths of the State tax, while B would pay the other two-fifths. Hence, the undervaluation of property in B would allow its taxpayers to pay \$1,000 less than their just proportion of the State tax, while those of A would have to pay that extra amount for them. Such evils are due to the erroneous method by which the value of property is determined for the purpose of taxation, and its continuance is a disgrace to the intelligence and statesmanship of our country.

Property should be assessed upon its money value, which can be determined in two ways only. One is by ascertaining the largest sum that will be offered by a purchaser for a given property when it is for sale; the other is to find out the lowest sum that will be accepted by the owner of such property. If the full money value of all taxable property were thus to be ascertained, the many inequalities and injustices of our present system of taxation would be swept away. This desirable result could be effected with regard to all property whose owners extensively profit by the assessment evils that now exist by the enactment of legislation compelling all persons owning taxable stocks, bonds, mortgages, or real estate to make full and accurate lists thereof, and to state the sum for which they would sell each holding if placed on the market. The failure of a taxpayer to mention his ownership of such property should cause its forfeiture to the public, its sale at public auction, and a division of the proceeds between State, county, and town. Any person making known to the assessor such concealment on the part of another should receive as reward a suitable portion of the amount derived from the sale. All valuation lists should be given to the assessors, who for a month before the tax assessment begins should keep them open for public inspection, in order that any one desiring to pay more than the listed value of any piece of property could make his offer to the assessor, depositing five per cent. of the amount as a guarantee of sincerity, which deposit would of course be forfeited to the public if the depositor failed to make good his offer. The assessor

should then make the offer known to the owner, who would be obliged to accept it if he refused to pay to the public the difference between the amount offered and the value at which the property was listed.

As most personal property is in the form of company shares or corporation bonds, and as some of the members of such concerns know all the other stockholders, and as one such member could easily secure a copy of the valuation tax-list (the reward for revealing unlisted property being generous and easily obtained), it is not probable that many persons would attempt to conceal their property, especially as the saving thus made would be so small in comparison to the loss to be suffered in case of detection. Another reason why the tax-lists, under the suggested improvement, would probably be correct would lie in the fact that all property belonging to a dishonest taxpayer would upon his death revert to the public instead of to his "lawful heirs." It is evident, therefore, that its just proportion of taxes could be made easily collectible from all personal property. Such a law as the one proposed would affect real estate in such a manner that if a person had a piece of property that he considered worth \$1,000, but for the purpose of saving the tax should list its value at only \$200, and any one becoming aware of that undervaluation would offer to pay \$500 for it, the person making the offer could have the property by paying to the owner that sum, provided the latter would not pay into the public treasury the \$300 difference. Thus, in the attempt of such an owner to defraud his fellow-taxpayers, he would either have to pay \$300 to the public or sell for \$500 a piece of property that he considered worth a thousand.

The proposed law would not unfavorably affect the poor man or the honest taxpayer; for if a person had a little home or farm that he valued at \$500, and a fellow-citizen, believing it to be undervalued, should offer \$700 for it, then, although the owner would have to pay \$200 to the public in order to retain it, yet he would have the alternative of selling it for \$200 more than its value to him.

Besides the benefit of equitable and just taxation that would

be derived from this law, it would bring to the mass of the people still greater benefits; for it would have a tendency to affect unfavorably the business carried on by land syndicates and real estate speculators. Their principal business is to buy up all the desirable lots in summer resorts or city suburbs, and, without making any improvements whatever, hold them for a term of years—until their value has greatly increased, owing to the constantly growing demand and the improvements made by other citizens. When a large profit can be made on the capital invested by the speculators, they sell the land to a would-be user, requiring the purchaser to pay a greatly enhanced price due to speculation. Real estate speculation is at present a very lucrative business, as land in the great majority of cases is assessed for much less than one-quarter of its real value. Thus, as the tax is so small and insignificant, and as there are no other expenses, land syndicates are multiplying and flourishing; but, as they derive no income whatever from their investments, and often have to retain their property for several years before making a sale, they would not multiply and flourish if they had to pay an annual tax on the full money value of their possessions. In fact, speculative land syndicates would be driven out of existence if their property were so justly taxed.

It may be suggested that this system would discourage enterprise during the month following the placing of the tax-lists before the public, as no one would employ masons, carpenters, painters, or common laborers to improve his property; for he might be compelled to sell it, and thereby lose all the money thus expended. But industry would not be discouraged; for the law would be so written as to guard every legitimate interest of the property-owner. Suppose a land-owner had a lot on which he had built the foundation of a new house when the tax-list was made out, and in this he valued the property at \$1,000. In three weeks he erects a dwelling costing \$9,000. The owner can inform the assessor of that fact if somebody should offer less than \$10,000 for the place, and he would not be compelled to sell the property or pay money to the town in order to retain it—unless the offer were

greater than the amount of his tax-list price plus his expenditures in improvements.

To illustrate the effect of this system upon the value of stocks and bonds, we will suppose the case of a man that owns a copper-mine share worth \$100 on tax-list day. A week later the veins in that mine were found to be wider, thicker, and richer than was at first supposed, and its shares suddenly increased in value \$50 each. Ordinarily an increase in the value of stock benefits the shareholder alone; but under the proposed system of assessment the benefit would go to the public, as inevitably an offer would be made for the property exceeding the tax-list price. This would compel the owner either to pay the difference between the two amounts to the town or to sell his property—in which case the assessor would receive the offered amount from the intending purchaser, pay to the owner the list-price value of his property, and keep the remainder as an asset of the public. In such a transaction no injustice would be done to the original owner, for the increase in the value of his property would come as a gift of Nature. Logically and justly, such natural bounties should not belong to the few individuals fortunate enough to own the earth, but should be owned by the people in common. It is an anachronism in a civilized country to allow any person to acquire wealth without equivalently benefiting mankind either by mental or physical effort.

To tax either private or public corporations with almost unerring accuracy, whether possessed of public franchises or not, would be an easy matter under the law above suggested. The corporation would be required to give to the assessors a tax-list stating what the property is worth; then, if the assessors should get an offer greater than the tax-list price, and the corporation decided to sell rather than pay to keep its property, the assessors would accept the offered amount, pay to the old shareholders their respective proportions of the listed value of their property, and keep the difference for the public. The transaction would then be completed.

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## THE JEW IN MODERN EUROPE.

**A**MONG the many questions that the nineteenth century is seemingly to leave unsettled to the twentieth, not the least momentous and perplexing is that of the Jew—what position his race shall occupy with respect to the Christian in civil society. In its present form the question is a new one. The antagonism between the Christian and Jewish religions is as old as Christianity itself; but the problem of race antagonism between the two peoples is essentially a development of the latter part of this century.

During the Middle Ages the Jew was, in the eyes of the law as well as of society, apart from other men. The country and agriculture were denied to him, and in the cities only restricted portions, the "Ghettos," were open for his residence. He could not pursue the ordinary vocations of the time, but was forced into retail trade or money-lending. Did the ruler of the country need money, a special tax was laid upon the Jews; and if a scapegoat was needed for any class of people or any description of crime, it was the Jew on whom the persecution fell.

But the eighteenth century, with its theories of the rights of man and of liberty, equality, and fraternity, did not neglect the Jew. The French Revolution, together with the general reform of the evils of the old régime, swept away in addition many of the disabilities of the Jews. The Code Napoleon continued this emancipation for those parts of Europe which came under its influence. Elsewhere the reform was more gradual, but by the middle of this century the Jew was in most respects, as far as legal opportunity went, on an equality with the Christian. Russia and the countries of the southeast alone continued their restrictions on his liberty; but in Western Europe it seemed to the Jew that the long bondage was ended and that he had come to a new promised land of freedom and equality.

But now, at the end of the century, we find that this Jewish dream of the mid-century has been disturbed. From many countries of Europe comes a demand for a return to the old

system of dealing with the Jews, and for the old restrictions on his civil rights. This movement is not confined to one party or to one race. The sufferings of the Russian Jew have long appealed to the Western world. In the German Reichstag an anti-Semitic party has for its platform legislation aimed at the Jew. In Austria are frequent riots against this race, while in France the cries of the Paris mob, "*A bas les Juifs!*" and the demands for the sacrifice of Dreyfus are manifestations of a deep racial hatred. When and how did this reaction take place; and what is the basis for the present anti-Semitic crusade?

Germany seems to have been the country in which were heard the first demands for backward steps in the movement toward Jewish emancipation. The beginning of this reaction was directly connected with the event that resulted in the unification of Germany—the Franco-Prussian war. By the treaty of peace, France paid an indemnity to Prussia of 1,250 million dollars (5,000 million francs). The prompt payment of this great sum promised at first an era of prosperity in Germany. Money was plentiful, and business was brisk in the old lines and was extending by means of the surplus capital into many new ones. But the almost inevitable result came in the shape of a crisis, bringing with it the ruin of many a German citizen. When the worst was over and stock could be taken of the losses it was found that the Jews as a class had not only escaped but that much of the security pledged on investments had passed into their hands.

The result of this discovery was an outcry against the Jews. The Jew had robbed the Christian, and protection against him must be secured. Thus the movement in its origin as well as its development was on economic rather than religious grounds. The Jew was attacked first of all because of his success in business and on account of the way the wealth of Germany had passed into his hands. But denunciation of the Jew as a capitalist soon changed into denunciation of the Jew in every profession. It was discovered, according to the anti-Semitic leaders, that the learned professions were fast becoming

monopolized by the Jews. With only a small percentage of the total population they controlled the press; the leaders at the bar were largely of this race, and the bench also was coming under their influence. Not only were the Jewish students flocking to the universities and obtaining an education more generally than the German youth, but the professorships were being occupied by them as well as positions in the secondary schools. This was the nature of the charges made against the Jews; that is, the race was becoming too strong and must be restrained.

But the greater success of the Jew was not the only element in the feeling against him. He was charged with clannishness—with standing apart from and refusing to mix with the other races. "Once a Jew always a Jew." It was asserted that he valued his nationality more highly than his citizenship, and that the German Jew considered himself more closely bound to the French Jew than to the German Christian. He thus worked for the benefit of his race, endeavored to turn legislation to his own ends, and held public office in the spirit of a Jew, not of a German. It might be asked, Whose fault was it that the Jews held themselves aloof; and what encouragement had they received in the abandonment of their race feeling during eighteen centuries? But into this the anti-Semites did not go. The fact of Jewish clannishness was enough for them.

In all this agitation the religious element played a very small part. The fact that most of the Jews were National-Liberals, and so had been engaged in the anti-Catholic crusade led by Bismarck and known as the *Kulturkampf*, had turned against them many of that religion. But it was against the race—against the Semite rather than the Jew—that most of the accusations were made. It was claimed that the Jew was irreligious—that he was the enemy of Christianity; but the religious basis was not in itself sufficient to account for most of the outcry against him. The movement is more correctly spoken of as anti-Semitic than anti-Jewish.

The practical result of the feeling against the Jews was the formation of the Anti-Semitic League in Germany, which had

for its objects, as expressed in a petition to the Reichstag, the prohibition of further immigration of Jews into Germany, the exclusion of that race from the higher public positions, the limitation of their power as judges to the trial of persons of their own nationality, the limitation of the employment of Jewish teachers, and (that the extent to which the Jew was entitled to share in the benefits of the State should be accurately known) the taking of a Jewish census. This petition accomplished nothing; but the League continued its work, and an anti-Semitic party was formed that has at present sixteen seats in the Reichstag, besides receiving some help from the Center (or Catholic) party. But all evidences point to the failure of the movement in Germany, except in isolated instances, and at present it seems to be declining in force.

The next country to show an increase in anti-Semitic feeling was Russia. I say "an increase," for the Jew had never been emancipated in that country, although many of the more severe restrictions placed upon him had been allowed to lapse. Just what influences were at work to change this tendency in the great empire on the east of Europe is not clear, but the spread of the movement from Germany in all probability had much to do with the change. The occasion on which the state of Russian feeling was made manifest was the assassination of Czar Alexander II. in 1881. The instigation of the plot that led to his death was charged to the Jews. Riots against them broke out in many parts of Russia, and, although these were soon put down by the authorities, yet the old laws relating to the Jews, which had freely been disobeyed under the late emperor, were thenceforth enforced with considerable severity.

It is in this respect that the anti-Semitic movement in Russia differs from that of other countries of Europe. It is not as yet an attempt to secure repressive legislation against the race, but the actual putting into effect of old legislation. It is because of this fact that it has attracted so much attention. The body of Russian law under which the Jew suffers is voluminous and confused; but it is clear enough to



prevent him from exercising most of the rights of a Russian citizen, while he is held as strictly as any one to the obligations of that position. He can live only in certain portions of the empire—chiefly those districts that formerly were part of old Poland and some regions of Little and New Russia. Within this restricted area only certain portions of certain cities are open to him, for he cannot purchase land or settle in the country. From the operation of this general law, college graduates and members of the first guild (those who pay a high license fee) are exempt. Many of the trades and professions are either closed to the Jew or hedged about with restrictions. Should he desire an education he can obtain it only with the provision that the maximum percentage of Jews in the universities—which is a very small one—has not been exceeded.

Much of the objection to the Russian Jew has the same foundation as the corresponding feeling in Germany. If the German found the competition of the Jew too much for him, and passed under the control of the money-lender, what can we expect that the Russian peasant will do under the same circumstances? The root of the trouble is again economic, and the justification that the government gives itself for the course it pursues is that of the self-preservation of the Russian people. As in Germany, there are the religious element and the view of the Jewish race as an alien people; but these are in themselves insufficient to explain the persecution. The trouble is fundamentally economic, and, if the government thought that the people unaided could outstrip or even equal the Jews in the race of life, it is likely that we would hear no more of the troubles of the Russian Jew.

The anti-Semitic movement in Austria is a part of the same movement in Germany, for the fundamental racial basis of the two countries is the same. Austria has nearly always been anti-Semitic, but there has been no acute crisis, such as occurred in Germany, to bring out the feeling. We may connect the modern manifestations of the sentiment against the race with a considerable increase in the Jewish population of the country, which began to show itself about 1880. Austrian

political life is so much a conflict of races that it is difficult to pick out any one thread, such as the anti-Semitic, and follow it in its windings. The riots against the Jews do not seem to have the support of the government, and the movement is less organized than in Germany and France.

The latest country to exhibit signs of anti-Semitism is France. The movement there is in progress at the present time, and it is too soon to predict its direction or force. In connection with the Dreyfus case occurred many manifestations of the feeling against the Jews, but until the inner history of that case is written the real bearing that the nationality of the accused had on his persecution will remain a mystery; yet there can be no doubt that much of the widespread feeling against Dreyfus arose from the fact that he is a Jew. The readiness with which the French were willing to believe that a Jewish officer was a traitor to his country illustrates an important difference in the anti-Semitic movement in France. Much of the feeling against the Jew arises from the same economic causes that operate in other countries; but the view of the Jew as an alien who stands apart from the country he lives in, and does not consider himself bound by patriotic motives, has much to do with this feeling. The Jew is wealthy, and it is thought that he is quite ready to use his wealth for his race and against his country.

Thus we have three distinct reasons for the rise of modern anti-Semitism in Europe. In the order of their intensity they are: the greater business success of the Jew, the race prejudice against him, and the religious prejudice. The first of these undoubtedly arises from the fact that centuries of oppression have sharpened the wits of the race, and because the medieval restrictions forced them into business, in which specialization had its usual result. That the ordinary European finds it difficult to meet the competition of the Jew is, however, an explanation rather than a justification of the movement against him. The making of the charge of the superior business ability of the Jew is in itself proof of much of its truth, for men do not usually lay claim to inferiority.

With the race prejudice may be connected the movement toward nationalism, which has had such great influence on the affairs of Europe during the last half of the nineteenth century. With the desire for the unification of nationalities has come the wish to exclude from the nation any body that will not assimilate with the dominant national type. The Jew, standing as he does apart from the rest of the country he lives in, has furnished an object on which this feeling of nationality may exercise itself. "Can the Jews be patriots?" has been frequently and soberly discussed. That the Jew cannot be a patriot is the unreasoning belief of many.

With these two factors, the business and race elements, is combined the religious feature. Weaker than the others, it reinforces them and brings to the anti-Semitic movement many who otherwise would not join in the economic and racial prejudice. But the attempted persecution of the Jew from religious motives is not widespread, and would of itself give rise to no Jewish question.

The position of the Jew in the twentieth century is difficult to forecast. The active movement against him seems in most countries to have spent its force, while in England and America it has never taken root. The question is not an isolated one, but is bound up with the economic and social questions of the countries in which Jews are to be found. In Russia it is unlikely that any great improvement can be expected for some time. On the other hand, it is not probable that Austria and Germany will change for the worse; while in France only time can indicate the direction in which anti-Semitism is moving.

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## THE DELUSION OF COMPULSORY ARBITRATION.

**T**HE scheme for the adjustment of international disputes through the medium of voluntary arbitration before a permanent tribunal is the best proposition in the interest of peace that has ever been submitted to the civilized world. It is entitled to the universal and hearty support of our people. The mere existence of such a court as is contemplated by the Conference at The Hague would mark an advance in international relationship whose extent is but vaguely appreciated even by thoughtful persons. It would transform an occasional and comparatively crude expedient into a modern judicial institution. Speaking more accurately, it would abolish arbitration and substitute responsible and methodical adjudication in its stead.

The student who contemplates the history of arbitration during the last half century can hardly avoid the suspicion that its favorable results have been due rather to the fortune of circumstance than to any intrinsic merit in the method itself. Under happy conditions a vicious system may produce admirable ends. An absolute despotism may be the best of governments—if the despot happens to be very wise, and a saint. Nevertheless, civilization has outgrown despotism as an approved form of government.

The arbitrator under the present method, almost from necessity, comes to the performance of his duties rather as a representative of his government than as an independent judicial officer. As he is to serve in but a single cause, there is an inevitable tendency to subordinate the question of his general fitness for high judicial functions to his special qualifications for the accomplishment of an immediate and definite end. Indeed, those selected by the contending nations to represent them upon these tribunals have usually been frankly partizan, their partizanship being tempered by their high personal character and judicial training. Even those appointed by the neu-

tral Powers have acted as personal representatives of their respective sovereigns, the latter being usually named in the treaty as the actual judges. Their position is, therefore, essentially representative and diplomatic rather than judicial. Worst of all, these tribunals are called into existence only after the controversy upon which they are to pass has gone beyond the point of possible settlement by friendly negotiations. Those best capable of grasping the question at issue, and from among whom the arbitrators must be selected, have already formed definite opinions upon the merits of the case. Thus the temptation to select friendly rather than impartial judges is always present.

That the partizan features of the present method have not as yet brought it into general disfavor is due to several obvious reasons. One of these is that the popular imagination has never invested these temporary bodies with the dignity that has grown about the permanent courts of law, and consequently there has been no shock; they have conducted themselves about as we had expected from the first. Yet more potent, however, is the fact that arbitration, even under its present tentative form, has shown so vast an advance over its alternative, war, that we have been but little critical as to its details of operation. Nevertheless, its defects are not only obvious but vital. International arbitration, operating through such ephemeral, uncertain agencies, will never take its place among the permanent machinery of advancing civilization.

The court proposed by the Peace Conference, on the other hand, must necessarily be organized for the performance of general judicial duties, without regard to the determination of any particular question. Its members are to be chosen, not by the Executive but by the Judicial branches of the various nations uniting in the plan. When once chosen they will hold their offices for life, or until the attainment of a specified age, and their tenure of office will be independent of the other branches of government. Thus the tribunal will cease to be the mere tool of diplomacy, and will become the most exalted and independent court in the world.

The invitation which the mere existence of such a court would extend to disputing nations would operate with a mighty and ever culminating force upon succeeding generations. The minister who shall turn from such an open door, and seek to lead the nation into the horrors of war, must have the support of reasons that fall but little short of necessity. Surely the merits of the permanent and ever-open court, as compared with the occasional and incidental employment of arbitration as the *dernier ressort* of defeated diplomacy, require no extended advocacy before the American people!

Turning now to the other salient feature of the proposed plan, we find that the institution of proceedings before this tribunal must be by the concurrent assent of both of the disputing nations. After they have once submitted themselves and their cause to the jurisdiction of the court it has ample authority to procure evidence, investigate facts, and render judgment; but its jurisdiction in the first instance can attach only by the consent of both nations. In other words, the scheme of arbitration is wholly voluntary. In this feature of the plan many people think they see an element of fatal weakness. To me it seems the only fitting complement to the great permanent court. Together they constitute a powerful and perpetual appeal to the conscience and wisdom of the civilized world. Judged alike from the standpoints of dignity and utility, I believe nothing better could have been suggested.

Against this, however, is advanced the scheme of what is known as "compulsory arbitration." Its distinguishing feature, as compared with the voluntary system, is the enforcement of arbitration in cases in which one or the other of the nations concerned would, if left to the free exercise of its judgment at the time of arbitration, have declined the submission. Otherwise it has no valuable functions beyond those of the milder system. Thus construed, its supposed peculiar advantages over the voluntary plan are, first, *its greater inherent force*, and, second, *the wider field of its operation*. Let us examine it with relation to these two characteristics. Without pinning ourselves rigidly to any special line of

thought, we will test each of them from the two standpoints of mechanical utility and political morality.

The advocates of the compulsory system base their preference largely upon the instinct of natural justice and the analogies of private litigation. One citizen having a cause of action against another brings his suit in the ordinary court of law, and step by step coerces him to final payment of the debt or damages. The defendant cannot defeat the plaintiff's remedy by simply refusing to be sued. Why, it is asked, should we not deal with nations as with individuals?

This question brings before us the alleged inherent force of the compulsory system. The answer is not of choice, but of necessity: In the sense in which we have compulsory litigation between citizens, compulsory litigation between nations is so utterly impracticable as to be, once for all, out of the question. The individual citizen is subject to the power of the government under which he lives, which, as to him, may be regarded as omnipotent. Its courts can fine and imprison him; its sheriffs can levy upon his property and arrest his person; and if it so wills, it can deprive him of life itself. No such power stands over a sovereign State. It is in itself, both in theory and in fact, the highest embodiment of organized human power. The only imaginable source of external coercion is in a military combination of the governments uniting in the scheme of arbitration. Passing by the grotesque inconsistency of a court whose purpose is the elimination of war appealing to war for the enforcement of its pacific ends, let us look at the possibilities of this suggestion. Taking the objections that at once confront us, and noticing them in the inverse order of their importance, they are: First, that it would be too expensive for practical use. Armies and navies would have to be kept in fighting condition even in times of peace. Second, it would be too uncertain in its operation. No solemnity of treaty could effectually foreclose the exercise of free judgment on the part of the nations concerned. If two of their number differed as to the duty of one of them under the terms of their common treaty, what assurance is there that all the rest

will join in the affirmative demand and support that side of the controversy with army and navy? Does any one imagine the possibility of any nation so contracting away its right to freedom of conscience? It must be remembered that no treaty of arbitration would produce such a solidarity of government among the nations as would at all supersede or impair their individual sovereignties. It will be for each, at all times, to determine upon its own line of action. As an instrument of coercion they would be utterly unmanageable.

If, however, any such coercion were mechanically possible, its application would be a distinct and unendurable retrograde in the movement of civilization. The infliction of war as a penalty for mere breach of contract goes far beyond the analogies of municipal law. Murder and treason are the only offenses upon which public sentiment now pronounces the penalty of death. Even as to these there is an intelligent and ever-increasing dissent. In no civilized country would a citizen be allowed to plead a breach of contract by his neighbor as a justification for a personal assault by himself upon that neighbor. Can the nation that condemns the individual act of violence itself plunge into the barbarities of war upon the same degree of provocation?

As a negative but powerful illustration of the validity of this position, I would cite our own civil war. In a superficial sense it grew out of a breach of the national contract. Yet who that recalls the opening days of that struggle will assert that the war would ever have been fought if the controversy had involved only a breach of contract? Eliminate from the crisis of 1861 the question of human slavery, with the intense antagonisms it had engendered, the seizure of national property by the withdrawing States, the threatened loss of our vast southern territory, and all the peculiar elements of bitterness that sprang from our former intimate relation—in short, cancel every factor save the mere breach of the national compact—and who shall say that the first hostile gun would ever have been fired? Still more emphatically, who that has counted the cost of our civil war, or of any war, will say that, under such modified circum-



stances, to have fought would have been less than a stupendous crime? It matters not, therefore, how "compulsory" may be the language of our treaties: international arbitration can never be established upon the foundation of actual force, for there is no such force at its command. In its main features, the so-called scheme of compulsory arbitration is a delusion and a snare.

In thus asserting the absence of all actual power of compulsion, it is not my purpose either to ignore or belittle the obligations of honor that would, of course, attach to a national promise. These must be considered, however, from a utilitarian, not a sentimental standpoint. They must be tested, moreover, by the cases of greatest difficulty. In nine out of every ten of our international differences either system will answer, because there is nothing in them to challenge national pride or arouse popular excitement. But let us suppose a case that neither our government nor our people believe to be a fit subject for arbitration. We are nevertheless confronted by a treaty, entered into a score of years before, that by its terms seems to bind us to the submission of just such cases. We feel that we are in a trap. The realization that we entered it voluntarily does but little to relieve the situation. The affair becomes critical. Every active political consideration presses upon those in authority to find some means to evade or defeat the provisions of a treaty made years ago by an adverse Administration. The party platforms either denounce it or deny its application. Political orators show its iniquity and advocate its repudiation. Neutral nations suggest its invalidity. This is the true test by which to learn the value of a blind national promise. Those in authority realize that no such case as the present was in the minds of those who approved the treaty. Assuming the average human qualities, what is the inevitable result? If not the evasion or repudiation of the treaty, then most assuredly its early nullification by the recognized diplomatic methods. But whether it be evaded by sophistry, openly repudiated, or legally nullified, the result with relation to our present consideration is exactly the same.

The principle of compulsory arbitration, so far as it was involved in the case, has ignominiously failed, and in its failure has injured not only the standard of statesmanship but the cause of arbitration as well. There is a very definite and not very remote limit to the strain that may be placed upon such a promise.

It may appear to some that the view just presented is one of mere expediency, and that I have cited a failure of justice as an argument against justice itself. My reply is that I do not know whether the imagined case was a failure or a triumph of justice, albeit through revolutionary means. There is, as I hope to show, a distinct limitation to the use of arbitration. If that limitation be ignored, evil will follow. The illustration, therefore, must be taken merely as noting a special danger to which the compulsory-arbitration treaty, as a piece of high-pressure governmental machinery, is necessarily subject, without regard to the ultimate merits of arbitration itself. And now, under the first head, has not the dynamic value of the scheme of compulsory arbitration, to say the least, been greatly overestimated? And in this instance, as in many others, is not "Thou must" far less effectual than "Thou ought'st"?

We now turn to the second division of our subject, namely, the wider field of operation covered by the compulsory plan. This, of course, must be measured by the form of treaty under which the plan is actually put into practise. There are, however, but two imaginable forms under which the arbitration can, in any reasonable sense, be termed compulsory. In examining these it must be remembered that we are now considering a right whose whole existence is based upon a written instrument. The form of the instrument is, therefore, the life of the right. It is not merely important: it is vital. If we find it impracticable, for any cause, to frame an adequate charter for compulsory arbitration, compulsory arbitration itself is impracticable. Any treaty, to justify the term *compulsory*, must either bind the contracting nations to submit all future controversies except those of a certain specified

class, or to submit all future controversies without exception. If it merely bind them to the general principles of arbitration, leaving them free to determine their concrete application, it is, of course, voluntary. Just at this point, however, we may well take another step in the direction of clear thinking, and realize that there is in truth no such distinction between the contrasted schemes. Each of them is compulsory in exactly the same sense, and both are enforceable to an equal extent. Each possesses the moral obligation of a national promise, and both are equally enforceable by military or other coercion. Their real difference lies in their varied relation to the subject-matter with which they deal. Under the voluntary plan, the treaty deals with a transaction fully before the minds of the contracting parties. It involves merely the selection of appropriate language for the expression of a perfectly comprehended purpose, and its formation requires nothing beyond ordinary professional and diplomatic skill. The compulsory forms relate to controversies not in existence at the date of the treaty, and as to whose character the contracting parties have but the vaguest conception. The word "lottery," more nearly than "compulsory," suggests the salient features of these treaties.

Let us examine these two forms somewhat more closely. The first is based upon the assumption that, while arbitration is generally proper, there are some cases to which it cannot be safely applied. These cases it attempts to reserve by means of exceptions embodied in the treaty. As, however, those who frame the treaty have no possible means of knowing in advance what cases ought to be excepted, they are unable to describe them. Their failure does not result from want of skill, but from the absence of an impossible foresight. Sometimes such vague and elastic phrases as "controversies involving the national honor," or "the national existence," are employed. While arbitration has been tentative and incidental, the insufficiency of these forms of expression has attracted but little attention, especially as it seems impossible to venture upon anything more definite. If, however, we are to contemplate

arbitration as a permanent institution, the language of such treaties must be read for what it is, namely, the exact definition of the jurisdiction of a court. For such a purpose, what meaning is there in the expression, "involving the national honor"? The answer ordinarily depends upon the irritations incidental to the particular dispute and the present temper of the people. Only recently I have encountered certain editorial comments—nowise deficient in emphasis—from which I learn that the title of our government to a disputed strip of Alaskan territory is so obviously sound that national honor can tolerate no adverse suggestion. But, ambiguity aside, how can it be said that a question is necessarily improper for arbitration because it involves national honor?

And so of the other phrases. If they are sufficiently specific to be at all intelligible—as, possibly, the reservation of controversies "involving the national existence"—they are too narrow in their scope to be of much value. If, on the other hand, they are broad enough to promise utility, they become so vague as to be practically meaningless. Treaties of this sort, when construed amid the pressure of strong national bias, are apt to contribute rather more toward the degradation of statesmanship than the promotion of peace. The truth is that the elements that under certain circumstances render particular controversies unfit for arbitrament are far too subtle and elusive to be fixed in words, however skilfully combined, that are not framed in the immediate presence of their subject-matter.

It is in the treaty that peremptorily commands the submission of all disputes between the contracting nations that we find the typical representative of the compulsory idea. This plan, moreover, is radical, easy of comprehension, and aimed directly at the evil to be overcome. To thousands of earnest people it represents the only satisfactory solution of the awful problem of war. To them, all lesser suggestions are at best but the proverbial half loaf. One present result of this is, in a measure, the withholding from the plan of the Hague Conference a powerful and enthusiastic support to which, upon its own merits, it is surely entitled. Let us see whether

or not this universal compulsory scheme is truly so valuable. What has already been said as to the inherent weakness of all treaties as instruments of actual compulsion applies with greatest force to such as this. The wider scope of its application will, of course, expose it to more frequent and severer tests. Whenever either government wills its destruction it must fall; for treaty obligations, unlike private contracts, are destructible at the mere will of either party. To attempt the control of a sovereign nation, in a period of popular excitement, by means of an illusory power deraigned from an instrument that cannot itself endure the adverse breath of the party sought to be coerced, would seem to border on the impracticable. It is not my purpose, however, to dwell upon the question of its practicability. If it were fundamentally right, its friends might reasonably hope that changing conditions would work in its favor; but I can see no basis for such a hope. Even if universal compulsory arbitration were capable of complete and permanent enforcement, and were in full operation, it could not long survive. It is politically immoral. As against the plan of The Hague Conference, it has no valid claim to our support even as a future possibility.

Such phrases as "national honor" and "the dignity of the nation," through gross misuse, have come to suggest somewhat of that "honor of a gentleman" so closely connected with the dueling pistol. Nevertheless, there are certain high principles of conduct—possibly "national morality" is as good a name as any—that still lay their imperative mandate upon every great nation. The things they enjoin or forbid are no more capable of complete enumeration than are the moral obligations of a human being. They may, however, be briefly described as those vitally related to the highest functions of sovereignty, as distinguished from the common details of everyday governmental business.

Sufficient for the purpose of our present illustration are the duties of every nation to preserve its own existence and protect the lives of its citizens from wanton destruction. These and other such high obligations are inalienable, and from them

there is no honorable discharge save through their proper performance. Any nation that abdicates or transfers them, even to a court of arbitration, at the same time abdicates an essential part of its own sovereignty. Nor is this a mere matter of national dignity. A nation lives, not for itself but for the people whose lives and happiness are in its keeping. If it supinely disregard the great purposes for which it is created, it is guilty of that offense which, when committed by the other party to the national compact, we denominate treason. It will have abandoned a sacred trust that no other human power can perform.

That the line of demarcation is not perfectly clear between those things that a nation may properly intrust to the will of another and those that it may not in nowise disprove the existence of such a line. Who can deny the right of a government to delegate the construction of a war-ship to a private individual; and who can assert its right to permit that individual to direct when, how, and against what nation the ship shall be used? Somewhere between these two acts lies a line that cannot safely be crossed. An illustration or two, patiently followed, will make clear my meaning and demonstrate the existence of important limitations of international arbitration—limitations that no wise and honorable nation can afford to ignore.

To a large proportion of the peace-loving people of our country the destruction of the United States war-vessel, the "Maine," in the harbor of Havana, constituted a typical case for international arbitration. It is not my present purpose to deal with that disaster in a partizan mood nor for partizan ends, but its value as an illustration of our argument is too great to be ignored. The known facts are few, simple, and already strongly impressed upon the public mind. Moreover, by thus drawing upon history instead of imagination for an example, the case is kept well within the bounds of reality. On the 15th of February, 1898, as she was floating at anchor in the harbor of Havana, the "Maine" was destroyed by an explosion, and with her destruction went the lives of two hun-

dred and sixty-six human beings. Assuming nothing whatever as to the guilt or innocence of anybody, we will simply note the admitted facts out of which arise the questions to be adjudicated. The first is that there was some evidence that the disaster was caused by an external explosion beneath the keel of the ship—but as to the actual preponderance of evidence upon this or any other point we are not now concerned; next, that by reason of their diverse attitudes upon the Cuban question the relations between the governments of Spain and the United States were decidedly strained, and a feeling of hostility existed among the inhabitants of Havana; and, finally, that this hostile sentiment had been greatly increased by the arrival of the "Maine." From these facts there arose a well-defined and not unreasonable suspicion that the destruction of the ship and the consequent loss of life were the results of deliberate criminal design. This was the case that, in the judgment of hundreds of thousands of our people, should have been settled through the medium of arbitration. Was their judgment correct? Let us attempt to apply the methods and principles of arbitration to the case and note the result as an answer to the question.

That we may get directly at the gist of the matter, the "Maine" itself—that is, the mere structure of wood and metal—may be at once eliminated from the problem. The loss of a ship can be adjusted by appraisalment and arbitration. The real question is, How shall we treat the destruction of two hundred and sixty-six human lives? The case is clearly of a criminal nature and should be tried as such, with punishment as its ultimate object. The undeniable facts of the disaster raise a well-defined suspicion of murder, and that, too, upon a scale which, so far as we can now recall, has never been equaled by any single human act. Of course, we are not to assume actual guilt. The investigation may establish beyond all doubt that the explosion was internal, or, even if external, that it was purely accidental. Nevertheless, the only definite facts within our knowledge point to crime, and thus fix the character of the question—or, in legal parlance, the issue—

that is to be tried by the arbitrators. Here, however, we are confronted by the fact that no court of arbitration ever has had, nor ever can have, effectual jurisdiction of crime as such. Nor is it probable that any advocate of arbitration in the case of the "Maine" contemplated a murder trial, to be followed either by acquittal upon the one hand or conviction and execution upon the other. Most assuredly such a trial was not intended by Spain when she tendered arbitration. So impracticable, indeed, is the idea of such a trial before such a tribunal that in the absence of some specific suggestions it is scarcely capable of argument.

The only conceivable proceeding before arbitrators, therefore, is the investigation of facts, the determination of civil responsibility, and the award of compensation. There is no mechanical obstacle to the operation of such a plan. Arbitrators can be selected, the evidence produced and considered, and if the fault is fixed the damages can be awarded and paid to our government for distribution among the widows and orphans of the sailors. In the expressive language of diplomacy, the "incident" will then be pronounced "closed." The neatness, vigor, and apparent thoroughness of the proceedings may easily draw the plaudits of our own people. This is preëminently a commercial age, with a powerful tendency toward the adoption of money as the universal measure of values. If, therefore, the award is expressed in satisfactorily large figures we will doubtless hail the result as another triumph for the cause of international arbitration. But from the standpoint of statesmanship and humanity, and realizing that such an act denotes and fixes the attitude of a nation before the world and toward its own citizens, it will be something worse than disastrous failure.

Among the principles that have impressed themselves upon all intelligent minds as axiomatic and universal is that which decrees that neither a nation nor an individual can disregard a fixed moral law without in the end suffering the natural consequences of the act. Singularly enough, not even the declaration of a cabinet officer, fortified by the great seal of State,



that this or that particular incident is officially "closed," can check the operations of this law. If, for instance, the incident happens to have been closed by methods not in accord with the deeper principles of human nature, it remains persistently "open," sending its evil consequences down the stream of history until—sooner or later, if not in this century then in some other—statesmanship returns to correct its own error. Nobody now believes very much in the game of dodging the law of cause and effect. What, then, are the evil consequences that may be predicted from a pecuniary adjustment of the "incident of the 'Maine,'" or other subjects of international dispute?

Whatever may be the reader's opinion as to the proper attitude of the State toward such questions, for example, as the liquor traffic and the social evil, it is certain that whenever the State adopts a system of license it lays the foundation for legal and social toleration. The tender and acceptance of money as compensation for a particular act powerfully imply an assent to the act itself. This is not merely a principle of law: it is an unavoidable inference of the human mind. That wrong for which we knowingly accept payment is in process of becoming a mere commodity of trade, and the rule is just as applicable to the crime of murder as to the least of injuries. This principle, moreover, is fundamental, and operates even in the teeth of the strongest human opposition whenever the circumstances exist that naturally set it in motion. The penal laws exact fines, not as compensation but as direct punishment for certain offenses. Nevertheless, whenever a statutory fine bears such a relation to the offense for which it is imposed that the offense can still be committed at a profit, the offense at once begins to take on the form of a mere subject of purchase and sale. It is commercialized; and, as commerce in itself is honorable, the act in question begins to be justified in the public conscience. When the act is opposed to morality, this social and legal justification must be accomplished by the degradation of the popular standard of morals toward the level of the crime. That State or nation, therefore, which, expressly or by implication, admits that her citizens may be

murdered at so much a head, or at such a price as may be subsequently fixed by impartial arbitrators, has entered upon that downward path whose not distant terminus is national dishonor and universal contempt. That she may have been moved solely "by love toward God, and peace and good will to man," will neither avert nor postpone the consequences of her act.

One may permit his neighbor to make compensation for an accidental or even careless injury to one's child, but to compromise with that neighbor by the acceptance of money in settlement of a strong suspicion that he has murdered the child in its sleep presents a very different question. The law favors private settlement in the first case in the interest of justice and good will, while it denounces and forbids it in the latter as "compounding a felony." There are some things that cannot safely be made the subject of sale, even in the interests of present peace. No civilized nation, conscious of its responsibility to its own citizens and mankind at large, could afford to entertain a pecuniary offer, either directly or indirectly, in settlement of such a doubt as that which hung over the sailors of the "Maine." If by prompt and voluntary action upon the part of the Spanish officials, or in any other way, that doubt had been satisfactorily solved, our government could have entered with honor upon such friendly negotiations as the case might require. We have already suggested the inability of even cabinet officers to check the law of cause and effect. The history of our present illustration presents some facts of peculiar pertinence in the line of this suggestion, and to which we may well give our thoughtful attention.

In October, 1873, the "Virginius," a vessel flying the American flag, cleared from the port of Kingston for Costa Rica. She carried one hundred and eight passengers, a majority of whom were Cubans. There was at that time an insurrection in the island of Cuba, and it was charged that the vessel had sailed with the intention of aiding the Cuban insurgents. She was unarmed, and it was shown that many of her passengers and crew had taken passage under the actual belief that she

was bound for the port of Costa Rica. On October 31st she was captured by a Spanish man-of-war and taken into the port of Santiago de Cuba. On November 4th, after a drum-head court-martial, and against the vigorous protest of the United States consul, four of the passengers were shot. On November 7th twelve more of the passengers were shot, and on the 8th the captain and his entire crew of thirty-six men were put to death. Loving peace and abhorring bloodshed, one nevertheless cannot look back upon that awful episode without feeling that the war of 1898 is an anachronism in human morals. It should have been fought in November, 1873. But the question of the regularity of the vessel's registration was raised, and—in the trenchant language of Senator Lodge—"we took money for our dead, and peace was preserved." Our government demanded and received the sum of eighty thousand dollars for the families of such of our citizens as were among the slain. Then—if in the light of recent history we can truthfully say it—the "incident of the 'Virginus' was closed." Regarded as the driest problem in moral philosophy, what was the meaning of that transaction? What must have been its significance to Spain and her subjects? Apply it in imagination to the enraged Spaniard gazing out from Havana upon the American man-of-war floating proudly at anchor within easy reach of the submarine mine. Would it not whisper of the safety of vengeance? If worst came to worst, there would be the power of money. Once within his own memory, and under circumstances of barbarous aggravation, had the American sat down and counted gold for human lives. Why not again?

We have no wish to revive the memory of the "Virginus" affair as a living crime. It is among the ugly things of the past. So far, however, as it bears any message to the present we have no right to forget it. Only that Power which can unerringly follow the course of cause to effect can assuredly know that the fate of the "Maine" was not blindly determined by our own government a quarter of a century in advance of the event. The lessons of experience are sometimes intensely

dramatic. Was the death of young Hamilton Fish at Las Guasimas the commentary of history upon the act of his grandfather in transmitting to another generation a war that, in the great order of the world's evolution, belonged to his own?

And now have we not seen, first, that true compulsory arbitration between sovereign nations is impossible, simply because the universe holds no available power for its enforcement; next, that the idea of a partial compulsory arbitration is not even capable of intelligent formulation; and, lastly, that the arbitration principle is, in its application, subject to important moral limitations—limitations so vital that not even our enthusiasm for peace should blind us to their meaning?

Let us never again accept money in settlement for murder. Better to provide for our dead from our own treasury, eliminate the whole question of compensation, and hold the offender—be it nation or individual—to a strict accountability for the crime. Such a policy would give fewer and fewer occasions for its own application. Sometimes it might mean war? True; but in the long run and in the meantime it will mean far less of total loss in manhood than any policy that tends, even remotely, to familiarize our people with the idea of barter in the crime of murder.

International arbitration is the next great step in the world's advance, and far be it from me to pronounce the ultimate measure of its value. But, speaking earnestly for the present, no plan is safe that shall tend to weaken the true responsibilities for sovereignty. The court of arbitration may help all peoples, but it should control the destinies of none. Nor should any nation so bind its hands by treaty that it must needs stand idly by when the cause of humanity calls for the prompt and heavy blow. In its simplicity, efficiency, and above all in its capacity for constantly increasing usefulness, the plan of the Hague Conference touches the high-water mark of the present possibilities of international arbitration.

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## CRIMINAL SOCIOLOGY:

### II. CRIMINALITY AMONG WOMEN.

CONDITIONS existing among criminal women, which are at least partly created and maintained through the agency of environment, constitute the subject of the sociological investigation. From a great number of these, the following were selected: nature of the crime; nationality; religion and morality; education; conjugal condition; occupation; industriousness; habits; degradation and recidivism; the parents—their education and mortality; children—offspring of criminal, their brothers and sisters; strength of relationship ties; superstitions; ideas of desirable qualities; preferences in color; strength of home ties, and localities from which the criminals come. Facts regarding these conditions were secured from those measured, from their associates, from institution officers, and from the institution records when they contained the data. From these sources the following presentation of facts and the reasons therefor is made.

It is necessary to consider separately the felonies and misdemeanors. The former are the crimes of those found in the penitentiaries; the latter the crimes of those found in the workhouses. The results for these two classes are so variable that this division is recognized throughout.

Environmental conditions influence the nature of the crime. In the workhouses, the crimes of women are not radically different from those of men. At Blackwell's Island, New York, out of 1,451 prisoners recorded, 948 were incarcerated for being disorderly, 369 for intoxication, 122 for vagrancy, 12 for petit larceny, and 3 for keeping a disorderly house. These are analogous to the crimes of men, because opportunities for their commission are more nearly equal. Of 88 women in the penitentiaries, 19 were imprisoned for robbery, 28 for larceny, 17 for murder, 6 for manslaughter, 11 for burglary, 1 for receiving stolen goods, 2 for keeping girls, 2 for forgery,

1 for assault, and 1 for conspiracy. The proportion of homicides, assaults, burglary, crimes against finance, as embezzlement and forgery, or against government, as violation of election laws, are less frequent than among men. Women have not the physical capacity for committing crimes of violence, and so choose prostitution; nor the opportunities or incentives to crime that man's more active social life furnishes.

Nationality varies so much with locality, and it is so impossible to secure an American type that is the result of American conditions, that my results are of but little value. The amount of crime among the different nationalities, in order to be trustworthy, must be in ratio to the number of that nationality in the community from which the criminal comes. In a city largely populated by Germans, as Cincinnati, or by Irish, as New York, a large percentage of criminals must be of these nationalities. I found only a few, however, whose ancestors had resided in this country for several generations. For the same reason, data regarding religion are valueless. A German community tends to produce Lutherans or Catholics. I find two facts of interest, however, in connection with religion: criminals incline to religions possessing strong emotional elements, or to one having an attractive form. Religion does not necessarily imply morality. There is often a strong allegiance to religion when the moral sense is deficient or undeveloped. Many are devout church-members and would not neglect a prayer, yet they will plan revenge and plot crimes and ask God's aid in their execution.

The methods of ascertaining the degree of education are such that the facts gleaned from prison records are untrustworthy. Instead of testing the education, the verbal assertions of the criminal are accepted. But few of the institutions keep records of the education. Out of 85 women whose education was recorded at one institution, 34 claimed common school, 13 read and write, 21 limited, 11 illiterate, 5 convent, and 1 high school. These terms are very elastic. For instance, "limited" depends upon the idea of the word held by the criminal; "common school" includes all the grades. In

my measurements, not infrequently those claiming limited education showed better evidence of mental training than did those claiming common school or convent instruction. For my tests I obtained the grade in which they were and the reader in use when they left school. From the psychological tests I was able to determine if their replies were true. Out of 33 whose replies seemed trustworthy I found the following: in second reader, 4; in third, 7; in fourth, 1; in fifth, 8; and by grades: in third, 2; in fourth, 7; in fifth, 3; in sixth, 3; in seventh, 3; in eighth, 4. One reported "in school six months;" another, "left at 11;" and a third, "at 15 years of age." Besides these, two were seminary graduates, four were educated in convents, two in high schools, and two were illiterate. My subjects represent the most capable among the criminals in the institutions I visited. These results are for penitentiary inmates.

The workhouse inmates possess more defective educations. At Blackwell's Island workhouse, where over 400 were incarcerated, allowing 50 for those who would not come and 100 paupers (who possess very limited mental training), I had difficulty in securing 20 for my tests; and these tests only require reading and writing, capacity for associating ideas, memorizing, and a fair degree of attention. Particularly noticeable in the tests is the rapidity with which their attention or concentration wanes. I found upon inquiry that few letters are written in proportion to the number incarcerated. Many of the letters are written by the matrons, or by other inmates. I read 132 letters written by the women. The spelling, structure, and efficiency in writing and thought were such as entitled but few to the appellation "educated." Experience and practical training rather than a knowledge through education constitute more often the means by which the criminal adjusts herself to her surroundings. The moral training is even more defective. In the penitentiaries and workhouses it is difficult to ascertain this. In the reform schools, where daily attendance is required, it is more possible. Many of the girls when arriving have no concepts of morality. An ille-

gitimate child is not different from a legitimate one, and they boast of their immorality as if it were an accomplishment. Some of these girls respond to moral influences; others seem impervious to them. This defective moral sense among criminals is revealed through their lack of self-respect, uncleanly habits, licentious acts and conversation, and utter contempt for truth and modesty. Mental training must precede the moral, and the latter must be practical rather than religious; for with this class the moral sense is best quickened through self-interest.

The conjugal condition, occupation, and industriousness are so closely related that they may be discussed together. Workhouses and penitentiaries both show a large percentage of married women—being greater in the former. Out of 1,451 women at Blackwell's Island workhouse, 1,012 were married. Out of 49 measured, 35 were married, 11 divorced and not a few were "separated." Out of 86 penitentiary inmates, 50 were married. The ratio between married and unmarried is not so important as the fact that so many married women become inmates. Forty-four out of the 49 married women recorded had 48 children, a trifle over an average of one each; and 33 married women measured had 28 children. While the number of children is not large, the facts have an important bearing upon the theory that the home and maternity deter from crime. Investigation reveals much domestic infelicity and many cases in which the wife contributes to the support of the family. Frequently the dissipated habits are traceable to domestic troubles and to the struggle for existence.

Almost without exception these women claimed an occupation, showing that they are to a great extent dependent upon their own efforts for subsistence. The records at the Blackwell's Island workhouse show that out of 1,451 women, 1,298 were domestics, 125 housekeepers, 8 laundresses, and 7 cooks. The remainder were divided among dressmakers, laborers, peddlers, seamstresses, and musicians. The penitentiary records show almost the same large percentage of domestics, for which the following reasons are suggested: (1) This occu-



pation offers the only solution to an economic problem for a large number of foreign women; (2) for mental and physical reasons many women cannot earn a livelihood through other means; (3) women who have no trade turn to this as requiring the least preparation; (4) many of the lowest classes turn to this occupation when other means fail; (5) the inadequate salaries for the gratification of taste in dress and amusements developed through association and leisure; (6) the easy route to prostitution which this occupation furnishes through its temptations, and through the defenselessness of those within it; (7) the employment bureaus for servants, which are often procuring places for prostitution; (8) the limited education and false perceptions of the relations of things of those within this group (particularly true of the foreign class).

In cities, occupation is a strong social force. Members of the same occupation have similar desires, amusements, tastes, habits, temptations, points of view, and physical and mental acquirements. The range is a considerable one, but each occupation has its typical one of these. Occupation to a great degree determines the associates and the kind and quality of social life. Notwithstanding that the women all claimed an occupation, the degree of industriousness among them is small. Out of 115 recorded, 60 admitted they were idle when arrested. Matrons state that about two-thirds of the women are idle when arrested. The period varies from a few weeks to many months. It is not easy to determine if the cause of idleness is due to the impossibility of securing work or to no desire for work. Love of variety and of excitement and dissipated habits soon render them unfit for continued labor.

In addition to the occupation of the criminal, I learned that of her parents, and, if married, that of her husband. In only 44 cases were these data reliable. The results show: Fathers—skilled laborers, such as carpenters, coopers, shoemakers, etc., 11; unskilled laborers, as coachmen, day workers, etc., 16; the remainder were: commercial travelers, 2; farmers, 4; teacher, 1; engineers, 2; merchants, 2; general, 1; brewers, grocers, hotel-keepers, each 1. I only obtained the occupation of the

mother where the father was deceased. Out of the 7 thus obtained, 5 were washerwomen and the other two were a laundress and a dressmaker. The occupations of the husbands were the same as those of the fathers, with a slight increase in the percentage of unskilled laborers.

The habits of criminal women are below the standard. The workhouse class have the greatest number of bad habits and are more unreserved in discussing them. Of 30 women measured, I found 27 used alcohol, 7 chewed tobacco, 8 smoked, 13 swore, 15 used snuff, and fully seven-eighths were immoral. These results are probably too small, for errors in statement would be upon the other side. The percentage of immorality among workhouse inmates is great. Of 108 girls, 84 were immoral and 55 diseased. The ages vary from 10 to 16 years. Among workhouse women my tests in hearing, smell, taste, etc., revealed the presence of catarrhal and scrofulous diseases. They also show an impoverished condition of the system. This is less true of the penitentiary inmates.

No question has been asked me more often by both men and women than this: When women are degraded, are they not more degraded than men? From an impartial observation of both sexes, this does not seem to be true. If a similar standard is used for judgment, the negative reply is clear; if women are judged by our *ideals of women*, then it is less obvious. Women's crimes and degradation are more conspicuous because less frequent. Our ideals of women require a higher standard; hence they seem to have fallen farther when they are degraded. For instance, oaths and the use of tobacco by men do not have the same stigma of degeneracy as when used by women. I find among the most degenerate classes—those in the workhouses—that for women and men there are the same licentiousness of conversation and action, the same uncleanly habits, and the same neglect of themselves; that they come from similar environments, possess the same moral standards, and the life of both sexes within the group is upon the same plane. The children are similarly trained, with perhaps the greater advantage to the boy; for girls are

often sources of gain to their parents when very young. Where it was possible I learned the number of brothers and sisters of the criminal. Taken in connection with the occupation and financial condition of the parents, this was interesting as showing the possible educational and cultural opportunities as a child. Out of 21 women, where I had reason to believe the information was accurate, 18 had brothers and sisters, the number varying from 15 downward, and the average being 5.5 each. Quite a number had left home at an early age—for these among other reasons: "too strict at home," "wanted to earn money for myself," "for excitement," "had to work," "ran away to marry," "hated school," and "too much church." The opportunities for self-advancement must be less where the number of children is greater.

The criminals, while having numerous relatives, seem not to possess a close sympathetic association with them, and the home ties seem weaker than those among classes possessing a more favorable environment. This is shown in a number of ways. Among the psychological tests I give one whose results belong here. I have written out a number of qualities. Carefully explaining just what is meant by each one, I ask them to select from the list five which they would choose as ideals for themselves or for others. The ones used were: principle, honor, truth, justice, right, friendship, ambition, fellowship, sincerity, ambition, courage, purity, nobility, strength, sympathy, love, and virtue. The results show that such qualities as principle, honor, truth, justice, ambition, and strength lead; friendship, sympathy, love, and sincerity are farther down the list. In friendship they have but little faith; sympathy ceases to come fully and spontaneously in so harsh an environment; love is more temporary and involves more of the egoistic than the altruistic nature; and sincerity does not pay, in their estimation. A number selected truth, saying it was a good thing for others but would scarcely answer their own purpose.

In most workhouses, visitors are allowed only once a month. It is the general visiting day unless special permits are obtained, and the inmates meet their friends in a large waiting-

room or in the corridors under the surveillance of the officers. The first thing to be noted upon observation of one of these visiting days is that the number of visitors is small in proportion to the number of inmates. The number of "outside friends" is greater than the number of relatives. Matrons say one fact is noticeable: when women are sent to the institution, during the greater part of their stay they seem to be quite friendless and alone; but within a few days of the time of their release they are looked up by some "sympathetic" male friend.

From their letters can be gleaned other facts that substantiate this belief: First, the small number of letters written. The proportion of letters written to the number incarcerated is 1 to 7 persons. The prisoners are permitted to write only once a month, unless by special permit, and the State furnishes material and stamps. Second, the persons to whom the letters are written. Of 62 letters, 36 were addressed to friends, 20 being male; and 26 to relatives, 16 being male. Eight were business letters containing requests for release or for positions when released. Of another series of 44 letters, 32 were addressed to friends and 12 to relatives. From the contents of the letters it was seen that "friends" often referred to associates of the same moral standards. The things written about in the letters have a practical rather than an emotional basis. They contained largely requests for clothing, money, some small service, etc. Few of them contained words of endearment, or showed strong sympathetic ties. These facts all tend to substantiate the statement that the home ties are weak.

Superstition is regarded as a criminal trait. While I was not able to make an exhaustive study, yet their fear of my instruments and of the measurements permitted me to make some notes. The social bearing upon this point seems considerable. The superstitions of the criminal class include many of the cruder ones so closely connected with deficient education and culture, extreme emotional states, and religious beliefs that are bound up with training and the custom of the localities. A study of the classes from which criminals

so largely come is essential before determining superstition a criminal trait.

It is frequently asserted that criminals, particularly prostitutes, prefer and wear bright colors. This has not been attributed to sociologic influences, but I find them of much weight. I gave a test for color preference, asking the color preferred for outer apparel. The results show blue the leading color, the number being 23; pink, 8; red, 5; yellow, 5; lavender, 3, and black, purple, and green, 2 each. Among the students, red was the leading color. It may be true that low-grade prostitutes wear bright shades; but social facts, as the following, should be considered: Bright colors attract more attention, indicating a use for purposes of gain; bright fabrics are cheaper than dull shades, indicating an economic consideration. These women often wear cast-off clothing, and are not always the choosers of their apparel. From close observation I cannot detect that criminal women wear brighter colors than do the domestic class who are not criminal.

With reference to the homes from which these women come: The penitentiary classes come from better homes, from better districts of the city, and from other cities, more than do the workhouse classes. The latter come from districts possessing the worst sanitary and social surroundings, and are more uniformly from these same districts. Their condition upon arriving at the workhouse often attests that of the district from which they come.

The above statements tend to show some facts regarding criminal women that are more dependent upon social and economic influences than upon hereditary ones. These are only a few of the many that must be investigated if the influence of social conditions is to be known. Such an investigation must include many others—as more specific facts regarding education, reading, the home, associates, temptations, amusements, superstitions, conjugal conditions, etc.

The final paper of this series will deal with psychological and physical conditions and the reasons, so far as they are ascertainable.

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## FOUNDATIONS OF INTELLECTUAL HOSPITALITY.

WHAT we take for the absolute is generally the relative. We forget that the "vacuum" still contains air. Filled with the sublime, we overlook the gradual ascent that lies between the plain and the snow-crowned peak above the clouds. In the glare of day twilight is forgotten; and when the last sad rays are gone—when the hush of night serenely falls beneath the quiet stars—evening is almost a memory.

Most of us mistake names for things. We are deceived by words born of appearances. Too often the perfect is what we do not know about the imperfect, while the useless is frequently our own ignorance plus something else. In either case, as we get close to Nature the absolute vanishes and the relative appears; and from the depths of things Necessity, the eternal master, looks and smiles at all the sophistries of caste and creed.

Knowledge is the perception of differences and relations. We understand a thing, and can form just and logical conclusions regarding it, so far only as we have by comparison perceived its differences from other things and its relations to them. And this perception—this ability to see the necessary and inexorable relations in Nature—is the true and only measure of our tolerance and liberality. In the intelligent brain Pity, with tender hands, plucks from the tree of knowledge these perfumed blossoms.

With the really intellectual person, his own ignorance is the beginning of wisdom—of tolerance. He is a student who never graduates, and is always a fool. He is liberal—not always because he knows, but because he knows that he does not know. For him an attitude of intellectual hospitality is the only one possible. Imagine Spencer putting thumbscrews upon Haeckel for disagreeing with the synthetic philosopher as to the interpretation of some biological fact!

It seems necessary, before considering any of the facts bear-

ing upon the subject, to define the title chosen. In my opinion this cannot be more fittingly done than by quoting the words of R. G. Ingersoll:

"By intellectual hospitality I mean the right of every one to think and to express his thought. It makes no difference whether his thought is right or wrong. If you are intellectually hospitable you will admit the right of every human being to see for himself; to hear with his own ears, see with his own eyes, and think with his own brain. You will not try to change his thought by force, by persecution, or by slander. You will not threaten him with punishment—here or hereafter. You will give him your thought, your reasons, your facts; and there you will stop. This is intellectual hospitality."\*

Having implied as much, I shall now endeavor to show that this inestimable attribute necessarily originates in and increases with scientific knowledge. Even the ignorant man knows that the rainbow consists of seven colors. He has counted them; and there his knowledge ends. But the educated man goes another step. He knows that the various colors are made visible by reflection, refraction, and dispersion—that "Nature's seven-hued arch" is due to innumerable rays of sunlight shattered to iridescent wonder by countless raindrops. He knows also that these sensations of color result from a difference in the length of light-waves. The scientist knows all this and a great deal more. He is acquainted with the attempts that have been made to account for the appreciation of color. He is familiar with the theory that in the retina are three kinds of nervous tissue capable of stimulation by rays of light whose wavelengths correspond to red, green, and violet.

Now, supposing that this theory had been found in some sacred book, and that to deny its truth meant, according to its defenders, either annihilation or eternal torment after this life, which one of these men would be most likely to believe? Which one would be most tolerant with those who denied its infallibility? Can there be more than one answer to these questions? Is it not certain that this sacred hypothesis would find in the ignorant man its firmest believer and its most intolerant de-

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\*Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll. Interviewed for *Mind* by John Emery McLean. March, 1899. Alliance Publishing Company, New York.

fender? Would he not declare?—"It is so because the book says it is; and anybody who denies its truth is not fit to live with decent people."

It seems equally certain that the educated man would say, with less assurance: "It is in the book, and I believe that it is true. Besides, we know that rays of different color contain waves of different length; and there must be as many kinds of nerve-fiber in the eye to appreciate them."

What would the scientist say?

"The fact that this theory was found in a book does not prove its truth. Authority, in itself, is not and never can be a demonstration. From the standpoint of comparative physiology, it may seem plausible; but no such distinctions in nervous tissue have ever been found in the human eye. I do not know, and I cannot blame others for rejecting that which I, for lack of evidence, cannot accept, and which after all may be false."

If instead there is required an actual demonstration of the claim that tolerance and intellectual hospitality take root in science, or (of what is equivalent) that intolerance takes root in ignorance, it can be found in the history of the Middle Ages, a period that represents the minimum of science and, conversely, the maximum of superstition and persecuting bigotry. To ask the reader to review in lengthy detail those centuries of blood and darkness would be at the risk of apology. The awful facts that might be retold are the mental property of every cultured person. But let us remember that during those years—700 A. D. to 1500 A. D.—the study of Nature was forgotten. Leaving out the magnetic needle and gunpowder, which perhaps was invented before, we do not know that in all Europe more than two or three great facts in Nature were discovered. We do know, however, that "Liberty was in chains;" that ignorance was a virtue; that torture-chambers took the place of laboratories; that the hands of bigotry and intolerance were red with the blood of those who looked for Truth. And we also know that, while Science pressed against the Inquisition bars "her pale and thoughtful face," the Arabs kept aflame her sacred torch.

But can we limit bigotry and intolerance to the sphere of re-



ligion? No; their scope is as wide as human ignorance. Nor can we justly place the wreath of mental liberty upon the brow of him only who has been freed merely "from the grated cells of a creed." Real intellectual hospitality lends its divine influence, not to religion alone but to every department of mental effort. It is not circumscribed by any school or cult. It goes where justice goes.

In further support of the claim that this priceless quality is necessarily an outgrowth of science, take another example. Let us suppose that we are students, and have just begun to study the noble science of chemistry. Accidentally, perhaps, we have already become familiar with a few of the terms used in this branch of knowledge. Some of them have made impressions on our minds. We understand, for instance, that chemical affinity, the most subtle and mysterious of "that great pentarchy of physical forces," is the basis of the science. We suppose that, as such, it is absolutely separable and distinct from other forces—just as people before Franklin supposed that lightning was a distinct force. But, after really studying the subject, we find that we were mistaken—that this force merges so inappreciably into mere mechanical or physical mixture that it is often impossible to mark a limit. We learn that even when salt dissolves in a liquid it is due to a weak kind of affinity between the two. This proves to us that no line can be drawn between chemical and physical actions.

Surprised but interested, we resolve to learn more. While admitting our error in one respect, we still suppose this force is fixed; that the chemical attraction between two given elements is invariable—just as gravitation between two particles of matter, at a given distance apart, is always the same. Again we are mistaken; for we find that the intensity of this affinity varies, not only with different elements but with the same elements under different external conditions. By careful experiment we learn that the gases hydrogen and nitrogen fail to combine in their usual state, but that if through some external influence they can be made simultaneously to break the bonds that hold them in older compounds, a speedy union of the two results.

As students, we have convicted ourselves of two mistakes—have learned two things: (1) that chemical affinity is not confined to purely chemical phenomena; and (2) that its intensity between given elements varies. Further than this we have not gone. Now, if a fellow-student should offer to tell us just what chemical affinity really is, would we not, painfully conscious of our own ignorance, be willing to listen to him?

Perhaps the noblest lesson in tolerance taught by chemistry is that to be seen in the general state of relativeness, side by side with those phenomena whose invariableness has raised them to the dignity of "law." For, while some elements are purely metallic and others as purely non-metallic, we find that between these two extremes is a blending of properties which rivals that of the rainbow. So imperceptible is this gradation that the line supposed naturally to separate the two great groups is wholly arbitrary; and chemists have found it all but impossible to decide in which class certain elements should be placed. This certainly is not orthodoxy.

There is no end to the illustrations that could be drawn from this science alone; but technicalities do not help the average reader. They are the mists—though silvery to some—that hide the landscape.

Thus far those phenomena which at first appeared absolute have proved to be but relative. Would it be otherwise were we to consider any other department of Nature? We turn to crystallography, the most nearly perfect of all branches of natural history, and it tells us that a perfect crystal is, at the best, a very rare exception. We are told by the physicist that, could a perfect note be produced, music would fade from the heart and brain. We speak of the "inorganic" and of the "organic," but even upon the line that has been placed between these two kingdoms is the little moneron—"an organism without organs"—moving, feeling, eating, and digesting, and all the time not knowing why. And so it is from this slime to Shakespeare—man himself has drawn the lines. "Nature never leaps;" and she is everywhere essentially the same.

A question of far greater interest and importance remains yet

to be answered. Does man, in his physical and mental organization, share with the rest of the animal kingdom in the conditions that surround him? It is not necessary to tell those who accept the scientific view of Nature that he does. Man is neither above nor outside of Nature—he is a part of it. A thousand facts bind him to the universal Mother. A thousand unbreakable ties link him with the forms below. Who does not know that from those forms to man it is but a step? Who does not know that from them man differs merely by virtue of a superior intellect; and that this superiority is, after all, only the result of greater complexity and differentiation in the cerebro-spinal system? Where, may be asked, is the perfect man or woman? Where is even the physically perfect? Hardly a structure in our organism is anatomically and physiologically a fixed structure. In fact, the human body is little better than an aggregation of death-traps. To a marked extent the success of surgery depends upon the recognition of this fact. Every surgeon, no matter how skilful, no matter how many times he may have performed a given operation, knows that his every effort is necessarily an exploration; that is to say, an experiment. And scarcely a day passes on which the intelligent student of anatomy does not find some anomaly of bone, muscle, artery, or nerve—some “peculiarity”—in the normal human subject.

Even pathology, the only branch of medicine proper that rests upon a scientific basis, informs us that there is no fixed standard of health, and that “among the self-adjustments of living bodies to a wide range of circumstances it is not practicable to mark a line separating those which may reasonably be called healthy from those which may as reasonably be called diseased.” There is a simple reason for this—both are natural. Disease is as natural as health. Naturally and necessarily produced, it is, when curable, naturally and necessarily cured. You cannot separate the natural from the natural merely by a change of names. One who picks a four-leaf clover never thinks it unnatural; yet it is just as much so as would be a hand with two thumbs. There are many, however, who will deny these simple and obvious truths. They cannot see that even the abnormal

and the "unnatural"—that is to say, the unusual—are natural. According to them, genius is unnatural; for it is certainly unusual.

In considering this relativity and this imperfection, particularly as manifested through the human organism, we cannot afford to pass on without at least a brief reference to the eye; for nowhere else in Nature are these conditions more strikingly conspicuous than in this once boasted marvel of fitness and precision. Poets over-imaginative, and orators with more eloquence than science, have told of this miracle of sight, while teleological and theological scientists, with mental vision even less keen than the organ described, have sought its aid as overwhelming evidence of "design." But science weighed this evidence, and the human eye now occupies a place beside the rest of Nature's products—no more wonderful nor nearly perfect than its surroundings. It was found to contain not only all the possible defects of an optical instrument of artificial production, but additional defects due to its own organic structure—defects so serious as to lead the immortal Helmholtz to exclaim that, were an optician to offer him an instrument so imperfect, it would be rejected as a product of bad workmanship. Aversion to technicalities precludes a description of these many faults. One of them, however, though not strictly pathological, ought here to be described, as serving to illustrate the inseparability of health and disease. I refer to the fact that almost invariably, owing to the imperfect curvature of the cornea or of the lens, there is inability to see, simultaneously, horizontal and vertical lines—a condition which, by reason of its existence in the so-called normal eye, has been termed "normal astigmatism." Now, not for many years, perhaps, during which there is an absolutely imperceptible augmentation of this defect, does it become necessary to resort to artificial correction.

We are indebted to physiology for another equally forcible example of the unsoundness of opinions or criticisms based upon foundations that science has not laid. It was once thought that the functions of taste and smell were altogether independent, and to-day the average person holds this opinion. But physi-

ologists at present know that taste is dependent upon more than the gustatory organs proper; that our most cherished flavors are not tasted at all, but are actually smelled: and this is strikingly confirmed by the fact that any impairment of the olfactory sense has a like effect upon taste. Also misunderstood or overlooked was the psychical element, excited by sight and touch, and by means of which the food has either a pleasing or a disagreeable influence upon the mind. Food that would whet the appetite of the blind might be distasteful and even nauseating to one of normal sight. It is evident, therefore, that one might reasonably fail to relish even the most delicate morsel served upon a dirty plate; certainly so if, in addition, he were suffering from a "cold in the head."

Of particular importance also are the idiosyncrasies of occasional individuals for certain foods and medicines. "Idiosyncrasies," remarks a celebrated therapist, "seem at present to be beyond law. They are often very remarkable. . . . Thus, a relative of the author's is thrown into the most alarming fainting fits by eating even so much butter as would be ordinarily used as a dressing for vegetables at dinner. Some persons are poisoned by the slightest touch of turpentine; others are frightfully salivated by a mere particle of a mercurial." The significance of these facts is obvious. If, to the thoughtful mind, they do not suggest in all matters a wider tolerance than now generally prevails, they are meaningless.

Of course, it is well understood that in the foregoing paragraphs little has actually been proved. In fact the object has been not so much to prove as to point out. And yet it is believed that if there is any virtue in analogy, based upon the unity of Nature; if in the mind—the realm of thought—as in the physical realm a like state of imperfection and relativity exists, then in such facts and phenomena as have been considered are to be found unmistakable demands for a broader tolerance in all dealings with our fellow-men, while in the several sciences that treat of these manifestations—and in those sciences only—are to be found, by wide and comprehensive study, the "Foundations of Intellectual Hospitality."

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## ARE THE SOURCES OF LITERATURE EXHAUSTED?

TO the thoughtful observer, the never-ceasing multiplication of books and other literary productions cannot fail to present certain grounds for alarm. Despite the healthy activity that is seen to exist, it must sometimes occur to him that eventually—and in the very near future at the present rate—all subjects will have become more or less trite and hackneyed and originality will be made impossible. There are only a certain number of scenes, situations, emotions—large, it is true, but limited—that can be elaborated into literary form. Is it probable that all of these will become commonplace from too frequent use?

The dominating industrial and scientific tendencies of the age seem calculated to dwarf the imaginative and emotional powers necessary for the producing of a unique and virile literature. For literature is not a mere record of events nor of scientific experiments—neither is it that which aims to supply in classic polish and rhetorical mechanism what is lacking in real unborrowed thought. Without imagination and emotion, therefore, there may be minute chronicles and elegant imitations, but not literature.

We may leave out of consideration histories and scientific works. There will always be histories to write and, if present conditions continue, discoveries and experiments to record; besides, these become literature only when they so far transcend their proper province as to introduce imaginative and philosophic elements.

In poetry, at least, we must confess that ages of cultivation have nearly rendered barren its more restricted fields. The sources of the epic have long been entirely exhausted; and in all probability the world will never produce another great epic. Epics are born of the exuberant fancy and impetuous energy of youth. As the race reaches maturer years, it may still exult in the glorious fancies of its younger days, but it cannot hope to

create new ones in the sober atmosphere of middle age. As Macaulay has pointed out, when the light of certainty—of authentic history—begins to break upon the splendid phantoms of myth and epic, they lose their apparent solidity and soon fade into mere memories. It is, then, impossible to evolve from hard facts what can only be woven from the tenuous mist of legend. Clio now presides over the thought of mankind. The fires are extinguished on the altars of Calliope, and the poet can no longer obtain responses from her oracle.

"Dark the shrine and dumb the fount of song thence welling, . . .  
And the watersprings that spake are quenched and dead."

Prolonged overproduction has made original love poetry almost impossible. No single theme, even that of love, which is the largest of them all, can sustain centuries of continual poetic discussion without becoming trite; hence, love poetry is now proverbially insipid. The greatest writers of the present day can scarcely trust themselves with this theme for fear of drifting into the commonplace. Kipling and other strictly "up-to-date" poets avoid it entirely. Its extremely threadbare condition is evidenced by the conduct of men like Swinburne, who, despairing of finding any new material in its legitimate aspects, are forced to handle its gross and sensual elements for the sake of originality. No longer able to furnish the red foam of Love's Lesbian wine, they must needs present to us the dregs.

Didactic poetry, once so popular, is languishing for want of an audience as much as for want of fresh sources of material. The spirit of the age is opposed to all that it chooses to call "preachy." A certain class still clings to the once widely prevalent notion that every well-rounded poem must point a clear, solid moral: and the couplets of Pope are still read. But the larger voice of the literary world declares that pure poetry need have no direct moral teaching; that such teaching, if at all pointed, has a tendency to mar rather than to adorn. While fully realizing the sublime moral mission of the poet, the literary opinion of to-day insists upon "art for art's sake." Taken in the abstract, the sources of didactic poetry are almost inexhaustible; but, considering the taste and demands of

the age, it must be confessed that this branch of composition is exceedingly unprofitable. Pope's "Essay on Man," if written to-day, could not find a publisher; nor would the publishers be to blame, for probably it would attract little or no attention if printed. Yet, as an eighteenth-century product, the world realizes its great merit; because when it was written and published it was not only in harmony with prevalent tastes, but was original in conception and treatment.

The outlook for fiction is less discouraging. Here the field is wide enough to cover nearly the whole range of human thought; yet certain branches of fiction are also showing signs of weakness. The historical novel must soon perish for lack of fresh material, unless new fields of history be discovered. This form of fiction depends very largely for its interest and value upon the piquancy and originality with which it depicts some particular age, or the circumstances clustering around some notable person or event in history. It is therefore evident that, as soon as an age or event has been richly set forth in the form of a historical novel, that age or event is made more or less useless as material for future romance. "The ground" is said to have been "covered." The age of chivalry, so vividly pictured by Sir Walter Scott, and once so abundant a treasure-house of prose romance, is no longer available for striking and successful fiction. Colonial and Revolutionary novels, from which Cooper, the pioneer in this field, reaped so bountiful a harvest, are already on the wane; Indian stories, instead of enriching their authors as formerly, do well to obtain a respectful hearing; and the warehouses of book-sellers are filled with a multitude of unsuccessful novels dealing with the civil war.

When Cooper produced his "Pilot," it was the first novel of the sea that had been written in our language; it met with a success that no sea story could hope to attain at the present day. Even our best marine writers are obliged to introduce, as a rule, modern vessels and appliances; for a simple, old-fashioned sea yarn on board of an old-fashioned sailing vessel would run the risk of being thought childish and insipid.



Even love—that ancient song which the world never tires of hearing, and which, like the chorus in a Greek play, recurs amidst the dialogue of every novel—is beginning to demand new numbers and variations. The passion can no longer be presented in its simple state, but must be complicated with a multitude of subtle emotions and peculiar surroundings.

Are we to conclude, then, that literature is on the point of being exhausted with overproduction, and that our excessively practical institutions have congealed the sources of imaginative genius? At first sight, realizing how few traditional forms and themes remain unhackneyed, and finding that in some departments the present age is incapable of producing a virile type, such would indeed seem the case. When, however, we regard literature in its broadest sense, and not restricted by traditional standards—when we consider it as the record of all the varying relations that have existed between man and man, or man and Nature, written in the sacred characters of passion and fancy—we gain a far more hopeful view of the situation.

The present age of literature is a transition period, like that existing in America before Irving and Cooper, or in England between the classicist period of Pope, Addison, and Dr. Johnson and the natural or romanticist period of Burns, Scott, and the Lake Poets. At the period in America just spoken of, the country was too new and the conditions too practical to produce an indigenous literature: the author had to go back to Europe, where an imaginative atmosphere already existed, and import sorry exotics. Even after the eyes of Americans had been opened to the boundless resources of their own country from a literary standpoint—after Irving, Cooper, Bryant, and Hawthorne had given to romance the red man and the pioneer, our trackless forest and prairie, the songs of our great lonely rivers, the mystery and quaintness of our old Colonial towns—even then Hawthorne, past master of the imaginative, was forced to admit that he found himself greatly hampered by the lack of historic and legendary background.

In the same way the present age, with its machinery and

science, is as yet too fully exposed to the garish daylight to be much available for the author's canvas. At the same time the world, craving more than ever the original and unique, tires of old models and themes dealing with things past and distant. Let us but wait a few years, until Time shall have softened the outlines of modern appliances and conditions and surrounded even our American cities with a mist of fancy: we shall then find that those subjects which now seem so prosaic and unprofitable will prove new sources of literary inspiration, richer and broader than any heretofore available.

So long as civilization progresses, the sources of literature will not become exhausted. It is when a nation ceases to find out new facts and adapt itself to new conditions that imagination withers in the arid soil of conservatism. Such a calamity has befallen China, where literature means merely a servile imitation of the time-honored "classics," and consequently has not given birth to an original idea in a thousand years. Of a similar character was the condition of the Roman Empire before its overthrow by the Teutonic barbarians. For two hundred years nothing of importance had disturbed the even course of history; no new elements had been added to the fabric of civilization, and the stalagmitic crust of classicism was slowly hardening above every fountain-head of literature. As some eminent thinker has observed, nothing but the timely interruption of the rude Teutons from the north, breaking down old institutions and infusing the fresh vigor of a new and youthful race into the dry stock of ancient civilization, could have saved Europe from the fate of China. Thus the scientific and materialistic tendencies of the present day, so far from presaging the decay of the poetic and imaginative faculty, show that it is but gathering strength for broader development within the scope of its broader opportunities.

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## RUSKIN'S SOCIAL REFORMS.

**I**N his study of Ruskin, Charles Waldstein says, succinctly: "Ruskin is a man who has dared to live his thoughts." Perhaps more just and noble tribute could not be expressed for the man whose ideas on art, economics, and ethics have been scorned, burlesqued, and at last revered and studied by his contemporaries and descendants. In these days, when literature of all forms is replete with sociologic and economic suggestions, it is difficult to realize the change in public sentiment during the last thirty years. To disturb certain immutable laws of society and economics was deemed more treasonous than foolish. Ruskin's early attacks upon society and economic usages so disturbed his father that, with characteristic affection, he delayed his publications until after his father's death in 1864.

Meanwhile Ruskin had begun to "live his thoughts." Under the influence of Maurice, he had become teacher and lecturer at the Workingmen's College. To this ten-years experience may be traced his "Political Economy of Art," "Fors Clavigera," and the practical social schemes of later years. Direct contact with these artisans of sundry crafts persuaded Ruskin that he might become an influence for betterment in their moral and economic conditions. For them he wrote, in 1856 and 1857, "Elements of Drawing" and "Elements of Perspective," while the more direct result of his teaching was shown in the iconoclastic "Political Economy of Art" in 1857-'58. In this volume are expressed early plans for paternalism of government, provision for the poor and idle, and abolition of some social injustices.

If Maurice was the first influence to incite Ruskin's zeal for the working classes and revolt against economic status, Carlyle became a yet more potent teacher, as their letters testify. The lectures by Ruskin at Manchester in 1864 and 1868, later published as "Sesame and Lilies," and the lectures on "Work and Play" before the Camberwell Workingmen's Institute in

1865-'66, better known to us as "The Crown of White Olives," revealed his earnest plan for education of tastes and morals. With Carlylean vehemence he attacked injustice and demanded that "equal energy expended shall bring equal reward." When "Ethics of the Dust" appeared, Carlyle commended it as "a most shining Performance." This book suffered oblivion for twelve years, when it was suddenly revived and eight thousand copies were speedily sold.

These briefer essays on work and education were preparatory for "Fors Clavigera," the true index to Ruskin's social reforms. In the rambling letters written to Thomas Dixon, a skilful cork-cutter of Sunderland, are collected the confused yet earnest ideas on politics, economics, labor, and art education. As Ruskin's zeal and sympathy quickened in the cause of reform, he often became excited and erratic in verbal and written expression. This irascibility, mingled with the poetic vision and diction that pervaded all his writings, produced in "Fors Clavigera" and its companion treatises a strange medley of ideas—practical, theoretical, and fanciful. All are familiar with the droll, personal interpolations—the recipe for goose pie and the reminiscence of the pig at Assoli.

To summarize, with any degree of lucidity, Ruskin's economic and social reforms, one must sift carefully from "Fors Clavigera," and also from those other essays with poetic enigmas for titles, "Unto This Last" and "Time and Tide." *Justice* and *work* were his elemental principles, as they are the key-note of Carlyle's teaching. In destructive criticism, Ruskin attacked the existent industrial conditions at two points. With the poet's love for Nature's handiwork, he decried, first, the present mechanical system. "We manufacture everything except men," he said. Again, in "Fors Clavigera," he introduced a vehement passage of fancy, describing "a railway to Hell," when "the British public would invest in the concern to any amount and stop church-building all over the country for fear of diminishing the dividends."

As a second deplorable economic condition he cited "the desire to accumulate wealth without definite labor to gain it."

Such had been the text for a brief sermon in "Sesame and Lilies" on "the desire to get on in the world." This doctrine is strongly allied with Carlyle's teaching in "Sartor Resartus" and "Past and Present." Ruskin was ever ready to recall his debt to Carlyle, and in his usual dictatorial manner advised: "Read your Carlyle with all your heart and with the best brain you can give, and you will learn from him, first, the eternity of good law and the need of obedience to it; then, concerning your own immediate business, you will learn, further, this: that the beginning of all good law and nearly the end of it is in these two ordinances—that every man should do good work for his bread, and secondly that every man should have good bread for his work."

If the two destructive agents, to be eliminated in Ruskin's plan for social reform, were excess of mechanical device in place of handicraft, or art-destroying commercialism, and an absorbing desire for wealth, or soul-destroying materialism, he had also two strong constructive principles—paternalism and communism. In the preface to "Unto This Last," his ideas of paternalism are given less nebulous form than in the essays and letters. He here suggests, first, fixed and equal wages for all; second, government training-schools to teach (a) laws of health, (b) habits of gentleness and justice, (c) "some trade or calling as a livelihood"; third, government factories or workshops for "the production and sale of every necessary of life and for the exercise of every useful art" (doubtless an echo of Louis Blanc's social workshops); fourth, government schools for the unemployed; fifth, pensions for the old and poor.

The communism that supplemented paternalism in the doctrines of "Fors Clavigera" had experimental form in St. George's Guild. Ruskin issued a first call for adherents for this community in 1871. In 1875 the plan assumed definite shape and its primal motives became known. The first aim was to raise agriculture in common esteem. Ruskin offered land at a low rental to such persons as would form a guild, the rent to lessen in proportion to the improvements made by the

lessees. One-tenth of each man's income was to be subscribed to support the guild. This initial community was designed as an example that, he believed, would be followed by hamlets all over England; and thus simple, agricultural life would be revived. In addition to agriculture, other industries were to be encouraged in the community, with as little aid from machinery as possible. Hand-work was especially urged in weaving cloths and making baskets, and in like crafts. From this fostering of manual work resulted the home-spun manufactory at Laxey, on the Isle of Man. The cloth made here by women driven from England by competitive machinery was known as "Laxey cloth," and was worn by Ruskin and many of his friends. For some time it was a popular fabric among the higher classes in England. A coeval establishment was the "Ruskin Linen Industry" at Langdale, later removed to Keswick. The beauty and delicacy of this linen for domestic use and embroideries have long been recognized.

These plants for the weaving of home-spun cloths were closely allied in spirit and plan with St. George's Guild. To this settlement thirty-two members came and accepted the dogmatic code outlined by Ruskin. Art and music were to be studied, the history of five cities was to be taught—Athens, Rome, Venice, Florence, and London. Birthdays of heroes were to be celebrated. Money as a standard of value was to be superseded by "measure of grain, wine, silk, wood, and marble." Among the arbitrary lists of reading prescribed were these volumes: "Moses, Psalms, Revelation, Xenophon, Hesiod, Georgics, Virgil, Chaucer, Dante, Ulrich the Farmer, and Ruskin's Life of Sir Herbert Edwardes."

In arranging his guild, Ruskin had assimilated many of Karl Marx's economic ideas, with Owen's communistic schemes. There was, however, a vagueness mingled with dogmatism that doomed the experiment to failure. Its plan did not attract serious interest or financial support from the clear-thinking, wealthy English people. In the last report of 1886, Ruskin laments with sadness the lack of support in England and America. Another default made the community a par-

tial failure. Ruskin did not allow for the gradual correlation of manual labor and education—for the slow assimilation of agricultural and esthetic tastes. A critic aptly summarized the issue: "Good cabbage-growers did not care to study Florentine paintings and Turner's sketches in the evening."

Though St. George's Guild, as a unit, proved futile, Ruskin has a lasting memorial to his social experiments in Sheffield Museum. He gave the nucleus of this collection of art and natural science in a cottage at Walkley, near Sheffield, appointing as curator Henry Shaw, who had been his pupil at the Workingmen's College. The later removal and enlargement of the Museum, under a corporation, are familiar facts.

Ruskin's economic and reform plans, like his art and scientific theories, are in the last analysis vague, passionate, and erratic, yet ever sincere and uplifting. In truth, the excess of zeal and loftiness is responsible for much of the impracticability. If he failed in general theories, he was none the less operative in awakening public conscience to the educational needs of the masses and in erecting esthetic and moral standards. George Eliot, who ridiculed some of his economic ideas, said, "I venerate him as one of the great teachers of the day." No teacher or writer has exerted a more potent influence on the individual thinker or reformer. Tolstoi, William Morris, Gibbins, Robertson, and a score of other social economists and practical reformers acknowledged incentive in Ruskin's life and teachings. In his warm, vital interest in the lower classes he found a cordial support in his mother, who lived until 1871, wielding, at ninety years of age, a magnetic sway over her son and her household. In "*Præterita*," Ruskin refers to their many servants. Neither he nor his mother would discharge an employee unless other occupation offered; thus servants became superfluities in the household, as Mr. Collingwood recalls. At one time a visitor, noting the seeming uselessness of one of these attachés, ventured to inquire of Madame Ruskin what was the particular task assigned this servant. With dignity, and somewhat of injury, the matron replied, "She, my dear, puts out the dessert."

Ruskin's practical cottage reforms in sanitation, etc., under the supervision of Miss Octavia Hill, are oft-quoted measures. In such and less familiar services he achieved many practical reforms. His zeal and hopeful outlook were strong, even as periods of oblivion shadowed that brilliant mind during the last fifteen years of life. Directly, and yet more indirectly, his influence has affected many modern movements in education and economics. The new and widespread interest in art education in the public schools, the extension of branches taught at evening schools, the University Extension lectures, the local and State training-schools, the broader work of college settlements—all such agencies for the higher life of the working-men were devised or promulgated by Ruskin and his disciples. The increased respect, even admiration, for the artisan, engineer, bridge-builder, the skilled workman in any field, which forms the key-note of the fiction of Kipling, Hopkinson Smith, Cy Warman and Alice French, is an echo of Ruskin's emphasis of the beauty and nobility of manual labor. The pupils of Carlyle and Ruskin, in many cases, are more far-sighted than their masters—with a more keen, practical sense of adaptation to the slow, assimilative progress of the present day.

The future is destined to link Ruskin's name with pioneer movements of reform and to revere his stimulating aims, rather than to deride his vague, extreme ideas. As poet and artist,—for he was both in imagination and diction,—as economist and moralist, Ruskin has exemplified fervor for beauty, truth, and altruism. Well may Mrs. Ritchie write: "When you feel that meat is more than life, and raiment more than the soul, turn to Ruskin. He sees the glorious world as we have never known it, or have forgotten to look upon it."

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## THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN AGRICULTURE.

### I. THE VALUE OF SCHOOL FARMS.

**T**HE agricultural improvement most needed is that which shall make farming so profitable that it will attract labor from other occupations. Not only will such improvement lead large numbers, now only partially employed in other fields, to agriculture for more complete and profitable employment, but those whom they leave in their present employments, when thus relieved from the competition of those who shall go to farming, will find full employment in their present occupations. In addition, those already engaged in agriculture will be content to remain in it, for the reason that their business will have become profitable.

If agriculture can thus be made so lucrative as to take from other occupations their surplus workers, it will remove existing labor troubles; for, of the tillable land of the whole country, the census returns show that only a small fraction is actually cultivated. In New England alone there are over nine million acres unimproved; in New York and Pennsylvania, each over five millions; and in the United States proper, exclusive of Alaska, over two hundred and sixty-five millions. True, much of this land is unfit for farming, yet enough of it is sufficiently cultivable to support more than the present population of the United States. Again, the land that is cultivated produces, as the census returns show, on an average less than one-fifth of what it is capable of. The average yield of wheat per acre is less than fourteen bushels, but by proper expenditures intelligently applied (largely for additional labor) a crop of seventy-five bushels can be raised on a single acre. One hundred and fifty bushels of potatoes per acre are more than the average yield, while over seven hundred bushels are often produced, the increase being mainly due to skilled labor and good management. These yields are of course exceptional and for small parcels, but they show the possibilities of pro-

duction that intelligent capital may aim at in larger bodies of land. To bring and keep all our cultivable lands reasonably near to their highest capacity for production will require, therefore, the labor of all our population that can be spared from other occupations for at least a century. In fact, agriculture as a field of labor is almost without limit; but unless it can be made *profitable* it will continue to be neglected. Farming, as now carried on, is unprofitable because of lack of knowledge of the business and scarcity of capital. The large yields of wheat and potatoes just spoken of are not attainable by the ordinary farmer who has 150 acres and no knowledge of agriculture except the old methods he learned from his father, and no capital save perhaps \$100 in cash or credit and \$400 in his own labor and that of his family. The largest share of the possible income from his farm will be lacking unless he obtain more capital with which to procure the means of more intensive farming and sufficient knowledge of its methods to apply them.

But it is not alone in individual crops, like wheat and potatoes, that capital and knowledge secure such favorable results. They are equally potent to that end in selecting for production those things that will give the largest net pecuniary returns in the market to be supplied. If the market is distant, things sold by the pound or quart should be produced rather than those sold by the ton or barrel. The sale of all products should be arranged for before they are produced. The selection of a market, the time to market, and especially the preparation of products for market are important factors in the result of the year's business. There are many things on a farm: its by-products, and especially fruits—of little value to the farmer, but if daintily prepared find a ready sale. To farm forty acres at their best requires more business ability, more watchfulness, and greater exercise of good judgment than to run a successful bank. Brains and not mere muscle are what make farming pay. To manage such a farm, its owner could not afford to do a stroke of manual labor—his time and services are too valuable. With proper farming, good business

management, and a yearly expenditure of \$50 an acre, such a farm, with first-class soil and favorably located as to markets, may be made to yield a gross income of \$100 an acre, leaving a net income to the farmer of \$2,000 a year. But the very point here sought to be made is that *on every acre every year* a special effort should be made. If only one-half or even one-fourth of these returns should, because of remote markets or for other reasons, be actually realized, farming would be more profitable than most other kinds of business and would attract most of the industrious discontented in other vocations; for, besides its cash income, a farm furnishes a family a dwelling-house free of rent and almost a complete living in the matter of food. Many of the advantages of city life are now extended to the country by improved and increased means of transit, postal service, and electrical communication. All that the intelligent workingman needs to make him take to farming is that he be shown how to make it pay. And many who are seeking to become presidents, cashiers, directors, and stockholders of banks or other financial institutions might with profit to themselves become such in corporations owning and operating as a single concern a property consisting of a hundred to a thousand of such small farms.

That farming can be made to pay is not doubtful. There is not an acre of tillable land in New England that cannot by special expenditures and special efforts be made to produce \$100 or more a year; and what can be done with a single acre by special treatment can be approximated on forty to a hundred acres year after year by approximation to that treatment. Inferior lands, while less profitable, can by skill and with adequate capital be made remuneratively productive. The same is true of the waste lands in every State.

By the law of manifold yield—some seeds yielding thirty-fold, some sixty, and some a hundred—Nature affords a sure basis of profit. By availing himself of Nature's laws pertaining to cultivation, the farmer may double these yields on a given area, and in most crops add largely to their value by improving their quality. An applied knowledge of what the

market demands to please its taste adds still further value. Approved methods in all his business affairs would round out the profession of the farmer most respectably. These various features of his occupation show a constant demand upon him for natural ability, scientific knowledge (or at least its results), acquaintance with men, and general worldly wisdom, second to no other business calling.

Knowledge of agriculture and of its necessary adjuncts that shall enable those who would engage in it to secure the highest possible results can only be acquired by a carefully prepared course of education, practically taught by an actual working out of all the details—from the selection of the seed to the sale of its perfected product. Its requirements are as great as for the practise of law or medicine, and at least equal provision should be made to meet them. *School farms*, for the education in practical farming of men and their wives, sons, and daughters, should therefore be provided. The very nature of the proposition prescribes the following conditions:

(1) The school farm must be profitable as a business undertaking. It is idle to attempt to teach profitable agriculture on a school farm that is itself unprofitable. Unless it can be made of advantage in a strictly business sense to all who give to it their labor or the use of their capital, it is a failure.

(2) It must be a *business* proposition. Its ostensible purpose must be to make money. If there is about the undertaking a single feature of an eleemosynary nature, it would have a deleterious effect on both the standing and the usefulness of those who would have the benefit of its teachings. While its secondary purpose is to teach its employees to be better farmers, it must not lessen their qualifications as citizens. They must come upon the farm, be employed there, and finally leave it (many of them) to take up farms of their own; and all the time they must be conscious that they have given a full equivalent for all they have received. They will then retain the self-respect arising from self-support, which is an essential element of character. While, on the other hand, if it is a benevolent institution, giving something or doing favors that

are not paid for, its beneficiaries at once take a lower position as citizens from the very fact of their being the objects of the bounty of the benevolent. The school farm must, therefore, stand in the same relation to its employees and its capitalists that a factory, a railroad, or any other purely business undertaking does. Capital must be invested in it because of the profit and safety of the enterprise. It must hire its laborers to make a profit on their labor, and they must accept its employment because of its advantages over other employment. The best service and good pay should be the rule, as in factory and railroad employment.

(3) The school farm must be so large that its supervisory and directing force may be first-class and numerous enough to secure approximate perfection in every detail of every branch, and yet its cost be small per acre. The branches of agriculture are numerous and their products exceedingly varied, extending from grains, fibrous plants, and vegetables to nuts, fruits, and flowers; from work-animals, sheep, hogs, and the dairy to poultry, bees, and silk-worms. The working up into more finished forms of the crude materials, furnished by such of these diversified departments as should be selected, would furnish ample opportunity to utilize the labor of men, women, and children—for the instruction of all of whom provision should be made. All this involves great detail, and to become profitable must be under the direction of experts both in the field and in the household, where much of the finer fruit and animal products must be prepared for market. The aggregate expense would be great; but, if spread over an area large enough to give complete employment to the experts, the percentage of expense to the value of the finished products would be light. To work to best advantage, probably 10,000 acres are required, not necessarily in one tract but all within easy reach from a central point. Large bodies of land cultivated as a whole have usually been business failures, for the reason that their owners relied on sales of crude, bulky crops and that such farms were lacking in fruit and animal products and in the detail work necessary to make these products most

valuable. The land should therefore be divided into farms of various sizes, from one to one hundred acres. Each farm should be equipped and carried on as a separate concern, having no connection with any others, except that the supervisory force would have charge of the whole property and the products of each farm would in some parts, as in the dairy, be manufactured, and all products of each farm would be marketed as part of the whole. The farms of five acres or less should be occupied each by one family only, and those of ten acres or more would require two or more families each, and of course separate dwellings for each family. The whole plant would therefore employ about a thousand families, averaging five persons each, and from one thousand to two thousand individuals—many of them, however, only temporarily (during busy seasons).

(4) Its equipment must be perfect, not only in buildings and tools, but especially in animals and for fruits; for on its animal and fruit products will its profitableness largely depend.

Land and its equipment will cost \$100 or more per acre. The yearly expense would be from \$30 to \$300 per acre, and should average about \$50 per acre, mainly for labor, but including also interest, taxes, renewals of buildings, tools, stock, and all other expenses. The reason for this large expenditure is that highest results are to be aimed at, as already stated; and results come only from the employment of means adequate thereto. Success depends wholly on capital and on professional and business ability that capital can secure with which to use to best advantage manual labor and the forces of Nature. Each acre should be made to produce as bountifully as if it were the only acre. Each farm as a whole should be as heavily stocked with animals as if the animal industry were the only one, and the vegetable growths must be made correspondingly great to feed them. Fed thus by the farm, the live stock would in turn feed the fertility of the soil.

Fruits should be the next largest single item. A farm of 10,000 acres would require a capital of almost a million and a

half dollars to make it a financial success; but it *would* be successful, both as an investment and as an agricultural school. Of course, the experiment might be made on a smaller scale. It is desirable, however, to make it on a scale that shall not be experimental but an assured success, having in it no other elements of failure than those that inhere in the establishment of a steel plant, a factory, or other concern for the production of a marketable product by well-known methods. Lack of ability and of capital will ruin any business undertaking, however meritorious. There is no good reason why the affairs of a business concern of this character should not be systematized as completely as those of any other business, whether it be a railroad or factory; nor is there any reason why its employees should not work under similar discipline.

Those who furnish the capital for such a farm should also furnish the business ability to conduct it; not the experts, perhaps, but the practical business men who are to make it profitable. Its yearly income would be large, and would warrant the employment of both business men and specialists of the highest grade. The farming income would thus be increased (1) by better selection of what is to be produced, and especially by increasing animal and fruit products; (2) by increased production; (3) by better preparation of products for market and by working them up into more advanced forms; and (4) by better marketing and better business management generally. In addition, the creation of profitable employment on the farm for women and children of the family is a valuable feature to be taught to the individual farmer, who will utilize the knowledge when he goes on a little farm of his own.

The effect on prices of such an increase in agricultural products, and consequently on the cash income of farmers, has not been discussed, because such increased production would be largely offset by greater consumption due to increased employment and prosperity in all lines of labor. But a cheapening of the prices of farm products would ultimately inure to the greater comfort of the community as a whole, and would be met to some extent by cheapened production. The farmer's

loss in prices would thus be made up to him, in part at least, by lessened cost.

From such a school farm, after it has been in operation three to five years, there would go every year probably a thousand employees—men, women, and children, each of whom would have learned by actual practise, so far as his or her department of the labor extended, and by observation of all other departments, how to make land yield a remunerative yearly income. The school farm would also in its own interest encourage its employees to study the science of farming by offering them the free use of agricultural writings—both text-books and current literature. Each family and many of the single men and women would likewise have, as wages earned, sufficient capital to begin farming on their own account; for intelligent employees will soon see that by saving up their earnings they can by buying and farming their own land secure the profits due capital as well as to labor. As a class there would be no better citizens—intelligent, ambitious, and self-respecting because self-supporting.

The main purpose of this article is to suggest that such a farm be established in New England or in New York. Once demonstrate thus in a practical way that knowledge of farming, business methods, and capital applied to agriculture make it profitable, and it would speedily revolutionize farming. Similar school farms would be established in every State; and every school farm would by its graduates multiply by the hundred the number of prosperous small farmers, who by their example would in turn change the unprofitable farming of thousands of others to profitable farming. Capital and business ability, finding agriculture profitable, would seek it in farms of all sizes—from a hundred to a thousand acres or more. Soon agriculture would become, as it ought to be, the foremost industry of the world.

Not to mention country tramps, consider the suffering that exists in our largest fifty cities from want of food, shelter, and fresh air, and then think of God's great heritage of land all about us by which all this suffering might be removed—and



it is clear that the philanthropic have missed the largest and most promising field for their benevolence. When it is further considered that all this may be accomplished not only without the loss of a dollar but *at a profit*, it would seem that every excuse for further inaction is removed.

New Englanders, by their capital, ingenuity, and business methods, reduced the cost of making a yard of cotton cloth to a mere fraction of its former cost, and made themselves rich by doing so. By similar means intelligent capitalists may do a similar work for agricultural products, and with like financial success. It requires only the skilful adaptation of means to ends by those who have the brains and the capital to command the other means. Let there be no fewer libraries and schools to give gratuitous training to the mind, but let more be done to enable men, women, and children by their own exertions to provide for their own bodies!

It is hoped that persons will be found that will on the lines above suggested, or in some better way, utilize for the benefit of mankind, and at a profit to themselves, some of the idle lands, capital, business ability, and manual labor in which our country abounds. Our population is increasing at a rapid rate. Only a limited number can be profitably employed in commerce, in exchanging products, in manufactures and the mechanic arts, in the professions, and in the other employments that our highly-organized social structure gives rise to. The numerical limit that each employment will support is soon reached; but an increasing population compels others, from parsons to cobblers, to push into these several occupations until the average compensation is brought below living figures. While a few of them produce some items of what is called a living, such as clothing, dwellings, light, and fuel, the main purpose of all is to earn money with which to buy this living. The farmer alone produces from his occupation the bulk of the living of himself and his family, and that without hindering or interfering with his fellow-farmers who are doing the same thing for themselves and their families. The farm furnishes a home, water, dairy and poultry products, meats, vegetables,

fruits, and some clothing. With all these a family, whether in the country or in the city, has almost a living. And no matter how many crowd into the business, each newcomer has the same chance for this living that those already in had before him. The small residuum of the farmer's labor is for a cash income, which need not be large to supply his remaining wants and give him a constantly increasing surplus. To get this will be an easy task, provided he be educated to the possibilities of production of our bountiful mother Earth. No other employment admits of so indefinite an increase in the numbers engaged in it, and with so little detriment to others. It offers and evidently was intended to afford an open door for surplus labor.

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## II. THE NEGRO AND THE SOIL.

EVERY intelligent man and woman has at least a vague idea of the importance of the negro problem, but few realize its imminence until they study the story the census tells and find that they have to consider what is truly a nation in itself—with a future that must be largely determined by the policy the white people adopt toward it. Here is the question in a nutshell: The negroes are with us to stay. What shall we do with them?

As recently as ten years ago the question was largely a sectional one. The barriers between the North and South, which were strengthened instead of weakened by the war, were so high that in but few of the States beyond the Potomac were Northern business interests represented. Federal office-holders comprised the more important of the Northern residents in the South, and what is generally termed the sectional feeling was perhaps as strong in the Carolinas in 1880 as during the days of Sherman's march to the sea. But the railroad lines and steamship lines—the most important factors in the development of the country—broke down these barriers to a great extent by increasing the facilities for communication: and the progress

of the South is a household word on both sides of the Atlantic. Manufacturers, merchants, bankers, and farmers became acquainted with her resources; and the investment of outside capital in each of the States forming the Confederacy has reached many millions of dollars, and has been followed by an emigration of thousands of people from New England and the Middle and Western States. As a result, the whole country is now directly interested, financially and otherwise, in the South, through intimate commercial and social relations. Consequently, any question that affects the latter's welfare is of general interest; and the problem of the negro's future becomes daily more national in importance, because it is an element in politics and the labor situation, as well as in the moral welfare and business conditions of the South.

Long before the surrender at Appomattox, zealous people in the North began to carry out plans for the improvement of the negroes. Their "education" was a familiar motto, and it has always been considered the only reasonable solution of the problem. Unfortunately, however, the term is general and admits of so many constructions that the would-be friends of the "black man" differed widely, some advocating common schools in the several States and others proposing an elaborate system that should embrace universities in which the courses of instruction were to reach as high a standard as at Harvard or Yale. Several of the institutions already established have accomplished much good in developing the mental faculties of those so fortunate as to enjoy their advantages. The Hampton (Va.) College and the Carlisle (Pa.) Seminary, among other schools, have acquired a reputation both in this country and in Europe for the ability and scholarly attainments of their graduates, who in turn have in many instances devoted themselves to the education of their race. There is no doubt that these factors for instruction have a beneficial effect so far as their territory extends; but the question arises, How much influence have they on the great mass of the colored population? To-day we have probably 7,500,000 in the sixteen Southern States, including the District of Columbia. Estimates made of towns and coun-

ties in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia show that eighty per cent. of those ten years old and upward can neither read nor write. This is the situation to-day despite the constantly increasing number of teachers and schools. The time will probably come when a majority of the negro population can read and write; but, if eighty per cent. is the present proportion of illiteracy, when will this period be reached? Not in the next twenty-five years, certainly. We are apt in reading the glowing descriptions of the work accomplished by these institutions to overlook the great field still untouched by them and the millions of people still unaffected by their influence, as shown by the actual figures.

Out of the 7,470,040 persons enumerated in 1890, 6,337,980 were full-blooded negroes, 956,989 were mulattoes, 105,135 were quadroons, and 69,936 were of other varieties. Instructors in the various colored schools testify that in the great majority of cases the mulattoes and quadroons are more intelligent and reach a much higher degree of proficiency than those of full blood. The graduates of the institutions already named are principally mulattoes and persons having more or less white blood in their veins. One finds descendants of a black father and a black mother who have become as proficient as the average white student, but such cases are found in every race brought under the influence of civilization. It is unnecessary to mention the high standard that some of the full-blooded Indians have attained at the government and other schools, although here the same fact can be noted—the half-breeds are more intelligent as a rule. However, it is not individual examples but the mass of the people that must be observed. The school attendance in Southern cities where a colored educational system is maintained is noticeable for the large proportion of partially black pupils and the small proportion of full blood or negroes proper, although the figures show that the latter are nearly seven times as numerous as the others. One reason is that the mulattoes congregate in cities and towns far more numerous than the blacks; another is that they seem to be much more willing to go to school. In Baltimore one finds

a striking illustration of the fact, but farther south it is also distinctly brought out.

Were the negro population proper becoming extinct by intermarriage with whites and mulattoes, we might find a solution of the problem in this direction; but the figures quoted are proof that as a race they remain practically intact in spite of the impression made upon them by thirty years of contact with whites as political equals. While the number of mulattoes is doubtless growing, the blacks are increasing in as great a proportion; and any one familiar with the conditions of Southern life well knows that intermarriage or unlawful connection with the white race is becoming less and less frequent—just as the color-lines are becoming more and more sharply and deeply drawn.

Will the whites ever treat the colored people as equals? To this question every one who has lived for any length of time in the South will answer, No. The attitude of the whites to-day is a sufficient indication of what the future will be. After the relations of slave and master that existed for over a century, social equality was not to be considered among the white families of the old régime; but when the Northern people, many of them soldiers and descendants of soldiers, began to settle on Southern soil the supposition was that they would regard the negro on a much higher plane of civilization than his former owner. But they have not done so. Nowhere do the colored laborers work harder or longer than on the plantations owned by Northern men. Not that they are ill treated or abused, but they are worked by Northern methods—more vigorous than those of the natives; and while they have plenty of food, ample clothing and shelter, and their wages are paid promptly, they know they have to earn them. In a tour of the South, which included a visit to a number of the largest plantations in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, the writer found this to be the state of affairs in every case where the planter was a Northern man. At Fort Valley, Ga., and Southern Pines, N. C., are Northern colonies where colored labor is employed exclusively. Both are flourishing communities, but, as in all other

comparatively new settlements, the landowners are trying to make their property profitable in as short a time as possible, and they take advantage of all the time afforded for cultivation and crop-gathering.

Not one instance can be found in these or any other Northern settlements in the South where the negro is treated as an equal. If he is honest and faithful they regard him as such; if he is not they discharge him and substitute another. When asked how they regarded the negroes when they came South, the majority admitted that they were entirely mistaken in the character of the people some of them had fought to free. Perhaps the reply of the manager of a Georgia fruit farm of five hundred acres who employs from twenty to one hundred hands, all colored, and who hardly knew how a negro looked until he came from Connecticut six years ago, may best illustrate the prevailing feeling: "When I first came here I called them by their full names and requested them to do this or that. I found that they paid no attention to anything but a command, and that it was simply useless to argue with them. They did not seem to know what an argument was. Now I say to a hand, 'Plow this or that patch.' I know how much he ought to do in a day, and he knows that I do. He also knows that if he slights it, or fails to do what he can, he is discharged and some one else taken on. There is no talk—no wasting words; he does it. As a result I have no difficulty whatever—they know their places. We apply the same rule to house-servants, and it works excellently. Equals? No one but the lowest class of whites—what they call 'trash' down here—would think of associating with them. They are all right—in their places." And while the Northern planters agree in this assertion, most of them go further and assert that they prefer colored labor in the fields to any other. As for the Southern, they know of no other, practically speaking, and are entirely dependent on former slaves and their descendants for raising staple crops.

Had freedom resulted in scattering negroes throughout the country, their future condition might be more easily predicted; but the great majority have remained in the Southern States.

In Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, the Carolinas, Tennessee, Texas, the Virginias, and the District of Columbia, the colored population in 1860 was 4,215,614; in 1880, 6,099,253; in 1890, 6,898,806. In the United States in 1880 it was 6,581,000; and in 1890 it was 7,470,040. In 1880 but 481,747 colored people were outside these States, and in 1890 but 571,134—only seven per cent. of the whole number. The South is their natural home. They are creatures of climate, and cannot as a rule endure the severe winters of the North, as they are very susceptible to throat and lung and other climatic diseases. The Southern States are similar in many particulars to the original home of the negro—Africa. Here, too, he has a monopoly of the labor field; for the Southward movement among Northern people has included but few of the laboring classes, and the stream of foreign immigration to America has flowed chiefly in a Northern and Western course. Statistics show that of the immigrants landed in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, the principal immigration ports, not two in a thousand have had railroad tickets to any point south of the Potomac River. Consequently, Northern agriculturists investing in the South have been forced to use negro labor, and the general results have been surprising in their success.

Where employed either as time-workers or on shares, the negroes as farmers seem to be most capable. A man can earn from forty to seventy-five cents a day, according to his ability and experience; women earn from thirty to sixty cents; and boys, ten to seventeen years of age, earn from twenty-five to fifty cents. On most of the modern Southern plantations the "hands" have their house-rent free. From the garden patches they raise enough vegetables to meet their wants, and perhaps enough corn to fatten a pig or two. The cost of living is so cheap that the wages really cover as much expense as twice the sum spent in the city. In my investigation of their condition I found that on the principal plantations they fare well and have little sickness—suffering and want are strangers to them; but the best feature is that they appear to be happy, con-

tented, and comfortable, affording a great contrast to the misery, immorality, and destitution so frequent among their race in the cities.

But while large numbers of negroes are now finding steady and profitable employment on the plantations, far more are scattered throughout the South living from hand to mouth—principally by theft, fishing, and hunting. Their homes are cabins on deserted plantations or in small clearings in the forests. This state of affairs is partly owing to the fact that so much land still lacks cultivation and awaits an owner or tenant who can make it profitable. In many parts of the South, especially the Carolinas and Louisiana, there is an over-abundance of labor. Too many negroes are located in those sections, and one finds many of the idle classes. In other sections, the James River Valley of Virginia, for instance, the exodus has been so extensive to the cotton States that the planters cannot properly cultivate the land they have, and as a result are obliged to neglect some of their richest tracts for want of help. The distribution of the negroes where all so disposed can secure permanent work is one step toward the solution of this problem of their future. It also involves a matter of vital importance to the South and incidentally to the whole country—the settlement of waste lands, which by their productiveness should add much to the wealth and prosperity of these States. This distribution would also bring them more directly under the influence of the white farmers, and would prove a factor in teaching them the methods of thrift and industry that have made the whites successful and are essential to their general improvement. There is land enough in the South to give to every colored man in this country employment, while every acre added to the present area of cultivation means so much more for its future. It is not to be supposed that all, or even many, can become farmers for themselves. That is one happy disposition of the problem, but it is still a question of the future; for it is doubtful if any considerable number could be given farms to-day and manage to keep themselves out of debt and care for their families.



To those interested in the moral and mental advancement of these people, this way of settling their future *en masse* may commend itself. While, as stated, they will be unconsciously educated in the modern farmer's ways of economy and industry, their location in the country allows the teacher or missionary to approach them more readily and with more success than when crowded together in towns and cities, where the viciousness and immorality of one may contaminate fifty others. They are further removed from evil influences, and with the excitements and variety of city life absent they will welcome the school and church for the sake, possibly, of amusement at first—to be followed by deeper impressions. And is there any occupation more elevated in a moral sense than that of the farmer? Contrast it for a moment with the menial vocations that the great mass of colored people in the towns and cities are forced to follow, and one may readily believe that in Nature lies the best solution of the "negro problem."

D. ALLEN WILLEY.

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*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them.  
They master us and force us into the arena,  
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."*  
—HEINE.

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# THE ARENA

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## PRESERVATION OF THE REPUBLIC.

### I. THE GIANT ISSUE OF 1900.

THE problem of the Trust and the problem of private monopoly in finance are questions of vital moment; but the giant issue now is whether our flag shall stand for freedom or oppression. It is vastly important to know whether our governments and industries are to be managed in the interest of a few or in the interest of all; but it is still more important to know whether the people approve the policy of abandoning the Declaration of Independence, turning the Republic into an Empire, and transforming a peaceful democracy into an imperial conqueror. The supreme issue is whether the stain of conquest that blots our flag shall stay upon its folds or be washed out forever in a flood of patriot votes from the liberty-lovers of the land.

At bottom, all the issues named are one. The same influence and control that have swept us into foreign aggression are largely responsible for oppression at home.

The Cubans were battling for independence, and the United States took arms to end the Spanish despotism and help the Cubans establish a government of their own. The Filipinos were also in revolt against Spain. They had an army of 30,000 men. They conquered and captured 10,000 Spanish soldiers,

and, modeling their government on ours, established law and order and self-government throughout the islands, with the single exception of the city of Manila. A nation great enough and good enough to help the Cubans throw off the yoke of Spain and establish the independence for which they were fighting should have been great and good enough to have helped the Filipinos also throw off the sixteenth century despotism and establish the independence for which *they* were fighting. Yet the very forces set in motion to free the Cubans have been used by our government as the means of subjugating the Filipinos. Cubans and Filipinos fighting side by side (for physical distance has nothing to do with the essence of the case) against the same despotism, struggling with equal heroism for liberty and independence, and with a success even greater in the Philippines than in Cuba, and our government, *the government of the leading Republic of the world*, steps in to take Cuba from Spanish despotism and establish Cuban independence, and at the same time takes the Philippines from Spanish despotism and establishes an American despotism in its place!

Till the hour we bought the Filipinos at \$2.50 per head, like so many cattle passing with the land, and forced the purchase at the point of the bayonet, our flag was the emblem of freedom the wide world over and the hope of the oppressed of every clime; to-day its starry folds are stained with the blood of Filipino patriots fighting against it for their freedom—and to one heroic people it has ceased to be the emblem of liberty and has become the hated symbol of oppression. All the commerce of the East cannot atone for that deep blot. And we could have had all the commerce with the Filipinos free that we have with the same people in subjection. Our commerce can capture all the markets it deserves without a bayonet in its hands.

Admiral Dewey says the Filipinos are as capable of self-government as the Cubans; the Philippine Commission speaks in high terms of the intelligence and docility of the Filipinos; and the fact that they had actually established an admirable

system of democratic government clearly proves their capacity. If our government had treated them the same as the Cubans; if the President had announced at the start that the same principles would be applied in the Philippines as in Cuba, and that independence and self-government would be established under an international guarantee of peace and order in the islands, or under such an American protectorate as might be agreeable to the people of the islands and ratified by them, there would have been no war of conquest under the Stars and Stripes. And we might have kept Manila and perhaps got back our twenty millions in easy payments from the Filipinos—though they could not be blamed if they had refused such payment, since the Spanish debt we paid with the twenty millions consisted of money borrowed and spent by Spain to subdue the Filipinos; and there is, moreover, scarcely any doubt that they would have won their independence free of incumbrance if we had let them alone.

Is it fair for a nation that owes its own independence to a war fought out upon the clear-cut issue that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed" to establish a government in another country without the consent of the governed?

The Golden Rule lies shattered beneath a policy of aggressive war—torn, like the Declaration of Independence, into useless fragments by our cannon in the Philippines. When we were fighting for independence in 1776, suppose the Filipinos had been strong enough and mean enough to buy us up—get a tax-bill to us from the British Empire—and had sent an army over here to subjugate us: where is the difference under the Golden Rule?

We can no longer claim to be a bona-fide, whole-souled Republic. We are an empire—a sort of republic at home and a despotism abroad; a "benevolent" despotism, perhaps (though that remains to be seen), but none the less a despotism. We should not regard a conqueror as anything but a despot if he forced his will upon us, no matter how much he might protest that he was doing it for our benefit. We

are civilizing the Filipinos, it is said—shooting it into them and pouring it into them from our saloons, which are more deadly even than our guns. We are not aiming to establish free government in the Philippines. It is not to be a government of the people by the people and for the people. The supreme power is to be lodged in officers appointed by a foreign government, holding its sovereignty by force of arms. It is not expansion, but imperialism. Expansion is the addition of new territory as part of the Republic. This addition does not enlarge the Republic—the *Republic* is no bigger than before. The government merely rules as imperial master over some islands not incorporated in the Republic, but belonging to it as England belonged to the Conqueror, and constituting with it The New American Empire. We have taken the first step that led Rome from the virtues of a self-defending republic to the vices of imperial despotism and the final destruction of liberty at home as well as abroad.

A government that engages in a war of conquest and enslaves a foreign people can no longer stand before the world as a champion of freedom and human rights. Such a government naturally sympathizes with England against the Boers. No matter that England by treaty distinctly gave up all claim to interfere in the internal affairs of the Transvaal; no matter that *she twice refused to arbitrate*, thereby confessing her cause unjust; no matter that many of the best people in England denounce the war and declare it to be a war for gold and the upbuilding of capitalistic power; no matter that the Boers are fighting for freedom against the same oppressor that our fathers struggled with in the dawn of our greatness; no matter that justice and liberty and brotherhood are all on the side of the Boer; no matter that the civilized world is in duty bound to condemn any nation that goes to war in refusal of arbitration—our government cannot be just and manly with England because it is committing the same sort of iniquity in the Philippines. Columbia has turned her face from the dawn and is looking back toward the night that has passed—imperialism abroad and industrial feudalism at home.

Strange things are happening in America when an Administration representing the party of Lincoln—the party that freed the blacks—stands squarely against liberty in the Philippines and sympathizes with a capitalistic war of conquest in South Africa. There is every reason to believe that such an Administration does not truly represent the Republican party. The best sentiment of the “Grand Old Party” is against the present policy of those in power. It is to be hoped that conscience may outweigh partizanship, and men of every party who love liberty and justice may unite to reaffirm the principles of the Declaration of Independence, repair so far as possible the wrong that has been done in the Philippines, and set America right once more on the supreme issue of Democracy or Despotism.

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## II. CHRISTIANITY AND IMPERIALISM.

IN announcing, as the true basic principle of civil government, that all men are created equal in respect to the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, the founders of this Republic simply reaffirmed an essential principle of Christianity, stripped of the figments and incumbrances with which the delusions of mankind had obscured it. Even though they did it unwittingly, the identity of the principle with that of Christianity is beyond controversy. The substance of Christianity, as enunciated by Christ, is very clearly and comprehensively expressed in the command: “Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind, and thy neighbor as thyself.” And again: “Therefore, all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.” This embraces all the essentials of the Christian religion. Christ declared, without qualification: “Do this, and thy soul shall live.” And it is obvious that, if the principle were universally practised, it would place all men on an equality in re-

spect to the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. These are privileges that every one desires in full measure for himself, and, this being so, under the rule of Christianity they are privileges that every one would award in full measure to his neighbors. It is clearly impossible for men to treat one another in the spirit and manner prescribed by Christ without practically recognizing the equality of all men concerning the right to these privileges. It follows that we cannot pronounce this basic doctrine of the Declaration of Independence to be impracticable or obsolete without pronouncing Christianity to be so likewise. The one is essentially a reaffirmance of the other, and they must stand or fall together.

That Christianity is not impracticable is proved by the fact that every man on the face of the earth can live in the love of his Creator, and treat all others as he would have others treat himself, if he only chooses to do so. It is self-evident that what every one can do if he chooses is universally practicable as a rule of action. It is equally evident that the principle is not obsolete or outgrown; for doing unto others as one would be done by is the only effective means available to mankind for the promotion of friendly relationships and social felicity. It is also most effective for the production of physical prosperity; for the mutual respect and confidence begotten thereby form the best possible basis for industry and commerce.

So far from being impracticable, Christianity is ineffective only because men will not *practise* it—or, rather, only so far as men will not practise it. Although it is largely professed by the people, and much praised by word of mouth, yet in practise they generally ignore it and adopt in its stead the opposite system, which is based on the doctrine that might and opportunity make right and justice. Under this other system, instead of mankind being cemented into a harmonious brotherhood by mutual helpfulness, reciprocal benefits, and a common welfare, we have a discordant mass of individuals, groups of individuals, and nations constantly forced apart and rendered antagonistic by the centrifugal force of aggressive competition. The natural and inevitable result is the exaltation of the strong

and the subjection of the weak. This principle, as exemplified by nations (in which relation I wish now to call particular attention to it), is comprehensively expressed by the term *Imperialism*.

The system being based on the assumption that might makes right, or that the strong and capable have a divine right to control the weak and relatively incapable, it is but a short step to the assumption that it is the duty of the one to control the other. And, consequently, we find our imperialists impressively asserting that it is the duty of a civilized nation to take charge of relatively uncivilized nations, by virtue of its power to do so. That the alleged right or duty is by virtue of superior strength alone is proved by the fact that the system does not exist, and cannot exist, except by virtue of the superior strength of the dominating power. In its latest development it even puts the craving for wealth and self-indulgence of a civilized group of men in the balance against the very existence of the uncivilized group. The civilized group appoints itself guardian of the less civilized people, and proceeds to teach them to be subservient to the earth-lust of the civilized man. And if they are not submissive war is waged upon them. Instead of teaching, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," imperialism teaches: Thou shalt exploit thy neighbor for thine own advantage. It teaches that a conquered nation becomes the legitimate possession of the nation that conquers it; and that nations, or groups of men, may be bought and sold for the purpose of commercial exploitation, on the same principle as sheep are bought and sold to be fattened for the shambles.

Under the government of the principles of righteousness as expounded by Christ, and reaffirmed, theoretically at least, by the subscribers to the Declaration of Independence, the strong and the weak are placed on the same level, in regard to the inherent rights of manhood, without interfering with the independence of either; and the weak are free to help themselves, and to accept only such help as seems desirable to them. The manifest good-will and kindness of the strong, and their forbearing to impose anything on the weak that they are not pre-



pared to receive, naturally beget good-will on the part of the weak and lead to an ever-increasing response to, and appreciation of, the helpful advances of the strong. Here we have the relationship that is absolutely essential for the most active development of brotherhood, personal responsibility, self-help, and independence, and for the evolution of peace and joy and prosperity throughout the earth. Imperialism, on the other hand, attempts to force help upon the weak regardless of their not being prepared to receive it. It is imposed upon them, not especially for their advantage, but to subserve the convenience or the ambition of the strong. This is proved by the fact that if they do not accept it, it is *shot* into them in the form of bullets. Instead of begetting friendship and confidence, it naturally begets distrust, resentment, sullenness, and deception. Instead of the weak being elevated, both strong and weak are degraded. It hardly need be stated that imperialism is but another name for despotism. And the term properly embraces every form or degree of self-appointed, arbitrary, and despotic control of one man by another, or of one nation or group of men by another.

Christianity eliminates the aggressiveness, or despotism, of competition without changing the principle of free exchange or destroying the incentive for each one to exercise his faculties to the best advantage. On the contrary, it vastly increases and broadens the incentive to give the best possible service. It does this by changing the incentive to action—from the mere service of self to the service of God and mankind.

The founders of this government wisely perceived that there can be no enduring free institutions that do not award to all men the same privileges in regard to self-government and independence. Theirs was the first attempt to establish a great nation on this principle, and, notwithstanding grievous shortcomings in its practical application, the result has abundantly justified their judgment. That principle was the leaven that strengthened the nation finally to cast off that terrible incubus, human slavery. And a neglect of that principle has been the cause of all our internal difficulties and disasters. And now,

as we value our independence and prospects of future well-being as a nation, it behooves us to put forth all our manhood in resisting the present insidious temptation to cast this principle aside and adopt imperialism in its stead. Words of warning were never more fitly spoken than when Abraham Lincoln said: "When the white man governs himself, that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is more than self-government—that is despotism." Here we have the nature of imperialism clearly portrayed in a nutshell. When a nation or a homogeneous group of men governs itself, that is self-government; but when it governs itself and also governs another nation or group of men not homogeneous with it, that is more than self-government—that is despotism.

In its practical application, the doctrine of incapacity for self-government consists in one people arbitrarily sitting in judgment on another people. A certain group of people constitute themselves an irresponsible tribunal, and say to another group of people: "According to our ideas, you are not capable of governing yourselves; therefore, we will take charge of you." If the alleged incapables say, "Have patience with us, and give us a fair trial before condemning us to subjection," the reply is: "Our judgment is infallible and final; a trial is useless; you must submit to us, and after experimenting with you for an indefinite period we will decide how much liberty you shall have." If this is not an assumption of despotic authority, what is it? The wolf's teeth cannot be masked even under a profession of benevolence. "Those arguments," said Abraham Lincoln, "that are made—that the inferior races are to be treated with as much allowance as they are capable of enjoying; that as much is to be done for them as their condition will allow—what are these arguments? They are the arguments that kings have made for the enslaving of the people in all ages of the world. You will find that all the arguments of kingcraft are always of this class; they always bestrode the necks of the people—not that they wanted to do it, but because the people were better off for being ridden. . . . Turn it

every way you will—whether it come from the mouth of a king as an excuse for enslaving the people of his country, or from the mouth of the men of one race as a reason for enslaving the men of another race, it is all the same old serpent.”

The only escape from despotism and tyranny is by a practical recognition of the doctrine that every people have an inalienable right to live and pursue happiness according to their own ideals or conception of duty. The only restriction to this is that every one (whether an individual or a nation) must respect the right of all others to do the same. Hence, the self-government to which all men have an inalienable right is the government of self according to capacity, whether that capacity be great or small. While it is true that the people of some nations are so ignorant and degraded that their condition invites, or rather naturally creates, despotic authority among themselves, nevertheless their improvement must be based on their faithfulness in living up to the light that they have; and so far as it comes from the outside it must be by good example and friendly instruction, not by having the institutions of a higher degree of enlightenment forced upon them before they are able to appreciate them. It is certain that despotism will never be eradicated from the world by those who have been emancipated from it becoming despots themselves.

A people emerging from despotism may still have a government partly despotic and partly free. But a people already emancipated from despotism cannot reingraft despotic authority upon their system of government without adulterating their free institutions, introducing the seeds of reaction, and endangering their own freedom. In the language of Lincoln, “those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under the rule of a just God cannot long retain it.”

Our forefathers enunciated this principle as the only true basis for all intercourse of men with one another, and they set it up as a standard for future generations to strive to live up to. The purpose of that part of the Declaration was so clearly and significantly expressed by Lincoln that I think I need make no apology for quoting him again, as follows: “The assertion that

all men are created equal was of no practical use in effecting our separation from Great Britain; and it was placed in the Declaration, not for that but for future use. Its authors meant it to be—as, thank God, it is now proving itself—a stumbling-block to all those who in after-times might seek to turn a free people back into the hateful paths of despotism. They knew the proneness of prosperity to breed tyrants, and they meant when such should reappear in this fair land, and commence their vocation, they should find left for them at least one hard nut to crack.” He was speaking particularly of the doctrines set up in defense of the extension of slavery in this country; but these were exactly the doctrines now set up in defense of imperialism—our new policy of “expansion.” Mark how completely his testimony applies to our present imperialistic enterprises. Mark how strenuously the projectors of these enterprises are striving to explain away the principle to which Lincoln refers.

Give him what degree of liberty you may, a dependent is a dependent still. Even the liberty that a subject may have under the most benevolent master is but a mockery of liberty. And the principle is the same in its application to both individuals and nations. Forcing another nation, or an embryo nation, into subjection is exactly the same in principle as it would be to reënslave the blacks of this country. The alleged benevolence of the governing nation justifies the relationship no more in the one case than the alleged benevolence of the masters would in the other. Liberty without independence is as a bird shorn of its wings—a poor, forlorn, dependent thing; a prepared victim for those who believe that the strong have a divine right to exploit the weak; and the plaything of every other form of paternalism begotten of self-conceit, or self-assumed authority.

Even the aim of all true charity and philanthropy is to encourage independence; to create in each individual a sense of personal responsibility—a desire to make his own way in the world; and to give him a free field for the exercise of his own best judgment. Nothing can beget independence but inde-

pendence. Dependence begets dependence, and nothing else. The helpfulness of brotherhood consists in helping one another to be independent; that is, it consists in helping each one to be free to live by his own ideals or conscientious conceptions of duty. This is the substance of independence. And this freedom to live up to one's own conceptions of duty is absolutely essential to the development of manhood. This is why doing unto others as you would have others do unto you is the panacea for all social ills. It places all on an equality in respect to the right to live by one's own judgment. It develops manhood, creates a sense of responsibility, and begets the wholesome satisfaction and strength of character that attend the conscientious fulfilment of apprehended duty. In a state of dependency the sense of responsibility—the essential factor of manhood—is necessarily suppressed and dwarfed; for here the ideals of a master are imposed, and the subject is in a great measure relieved from exercising his own judgment—and this naturally tends to make him grow careless about his ideals and the innate responsibilities of manhood.

For these reasons, in order to secure the greatest progress and prosperity, the people under any one system of government must be sufficiently homogeneous, in regard to ideals, enlightenment, and conceptions of duty, to permit all to be placed on a perfect equality in respect to the rights of citizenship. If two distinct groups of mankind, of widely different stages of civilization, are brought under the same system of government, it is evident that their radically different ideals will make a practical fulfilment of the same standard of citizenship impossible. To place all on an equality in respect to political privileges, under a republican form of government, would permit the least enlightened group to check the progress of the other, or, perhaps, overwhelm it by force of numbers. The alternative, in order to safeguard civilization, is to curtail the governmental power of the least enlightened group and thus make it dependent on the other. This not only deprives the lower group of healthful responsibility, but it also diverts the attention of those composing the higher from their own true ideals—and thus checks the advancement of both.

When such groups are already incorporated in such a way that it is impracticable to separate them, of course it is necessary to make the best of an undesirable situation. The best that can be done is to secure the improvement of the unenlightened group as rapidly as possible. But to bring such together when it can be avoided, or to make one subject to the other in the absence of dire necessity, especially to take pains to force them together, is nothing less than a crime.

Under normal conditions there is little or no danger from free immigration, because people are generally reluctant to expatriate themselves; and except in the settlement of new countries (which is generally by people who are sufficiently homogeneous) the changes of population from one nation to another are so gradual and comparatively so insignificant numerically that the immigrants, as a rule, are readily assimilated without political discrimination other than a period of probation. This is a very different matter from bringing distinct masses of people, requiring political discrimination, under the same system of government.

Even if *trade* is wanted, regardless of justice, humanity, and civilization, imperialism is what we still need to avoid. As already said, the Christian principle is also infinitely the most practicable basis for the promotion of commerce. Commercial intercourse is created by concord and friendship, and checked by force and the resentment and hatred that are the natural result of force. So far from requiring a policy of isolation and non-intercourse, practical Christianity removes the obstructions to intercourse. It creates brotherhood and friendship, and opens the way for instruction by kindness and forbearance, instead of creating distrust and aversion and closing the way for instructive intercourse by forcible intrusion and contemptible assumption of superiority.

England is the great exemplar of what may be called the modern or most refined conception of imperialism. And who will say that, if the English people had been as persevering in cultivating the friendship and gaining the confidence of the people of Asia and Africa and Europe as they have been in

slaughtering and subjugating those of Asia and Africa and in hectoring those of Europe, their trade with them would not be much greater and infinitely more profitable than it is? It is the profits alone, not the volume of trade, that give value to commerce. It must be remembered that England's nominal possessions, which are indisputably profitable to her, are in no proper sense a part of her imperial system. In regard to this matter, England is a two-faced nation. On the one side she has immense so-called colonies that are substantially independent nations; and her enormous trade with these and other independent nations, notably the United States, is the source of immense profit and prosperity—all of which has little or nothing in it pertaining to imperialism. On the other side she has a vast and heterogeneous array of conquered peoples, whom she rules as with a rod of iron (a "benevolent" rod of iron, on the whole, perhaps, as iron rods go, but still a rod of iron), and who submit to her rule only because resistance is hopeless. This side alone constitutes her contribution to the imperialism of the world. As a contribution to the strength of imperialism—to the principle of despotism and to human savagery in general—it is unquestionably great. As a contribution to anything that is really profitable, in any way or form, it is exceedingly small. Not only would the volume of trade probably be much greater without imperialism than with it, but the profits of the trade, under it, are necessarily mainly eaten up by the direct and indirect cost of maintaining the system. The direct cost, although enormous, is but small compared with the damage from indirect consequences. Incidentally, the Turks have been kept as an overpowering incubus on southeastern Europe and western Asia; Russia has been penned up, in a state of chronic wrath, without an adequate maritime outlet, and thus hampered in the development of her industrial resources; it has excited and perpetuated an insane rivalry, among the greater nations of Europe, to secure foreign dependencies—to the serious damage of every one of them; and it has been a chief cause of chronic turmoil, mutual jealousy, and oppressive militarism throughout

Europe. In short, improvement and the growth of commercial intercourse have been thereby checked in all the nations of Europe, whose increase in commerce under friendly relationships and peaceful development would have been worth many times more than the present commerce of all Asia, Africa, and Oceanica put together; whereas a Christian policy would have increased the commerce of Asia, Africa, and Oceanica also, both in volume and value. In its essential nature the whole transaction is about equivalent to killing the goose that would lay golden eggs, and keeping in its stead a caged pigeon.

It may safely be asserted that England's "Eastern policy" has been, and still is, an obstruction to the emancipation from despotism of the people of Europe and a blight to the welfare of the world. Yet it is to follow her example in maintaining such a system of destruction and folly that those now controlling the public policy of the United States are endeavoring to cut loose from the principles that have made this nation the vanguard of civilization and exalted it as a beacon of hope for the encouragement of all mankind.

The only redeeming feature of England's imperialism is that she implants her enlightened policy of free exchange wherever she has power to enforce it. But free trade is a natural adjunct of free institutions, and is really antagonized by imperialism. So that free trade, in connection with imperialism, is but building up directly with one hand and pulling down both directly and indirectly with the other. The people of England live and prosper by legitimate trade, which is based on the mutual needs of themselves and their customers, not on force. And they use a part of their profits in maintaining their "Eastern policy," or imperialism, as a gaudy pageant dedicated to the worship of jealousy and vainglory.

It is said that it is time for the United States to abandon the policy of isolation in order that we may become a "world Power." So far as the United States has been isolated by protective tariffs, the policy can be abandoned to great advantage. But so far as it has been due to republican institutions



being incompatible with the imperial institutions of the rest of the world it has been an advantage both to ourselves and the world at large. If by "world Power" is meant power to exert a beneficent influence upon the world, it only need be said that, up to the time of the present imperialistic infatuation, the United States was the greatest "world Power" that the earth has ever known. History may be searched in vain for another nation that has done so much to inspire mankind with hope and energy and to improve the condition of the human race. And the best we can do, in the future, either for ourselves or the world, is, not to forsake our standard and turn back to the degradation of militarism and despotism—which we, through stress and suffering, left behind us—but to press forward in the good work bequeathed to us by our fathers, and exalt our divine mission as a nation by exemplifying the principles of freedom and righteousness still more perfectly than ever before.

Let us always remember that the most abject of God's responsible creatures has an inalienable right to live up to his own highest conceptions of duty; that you may improve his ideals by persuasion and friendship, but you cannot do it by force; that to improve his condition you must improve his ability to judge correctly for himself, and make him more and more independent of the judgment of others; that connections in which practical independence, or a definite prospect of independence, is impossible should be avoided as you would avoid a calamity. If you destroy the prospect of independence, you may have the order that attends on discouragement; you may have the coöperation that comes of fear and abject submission; you may have the conformity that is begotten of hopeless hate and active hypocrisy; you may bestow railroads, telegraphs, telephones, and all the other outer garments of advanced civilization—and to the superficial observer everything may seem to flourish as willows by a stream of water: yet underneath it all there can be nothing but reaction—the decay and degeneration of manhood.

The assumption of superiority, or the self-assumed right to

control the destinies of others, never yet inspired any one to improve his condition or made a true friend for an individual or a nation. On the contrary, it has been an overshadowing curse to mankind from the beginning. Every active principle begets an increase of its own nature. Force begets nothing that is not of the nature of force, and can never be made the basis of civilization. While it may be justifiable as a protection against overt acts of injustice, it creates no virtue, and all beyond the bare requirements for protection is destructive. Brotherly kindness, Christ-like forbearance, a practical recognition of the right of each man and each nation or race of men to work out their destiny for themselves, between themselves and their Creator, and the elevating influence of a good example—these are the means ordained by God for the uplifting of humanity and for the promotion of true prosperity throughout the earth.

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## AMERICAN FINANCIAL AFFAIRS.

THE trend of modern civilization to circumvent as far as possible the operation of Nature's law of "the survival of the fittest" is nowhere more clearly demonstrated than in the financial world. Centralization of money, influence, and energy is the order of the day. Just as the labor unions protect the inferior workmen at the expense of those more skilful and efficient, so the methods now in vogue of controlling financial affairs for the benefit of all preserves the status of smaller institutions at an apparent cost to the larger ones. When looked at from a superficial point of view, this policy seems to be prompted in some measure by the generosity of the men who control large affairs and whose power is used in building up rather than tearing down even apparent rivals. In reality, however, a strain of selfishness runs through all the methods now pursued by those who control American finance. The vast business of the country is built upon credit; and a feeling of distrust that would naturally follow the destruction of small corporations engaged in the banking business or holding in trust the money of the public, either as stockholders or as depositors, would unsettle the whole commercial fabric.

Credit of such enormous proportions as now constitute the basis of all business must not be injured by shocks to public confidence. The ramifications of trade are limitless, extending to all parts of the world. Even the relatively small banks and banking firms draw bills of exchange, both foreign and domestic; and the system of credit is an endless chain, which is as strong as its weakest link except when for mutual protection the strength of all supports the feebler ones. In all money centers, the banking and financial interests are gradually becoming a unit, in which individual aggressiveness is being supplanted by the composite in which the ideas of the many have been harmonized into one machine-like activity. The main object is the preservation of credit, the avoidance of unnecessary competition, and the distribution of profits on legitimate

business in proportion to the amounts invested or represented in this community of interests. Perhaps the present tendency toward centralization and unity is the outgrowth indirectly of the great Baring failure, which unsettled business even in remote countries. Credits were then curtailed to an alarming extent, and the development of trade and industry, which had been moving like a fast express train over well-balanced tracks, began to jolt over obstacles that first retarded its speed and then brought everything to a standstill. The lesson was well learned. Now even the uninitiated can see the mutual protection that gives stability to financial enterprises of large or small caliber.

While it is true that large corporations are becoming larger, it does not follow that the small ones are becoming smaller. Such banks, for example, as the National City, the Hanover National, and the National Bank of Commerce of New York, have greatly increased their capital and enlarged their facilities. This is not because it is part of the plan of the managers of these institutions to force others to the wall, but simply because economies can be effected in operation and the trend of the times is toward larger capitalization, not for selfish ends but because the powerful institutions can throw the mantle of protection when needed around the weaker members of the financial community when threatened disaster might work harm to all. There has not been recently a single large enterprise negotiated in which a majority of the banking interests of Wall Street have not participated. This is naturally one of the outcomes of the present harmony. Of course, the larger institutions had more important connections with bond issues, refundings, conversions, etc., but profits have been divided on an equitable basis. Instead of one powerful house undertaking single-handed to carry through so important a financial deal as the refunding of the New York Central and Hudson River bonds, for example, all were invited to share in the risks and the profits of the transaction. One firm, or corporation, managed the enterprise, but the amount of money involved was contributed by a score or more of individual concerns, having no connection with one another except when

joining hands in some such negotiation. This has been a new era in American finance, and so many joint undertakings have been successfully and profitably carried through that the bonds of unity between great and small members of the financial family have been cemented into a friendship which in the old days of rivalry and bitter contests for supremacy would have been deemed impossible.

The securing of capital with which to start oppositions to existing companies, occupying any particular field, is no longer an easy matter—as the result of the protection that all banking interests attempt to give to vested rights. Not many years ago the building of parallel railroads was common, because the larger financial interests were constantly at war with one another, and money, which is the first requisite, could be easily obtained. The establishment of any successful corporation, in no matter what class of industry, was invariably the signal for the invasion of the field by others—upon the ground that where profit was accruing to one there was a chance for a division of the business with or without a sufficient volume of trade for both. Often these new rivals were started by unscrupulous persons, for the sole purpose of forcing the first occupant to buy out the newcomer. In seeking to secure a share of the patronage of the public there were bitter fights, which too often resulted in ruin for all concerned. Of course, there are some such “sore spots” now, but, with the exception of the competition in the Sugar trade and the proposed invasion of the territory of the Southern Railway by the Seaboard Air Line, the rivals in important trades or industries have been long established and the present competition has resulted from temporary misunderstanding. Now that the “strings of the money-bag” are more tightly fastened, these oppositions are carried on with more difficulty and the invaders receive scant sympathy from conservative interests.

Three cases in point are: the Seaboard Air Line, the Sugar competition above alluded to, and the more recent attempt to secure monetary aid by the Ogden Gas Company for the purpose of carrying on a war against the People's Gas Company

in Chicago. Although the memory of Wall Street is proverbially short, yet the suspension of the Produce Exchange Trust Company of New York and its subsequent rehabilitation occurred so recently and gave such a shock to confidence that it has not yet been forgotten. Many alleged reasons were given for this crash, the most generally accepted being the connection of the institution with the United States Flour and Milling Company. In reality, while this association was a costly one, the principal cause was the antagonism of banking interests generally to the financial assistance which the Produce Exchange Trust Company was giving to the Seaboard Air Line Syndicate, whose plans for a line in opposition to the Southern Railway threatened to unsettle the railroad situation in the South and lead to a division of business between two roads where there was not an excess volume for the existing one. The millions of dollars required for this enterprise could not be obtained in New York, the financial center of the country, simply because of the concerted opposition to ruinous warfare. The syndicate subsequently secured its financial backing in the city of Baltimore. Similar conditions developed when the Ogden Gas Company undertook to sell a block of ten million dollars of bonds, the proceeds to be used in extending its mains and increasing its plant in the Chicago Gas field. An appeal to banking interests for assistance in this enterprise met with flat failure. Capital in abundance was available for legitimate business ventures, but the composite mind now directing American financial affairs saw nothing inviting in this proposition. As far as the Sugar war is concerned, only private capital is invested in concerns that rival the American Sugar Refining Company; and there is scarcely a strong institution that would not welcome the settlement of a conflict that has thus far been costly to all concerned.

Stability of values and consequent safety for investors can be the only result of the present tendency to centralize power and prevent needless sacrifice of capital in ill-advised competitive undertakings. The poor man whose slowly accumulated competency is deposited in the savings banks can participate

to a degree in the benefits from this safeguarding of vested rights. Although he may not use his own judgment in making his investments—which is perhaps fortunate—yet the institution where his money is held in trust, operating under the strict laws that now regulate such depositories, has acquired bonds and interest-bearing securities that are the more valuable for the offensive and defensive alliance of the larger financial interests. The funds of widows and orphans are preserved by the unity of action that is now the paramount feature of the collective money power. The cost of production of necessary articles has been reduced, and, while held staple through apparent lack of competition, the tendency is to cut down the margin of profit in a ratio similar to the lower interest rates that prevail as the necessary sequence to the increased supply of basic money in the country. The transportation situation, which is affected in a striking degree by the fellowship of those in control of the great systems—a subject that will be taken up later—is made less complex; and the small shipper, being assured of the same rates as his more powerful neighbor, can estimate to a nicety the exact cost of receiving and distributing his goods. Credit, which underlies every enterprise, is not disturbed by serious and repeated upheavals, thus adding more security to the widely-diverging pursuits of an ever-restless and energetic nation, all of which, no matter how dissimilar, find a focusing point where the benefit of one makes for the good of all.

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## ENGLAND AS AN ALLY.

**M**OST of the current discussion of our national policy betrays a blurred vision of things and a weak grasp of sound principles. The proposal of an Anglo-American Alliance has called forth much flippancy on the one hand and spite on the other; but very little of weight has been said either for or against it. In contradiction to the prevailing opinion that *feeling* is a proper guide for national policy, the writer lays down the maxim that *national friendships are matters of sentiment; national alliances are matters of interest*. The proposed alliance is sadly in need of being regarded from the standpoint of interest, and it is this point of view that will be adopted in this paper.

The British Isles are inhabited by forty millions of energetic and enterprising people. These multitudes do not get their living from their territory, which is very far from being able to feed them, but employ their superior skill, organization, and machinery in producing immense masses of manufactured goods that are exchanged with the rest of the world for the necessities of life. Out of every six loaves they eat, five are made from grain brought from abroad. On a given date no less than one hundred and sixty-three vessels laden with cereals were found to be making for the ports of Great Britain. Of the meat consumed, one-third is of foreign origin. Forty per cent. of the butter, milk, and cheese is imported. Moreover, for the raw materials of her manufactures England is in many cases dependent on foreign supplies. All the cotton is brought in and nearly three-fourths of the wool.

This extreme dependence of England upon other lands for food and materials is of rather recent origin. Until nearly the middle of the century a rampart of customs duties was maintained in order to bar out the foreigner's breadstuffs and to keep British agriculture flourishing. The artificial stimulus had the effect of bringing the island to the summit of cultiva-



tion and of making the people almost self-sufficing. Even after the corn laws were repealed, the British farmer was still protected by the high cost of transportation. As late as the Crimean war England got five-sixths of her breadstuffs from her own soil. But the settlement of the world's back country, coupled with the steam transportation that permits the wheat of distant lands to be laid down in Liverpool cheaper than the British farmer can raise it, has undermined British agriculture till the soil of England no longer contributes what it might to the feeding of her sons. In twenty years more than two million acres have passed from under the plow and become pasture. In 1875 fifty-eight per cent. of the cultivated land was tilled; now only fifty per cent. England cannot go back to the corn laws, for since their repeal twelve million mouths have been called into being by the prosperity that free trade has brought. But so long as she adheres to her policy of non-interference the economic forces will continue to cut away the foundations of her agriculture and increase her dependence on the breadstuffs of distant lands.

The means by which England can induce other countries to hurry their provisions to her doors are the proceeds of British trade. The same process that has drafted men away from the land until agriculture receives only one-tenth of the total labor power has made this misty island in the northern seas the workshop of the world. In a thousand smoke-darkened industrial towns—busy as ant-hills, noisy with the hum and whirr of wheels—the cyclopean fingers of machinery shape the goods that England barter for her bread. From her ports pour unceasingly great streams of manufactured articles adapted to meet every want and suit every taste of man, whether civilized or savage. This national specialization has given rise to a volume of international exchanges such as the world has never seen before and may never see again. Only by the yearly movement of three and a half billions' worth of goods can England adjust her dealings with the rest of the world. The average British family imports \$275 worth of goods a year and exports \$145 worth, while the French family consumes

\$100 worth of foreign products, the German family \$115, and the American family \$50.

Twin to this unprecedented national specialization is the growth of British dominion. The Queen rules over four hundred millions of souls, or about one-fourth of the human race. In extent her possessions are three times the area of the United States including Alaska, and are nearly equal to the Russian and Chinese empires taken together. This vast domain has not been systematically built up or organized. It is the outcome not so much of far-sighted policy as of blind economic forces. Britain's land hunger has had two causes. It is partly due to the race fecundity that leaves a thousand more mouths in England every day, and that leads to the snatching up of fertile vacant spaces in the temperate zone in order that migrating Englishmen may remain under the Union Jack; and it is partly due to the need of controlling vast Oriental and tropical populations in order to develop a taste for British goods and build up a lucrative trade.

This market-winning motive has come to dominate in recent years. The old maxim that "trade follows the flag" has received a new meaning since protectionist nations have joined in the scramble for markets. It has been the liberal policy of free-trade England in all her Crown possessions to leave the door open to the goods of other nations. That this has not been seriously damaging to her trade is due to the prestige that dominion lends the British trader and to his own undiminished energy and enterprise. Her commercial rivals, on the other hand—France, Germany, and Russia—wall in every territory that comes into their hands with a tariff devised especially against the ubiquitous British goods. The necessity of keeping the yet-open markets out of the grasp of her illiberal rivals forces the pace of England's expansion and leads her to thwart when she can the schemes of the other Powers for territorial acquisition.

These two economic considerations, then—the need of lands for her surplus people and the need of markets for her surplus goods—have actuated England's restless "reaching" policy and

dictated the fierce tone she sometimes adopts. In spite of appearances the temper of England is pacific in the best sense. If her people are a "nation of shopkeepers," they are at least not a nation of swashbucklers. No European people is less enamored of fighting or less avid of military glory. England has harbored no designs of conquest and has not been lustful of dominion for dominion's sake. She loves peace because it agrees at once with her humanity and her prosperity, and it is the irresistible demands of her peculiar economic situation that have given her a name for haughtiness and truculence.

Within the last fifteen years, however, these purely practical motives to expansion have been aided by a force of another kind, namely, the Imperial Idea. The English people are gradually coming to see, in their "dominion over palm and pine," not mere present easement and profit, but the assurance of their primacy in the final allotment of the planet among the great branches of the human race. It is dawning upon them that, just as the epoch of great exploration is about to close, so the era of great territorial expansion is nearing its end. For perhaps the last time in the history of the globe the waste and backward lands are being peaceably divided. The outlying regions of the earth are being swiftly brought under the sway of an intelligent, equipped, masterful civilization, and ere long the process must cease for lack of more material.

These thoughts coming upon the heels of their amazing success in self-aggrandizement have fired the British imagination with the most colossal dream that a race has ever conceived—the dream that the eventual guidance of the destinies of the human race is to be in the hands of the Anglo-Saxon; that the world's speech is to be the language of Shakespeare; that the tall, blonde, high-bred sons of England are for all time to rule and dispense justice over men, black, yellow, and brown, just as Brooke and Gordon and Cromer have done it in our day. This intoxicating vision, more lordly than any that ever visited the captains of Alexander as they ranged from the Hellespont to the Indus, and from the Indus to the

Nile, is seizing upon the English people and may yet lead them to ruin—as France was led to ruin by Napoleon's visions of universal empire.

However high flames her imperial ambition, the cool observer must recognize that England has before her a critical period—all the more critical because of this ambition. If the headship of the human race is to be hers, she is now about to traverse the most dangerous portion of her path to that hegemony. At present the British Empire embraces not only flourishing self-governing colonies, but a great number of newly-won, ill-compacted, and poorly-defended possessions that multiply the responsibilities of England without adding to her strength to bear them. In other words, the power of the Empire has by no means kept pace with its bulk.

In time, no doubt, the parts of Great Britain will unite and guard the central hearth of the English race. The growing loyalty of the colonies forbids us to believe that the British Empire is fated to fall apart into independent States. Imperial federation is in the air, and we cannot doubt that the British possessions are destined in time to be built into the most stupendous political edifice ever reared by man. But not less than twenty or twenty-five years must elapse before the power of England's scions shall be such that, banded with her, they can defy the world. In the meantime her colonies are weak and cannot defend themselves; her dependencies, like India and Egypt, are a burden to her; and so the forty millions in the British Isles must meet the enemy in the gate alone and fight their own battles. Their strength does not exceed the strength of non-imperial people, while their burden is greater.

This, then, is the critical period through which England must pass. A space of at least twenty years divides her from safety. It will take two decades for the cement of Empire to harden, and ere that time elapses the colossus may lie in ruins.

One peril that threatens England is a struggle with either of the two great land Powers contiguous to her possessions—the United States and Russia. In case of war, England could, of course, inflict vast damage upon us. But in the end we

would shatter her Empire by seizing all the British North American possessions. Such a conflict lies, however, beyond the range of practical possibility, as it is opposed to both the sentiments and the interests of the two nations.

The other Power that could shatter the British Empire is Russia. If unquestioned sea power is the prerogative of England, irresistible land power is no less the appanage of Russia. Her huge bulk, far from showing signs of falling apart, is steadily being compacted and unified. Armed with the engines of civilization and animated with a zeal for dominion as ardent as that of the Briton, the Muscovite seems determined to make himself sooner or later master of all the contiguous land to the east of him—of all Asia, in fact. With the Trans-Siberian Railroad soon to pour innumerable Cossack soldiers into the Far East, it is certain that the power of Russia in the Orient will in the coming years increase faster than the power of England possibly can; and the day will arrive when England must stake every inland rood she owns in Asia on the issue of a struggle with the Northern Colossus. India, of course, organized and officered from the West, could defend herself from invasion if she wished. But the sullen, secret straining of the Hindu against the British *raj* forbids us to expect that at the critical hour the manhood of India will fly to the aid of Tommy Atkins.

The second danger to England lies in a hostile coalition. Her multifarious enterprises in all parts of the world have made her averse to alliances. She has wished to play her game alone, so as to have all the winnings. Shrewdly keeping her hands free from all entangling alliances, she hoped to be able to snatch the best posts and lands while the Continental Powers were locked in a mutual animosity. This policy succeeded brilliantly for a time; but one rash move—the Jameson raid—betrayed her game and turned the jealous eyes of her rivals upon her. The spring of 1896, when, as an English friend put it, "England got an ultimatum every morning by post," revealed the risks of a "splendid isolation." It was then evident that she had neglected to make allies, while

by her greed, enterprise, and success she had alienated her natural friends.

Flying squadrons intimidated her enemies then; but it is certain that the danger of a hostile coalition has not passed away. The German government is now affable; but the war of vituperation that followed the Kaiser's telegram to Kruger and the growing commercial rivalry have produced among the Germans a deep detestation of England. There is no doubt that Germany will act with the foes of Great Britain whenever there is a fair prospect of stripping her of her possessions. As regards France, no one who was there during the Fashoda affair doubts that the French cherish a lasting resentment, which will lead them to strike England whenever a favorable opportunity presents itself. The recent commercial treaty with Italy bespeaks the *rapprochement* of the two Latin Powers; while the many courtesies the Kaiser has lately showered upon the French navy show his sincere desire to heal the old feud. In France the wisdom of foregoing "the revenge" is now openly discussed, and the hand of death is constantly stilling the protests of those who remember *l'année terrible* of 1871.

A Continental coalition might not, like the United States or Russia, tear away some vital portion of the British Empire; but it would be formidable by its power to throttle British commerce. Dependence upon foreign breadstuffs is the Achilles tendon of England. France or Hungary has no "silver streak" to secure her from invasion, but she is compensated by land connections with an entire continent. The United States, though all her ports were sealed, might still go her way feeding herself from her own fields. Not so England: neglecting agriculture, she has specialized up to the full demands of economic forces; she has committed herself unreservedly to the policy of living by enormous exchanges with foreigners. France has protected and fostered her agriculture, unwilling to become dependent on over-sea supplies. Germany has done the same. England, by resorting habitually to over-sea lands for food and raw materials, has increased her wealth at the expense of her security. Two months' stoppage of the importations of

foreign wheat would reduce the daily rations of the people to one-fourth of what is now required. The country is an impregnable but unprovisioned fortress. It is this that compels England to starve elementary education in order to build battle-ships. She aims to keep her navy superior to any two that might attack her—talks even of matching any three; but her navy does not grow as fast as the hostility she excites. A nation that has as much to dread from a mere blockade as another nation from the much vaster undertaking of invasion can purchase safety only by moderation.

This, then, is the kernel of the situation. Except in the Balkans, the national boundaries on the Continent are now relatively fixed; the alliances and the arbitration arrangements guarantee the peace of Europe; the Powers occupied with colonial expansion have ceased to tear at each other. And yet, at the very moment her rivals have sunk their quarrels, England, giddy with her imperial dream, becomes more than ever high-handed and masterful. Is it likely that the fifty millions of the English race in Great Britain and her colonies will realize before it is too late the necessity of contenting themselves with a more modest share in the division of the planet?

No doubt among those "that drive the steeds of empire" are men who see the perils of the near future as clearly as any on-looker can. England's wonderful record of intelligent self-aggrandizement under the oligarchy that has guided her course certainly inspires confidence in the sagacity of her governors. But it is a question if the line of wise and wary statesmen is not dying out. The old social organization of England is now threatened by the devouring waves of democracy. The Lords, the unpaid Commons, the Church, the Landed Interest, the Church School—upon all these pillars of the social edifice Demos bows himself. The alarmed Tories feel that their only hope is a "spirited" foreign policy. Must we not, then, look for a race of "jingo" statesmen who will seek to captivate the blind Samson—reckless Disraelis and Chamberlains and Roseberrys who will court the favor of the galleries with a dazzling but dangerous imperialism?

From a nation in this critical situation, craving support amid gathering hostile forces, we receive overtures that have not been without an echo on this side of the water. The very circumstances of these advances should make us cool and cautious in meeting them. This new warmth of friendliness does not emanate from that democratic part of English society which has always been disinterestedly friendly toward the United States, but rather from the army, the navy, and the aristocracy that has always detested our principles and grudged us our success. Moreover, it comes after our course in the Venezuelan affair had upset England's plans for Armenia, and at a time when her need of a friend has become painfully and keenly felt.

In the light of the foregoing exposé look at the naked import of the suggested partnership. Now that *we* have finished our ticklish tight-rope performance in the international arena, we have little need for a helping hand. We have few perils and no bitter enemies. Behind a thousand leagues of foam we sit secure on our continent. The proffered alliance, then, means that we should leave our snug retreat in order to pitch our tent in front of the shotted guns of international jealousy and ill will that frown upon England. Enmeshing the globe in her network of interests, England has at least six occasions for dispute to one of ours. A fine bargain she will make by covenanting to help us fight our battles if we help her fight *her* battles! As sheriff of the planet, the Briton has made too many enemies to constitute a safe partner for the peace-loving, home-keeping Americans. In the end it will prove far cheaper for us to build the ships we need than to accept England's help along with England's risks. It cannot pay us to ally ourselves with her unless we are about to embark on the same hazardous business of land-grabbing and world-policing.

A friendship is a matter of sentiment; an alliance is a matter of interest. The identity of the English with the American people in language, literature, law, religion, and personal ideals constitutes a firm basis for a national friendship. The immense economic contrast between insular England and continental



America forbids an alliance. Be it our care, then, to cherish this friendship without compromising ourselves in an alliance. An Anglo-American partnership would not add one whit to England's security. It would be instantly capitalized by the British "jingo" and used as an excuse for abandoning that caution by which alone she can traverse her mined pathway. But a good-will that England can rely on only when her cause is just or her need is sore cannot be capitalized for aggression.

The great desideratum is therefore an Anglo-American good understanding. We should uproot the old-time hostility inspired by school histories. We should meet the English half way in all friendly sentiment. We should beware of standing with a great illiberal despotism like Russia at a time when the conflict between the principle of authority and the principle of freedom is entering upon an acute phase. We should even act in concert with England, Japan, and Germany to protect stranded China from Russian aggression until, like Japan or Siam, she can get into the current of progress. But let us not for an instant leave our secure dooryard to go out upon the slender, swaying foot-bridge that the Briton must cross ere he can set foot on firm ground. It would be stark madness to lock arms with him on his perilous path at a time when his brain reels and his eye is dim with the intoxicating draught of imperialism. If he reaches solid earth again, we may fare on with him. If not—well, he may be glad there is a friend on the bank to throw him a rope.

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## CONGRESS OR PARLIAMENT?

THERE has been much adverse criticism of late years, by students of political science, of the legislative system that prevails under our Federal government. This criticism has taken the form especially of comparisons between the English Parliament and the United States Congress—much to the disparagement of the latter body. The chief grounds of such adverse criticisms of Congress have been these: (1) There is not enough deliberation and discussion of measures. A bill is either buried in committee and never discussed at all, or else it is passed by each House merely because a committee has reported it favorably, and not because full and fair debate shows it to be meritorious. (2) There is no connection between the legislative and executive branches of the government; hence they do not work together harmoniously. An executive department may, on investigation, find that legislation of a certain character is necessary for the good of the public service, and yet Congress will deliberately pass legislation of the very opposite character. (3) Our legislation lacks unity and cohesiveness as a whole. Bills emanate from hundreds of different sources, and are passed haphazard, without being governed by any well-defined general policy.

There is one fundamental error underlying all these criticisms: they are theoretical and deductive, instead of being practical and inductive. They are based on the theory of our government as revealed by the Constitution, instead of the actual working of the government under the Constitution. Their authors have studied the general system of legislation in Congress, and from this study have deduced certain conclusions that naturally ought to follow from such a system. But material facts and actual conditions that might influence these conclusions have been entirely overlooked. As a matter of fact the Constitution and rules of Congress have developed results entirely different from those we should reasonably ex-

pect. As a result of this lack of practical study of our legislative system, it has been assumed that what is good for Great Britain is good for the United States. The radical and fundamental differences between this huge country, with its many complex interests, and the little islands of Great Britain, with their homogeneous population and industries, have not been considered. It is known that the general methods of business in Parliament and Congress are the same, and hence it is assumed that the results should be the same.

It is my desire in this article not to heap indiscriminate praise upon our government simply because it is American, but merely to present the actual facts and conditions and show how they influence the practical operation of our Federal legislature. The first and most fundamental fact that bears on this question is one that critics of our government seem never to have considered in a practical way. It is the great and essential difference between the United States and Great Britain. The physical character of the two countries is different, their interests are different, and their people are different. And these differences are such as materially to influence the whole legislative systems of the two nations. The most important result of these differences is to throw upon the United States Congress an amount of work far in excess of that required of the British Parliament. Our great and varied extent of territory and the consequent multitude and complexity of our interests make this inevitable. Nothing will cause us to realize how widely apart are the two legislatures, as regards the amount of business they have to transact, than to look for a moment at the official records of Congress and Parliament. These show the remarkable fact that, whereas the number of bills introduced in Parliament in two years is about 1,000, the number introduced in Congress in the same period is about 15,000!

We need only to consider specifically some of the differences between the two countries to understand fully why the measures presented to Congress exceed so greatly those that come before Parliament. In the first place, the average American

interests himself in his government far more than does the average Englishman. The tie between a Congressman and the people of his district or State is much closer and stronger than that between a member of Parliament and his constituents. The result is that Representatives and Senators are called upon to introduce a great many bills that an Englishman would never think of asking his Member to present to Parliament. And the introduction of measures in the British Parliament is further restricted by certain rules that Congress would not be allowed by the people to make.

The geographical differences between the two countries are most important. The great extent of our territory gives rise to an immense number of bills on public lands, railroads, rivers, and harbors. For the public lands there must be laws and regulations. Provision must be made for their acquisition by individuals, either by purchase or settlement. From time to time, Territories must be organized and complete local governments established, and eventually there must be legislation providing for the admission of these Territories as States. Some of the most important legislation in the history of our country has been of this character. The Missouri Compromise, the Compromise of 1850, and the Kansas-Nebraska act are notable instances. The huge network of railways that spreads over the United States has provided Congress with many a troublesome problem to solve. The regulation of passenger and freight traffic, including the subjects of pooling and differential rates, the restriction and control of monopolies through the jurisdiction Congress exercises over the interstate commerce, and all the similar questions arising therefrom, consume a large part of the time of each Congress; yet they are still far from being satisfactorily settled. All this Great Britain necessarily escapes to a greater degree. Our navigable rivers and our accessible seacoast exceed in extent those of any other nation except Russia; consequently, we require more maritime legislation than any other nation. The foreign commerce of Great Britain far exceeds ours in amount; still, even a small foreign trade requires almost the same kind

and amount of legislation as does a larger trade of a similar character. What determines chiefly the amount of maritime legislation required is not the amount of maritime business, but the complexity of it. Great Britain's maritime business consists almost entirely of foreign trade; while ours embraces, besides the foreign trade, a vast amount of coast and river commerce. In addition to the regulation of commerce, our waterways require a great deal of legislation to maintain them—to make the rivers navigable and to keep them so, and to dredge harbors and make them accessible.

At one time our manufacturing industries were insignificant compared to those of Great Britain. But now they are not only as extensive as those of the mother country but are far more varied and complex. They require not only more legislation but also legislation that necessitates more time and trouble properly to prepare. Furthermore, the character of our industrial development has been such that one of our great political parties has advocated and put into operation, whenever in power, a system of protection and encouragement to manufacturers resulting in legislation that has occupied the chief time of many Congresses.

The supreme importance of our agricultural industries has necessitated legislation of which Great Britain has had no need. The British farmers are few in number, and are all engaged in about the same class of farming. In the United States we have immense areas of wheat and corn; we have broad prairies devoted solely to cattle-raising; we have rice-fields and sugar-plantations, "truck" farms, and great forests. And our agricultural legislation is similarly varied and complex.

The United States has had a great civil war, which, even after the completion of reconstruction and the final settlement of all the immediate war questions, has left Congress burdened with an immense amount of pension and war-claim business.

Even the very climate of the United States demands more legislation than that of Great Britain. The English climate is steady and uniform, varying but little the year round. In the United States we have weather more extreme and variable

than that of any other country, not excepting even Russia. Some of our States have torrid heat in summer and bitter cold in winter; and, worst of all, the changes are often extremely sudden. Thus in Missouri, which is a fairly central and typical part of our country, the range of temperature at one place during the single month of February, 1899, was 105 degrees (Fahrenheit). Such weather, unless it can be foreseen, is almost fatally destructive to agricultural industries. As a result of these climatic conditions, the United States Weather Bureau has been established and is being constantly enlarged and extended by the government.

From the fact that our interests requiring legislation are so much greater and more varied than those of Great Britain it necessarily follows that our governmental machinery is larger and itself requires more legislation. Thus our Post Office Department, with its immense service, the Treasury Department, with our varied revenue laws and currency systems, the Interior Department, and the Agricultural Department all greatly exceed in size and complexity similar departments in the British government.

To all this Great Britain presents only one important offset. That is her colonial and war legislation. But this is less than would appear at first glance. The colonies have so much self-government that the supervision of the mother country is comparatively slight; while our military and naval forces are constantly requiring an increased amount of legislation, which is bringing us much nearer Great Britain in this respect. Yet, estimating British colonial and war legislation at the greatest reasonable amount, it is still obvious that the amount of such legislation falls far short of that which is thrown upon Congress and not upon Parliament.

Such is the situation to-day: Congress is confronted with an amount of business far in excess of that presented to the British Parliament. What is to be done? Shall Congress decide to retain the full deliberation and discussion that prevail in Parliament, thereby leaving undone nine-tenths of its business, and then sit back and view with equanimity the in-

evitably disastrous results that will follow? Or shall it meet the situation fairly and sensibly, and endeavor to enact the legislation needed by the country in the most efficient and practical way possible? I do not believe any one would hesitate a moment in deciding which of these measures Congress should adopt; and Congress itself certainly has not hesitated.

In the early years of our nation's history, the legislation we required was similar in amount and character to that required by Great Britain; and the parliamentary procedure in Congress and Parliament was practically the same. But as the business of Congress increased in amount it required new and more efficient methods to transact it. Such methods Congress adopted as the necessity arose. The first new method increasing the lawmaking capacity of Congress was through committees. When each House found that it could not, as a body, investigate in detail all the proposed legislation, it proceeded to delegate such investigation to committees composed of individual members. Each committee would examine the bills referred to it and report them back to the House, with such information as would enable that body to consider them intelligently and decide whether to pass them or not. Or, if a committee decide against a bill, the usual course is simply not to report the bill back to the House at all. Thus, as a rule, only bills favorably considered by the committees are reported back to the House for its action. With the help of its committees, the Senate is thus enabled to handle nearly all the bills presented to it. But in the House, even after the committees have reported only the most meritorious bills, there still remain more of these measures than the House has time to consider; consequently, the House has had to employ an additional agent and to delegate to him the investigation of the bills reported by the committees. This additional agent is the Speaker, and, through the curious operation of certain rules of the House, he decides which bills shall be considered and acted upon by the House. In this way, by means of its committees, and in the House of Representatives with the help of the Speaker, Congress is able to pass substantially the best part of all proposed legislation that deserves to be passed.

Under these circumstances there is not the same fulness of discussion of measures by Congress that there is in Parliament. But, in the first place, this is obviously more or less a necessary evil, arising from the great amount of business Congress has to consider; in the second place, there is no real lack of discussion and debate. The fact is simply that this debate cannot take place before the House as a whole. In the committees there is full and ample discussion of the measures before them; and it is that ideal form of discussion, too, which is informal, detailed, and thoroughly practical. The charge that bills are often "buried" in committees is true; but there can be no objection to this. If a committee of one of the Houses does not think favorably enough of a bill even to report it, surely the House itself would not think enough of it to pass it. To this rule, of course, there are occasional exceptions; but they are rare. The charge that legislation is often "hurried" is also true. But, in the first place, the evil results of this are not many or serious; for every non-partizan measure is always carefully considered in committee and usually approved by the whole committee—while party legislation is usually so important that a fair amount of debate is given to it in the whole House. In the second place, even if legislation is hurried, what shall Congress do about it? Abandon nine-tenths of it, as has been suggested before? We must remember that Congress is not responsible for the magnitude and complexity of our interests and the great amount of legislation they necessarily require. Aside from all these considerations, the truth is that long "debates" in the House and Senate are rarely productive of much practical result in the voting. Their chief value is to keep the people informed as to the course of legislation; and that debate is always ample enough to accomplish this, no one can doubt who has ever seen the immense amount of speeches and extracts from the *Congressional Record* that are sent out every year, especially before an election. The practical and valuable discussion occurs in the committees and in the short debates before the whole House.



Let us look now at the two other defects charged to the United States government—lack of connection between the Executive and the Legislature, and lack of unity in our legislation. The Constitutional separation of the executive departments and Congress has been made much of. It is shown that the British Premier is both the executive and legislative leader of the country; that he can arrange a systematic course of legislation, and then go into Parliament and fight for it and see that it passes the two Houses; and that he can carry out this legislation in the manner he intended. But here, it is claimed, there is practically no connection whatever between the Executive and the Legislature; that the President and his Cabinet may recommend certain bills they deem most expedient to be passed, but they are utterly helpless in having these bills enacted into law; that not only are the executive and legislative chiefs not the same person, but that we really have no legislative chief—that there is no recognized leader in Congress with whom the President can confer, but only a multitude of committees, each independent of the others and all often working in opposite directions.

But, actually and practically, there is a very great and close connection between the executive and legislative departments of our Federal government. To begin with, there is a recognized leader in both halls of Congress. In the House of Representatives the Speaker is the acknowledged head of his party, and controls practically all the debatable legislation that comes before that body. A strong Speaker can rule the House almost completely. He and the President are usually of the same party, and they can consult each other freely about legislation. When they have agreed as to the best legislation to be enacted, the Speaker can have such legislation passed in the House, and when it has passed the Senate the President can put it into operation in the manner originally determined. In the Senate there are not so many bills and such confusion as there are in the House, and there is no need of a leader with the great and arbitrary power possessed by the Speaker. The Speaker's place in the Senate is occupied to a certain extent by a small "steering committee" composed of the most influ-

ential members of the dominant party and elected by its caucus. With this committee the President can consult and arrange legislation as he does in the House of Representatives. But, on the whole, there is no need in the Senate for the "steering committee;" for the Senators are so few in number that it is entirely practicable for the active, influential members of the dominant party to consult together and arrange the course of legislation without the need of any given leaders. And with these influential Senators the President can confer as freely and conveniently as he can with the Speaker of the House.

That the President cannot personally go upon the floors of Congress and support the measures he recommends is true; but that this is the disadvantage it has been alleged to be is far from the truth. The support of the Executive in behalf of legislation is chiefly valuable in the case of bills dealing with the various executive departments. In the United States these measures consist of the general appropriation bills, which not only appropriate money for the maintenance of all the Departments but also include practically all the other general legislation affecting them. The usual course pursued in the enactment of these bills into law is about as follows: The head of each Department submits to Congress a report embodying his estimates and recommendations in regard to the legislation for that Department. With these reports before them, the Appropriations Committees then prepare the bills. On the whole, the committees follow the recommendations contained in the reports; and if these recommendations do not seem wise or are not thoroughly understood, the Secretaries and other Department officers are sent for to explain and support their recommendations. In this way there are thorough discussion and debate between Congress and the Executive on all the important parts of these general appropriation bills.

Besides the support the Executive can thus exert in behalf of bills for the various Departments, he can wield a most powerful influence over any and all legislation he may favor. This can be done in several ways. In the first place, the President is the acknowledged head of the government and the accepted leader of his party. For this reason his very recommendations

themselves, aside from any support he can give them, are of great weight with many members of Congress. In the second place, the President always has in each House his own intimate friends, who represent him and fight for the measures he advocates. Mr. Cleveland's second administration furnished many examples of the power of the President when he chooses to exert it in this way. During the consideration of the Democratic tariff act of 1894, when the bill had passed both Houses and was before the conference committee for the adjustment of the differences between the House and Senate, the President impressed his views so thoroughly upon the House conferees that the advocates of the Senate bill called them "the conferees on the part of the President." In the previous session of this same Congress, during the fight on the unconditional repeal of the Sherman coinage law, the Democrats in the Senate had practically unanimously agreed on a compromise for which they could all consistently vote. But this was rejected by President Cleveland; and, in the face of the general sentiment for it, he was (by means of the influence he could exert through his friends and followers in the Senate) able to defeat it and finally to force the unconditional repeal he desired. In the third place, the influence the President can exercise over legislation through the patronage at his disposal is always considerable and may be extremely great. In its barest terms, this is simply the gift by the President of certain appointments to members of Congress in return for the members' votes on certain bills. That such a state of affairs exists is not to our credit, but it is true; and, while it may not be a connection between the Executive and the Legislature that should exist, still it does exist in this country, just as it does in England, and it enables the Executive to influence legislation as he thinks best.

There is one feature of the preparation of legislation in which the British system is much inferior to ours. In Great Britain all the important legislation, including that which is absolutely non-partizan, is prepared by a ministry composed entirely of members of one party. With us, all legislation, both partizan and non-partizan, is prepared by committees that

include members of both parties. And in all the details of this preparation, except in the purely partizan features, the minority members of the committees do nearly as much work and have nearly as much influence as the majority members. In this way many defects in bills are cured and many improvements made that could not be brought about under the British system.

"The great and deplorable lack of unity in the legislation of the United States Federal government is almost obvious." Such has been the criticism of some eminent authorities in political science. Attention is called to the fact that in Great Britain all important legislation comes from one source and is arranged to fit together into one consistent whole. But in the United States it is shown that legislation emanates from three hundred and fifty-seven sources in the House of Representatives and ninety in the Senate; that there is no general ministry with power to unify this legislation, as does the British ministry, and that therefore such legislation must necessarily consist of bills passed at haphazard and without any homogeneity. Theoretically, such a conclusion should follow from the premises given above; but in practise it does not follow: for this whole argument unfortunately omits certain premises consisting of certain practises in Congress, which are not generally known to exist and whose importance is not realized, but which nevertheless do exist and are of great importance. These practises are such as each House has found best adapted to its purposes, and their effect is to avoid nearly all the evils alleged to exist in our legislative system.

Now, the fact that our legislation emanates from so many different sources has many merits that are clear and indisputable, while its disadvantages are almost completely overcome by certain of these Congressional practises mentioned above. For any ministry, small enough to be efficient, to prepare and present to Congress all the important legislation needed in our fifty States and Territories would be utterly beyond its capacity. No ministry could have sufficient knowledge of all the widely varying and complex conditions prevailing in the many different parts of the country to accomplish

such a work successfully. But under our system each Senator and each Representative of a district and each Delegate from a Territory can submit the particular proposed legislation which, from his intimate acquaintance with his constituents, he thinks would be best for their interests. The disadvantages of this system are cured by the unity that Congress is able to give to that part of the proposed legislation which is finally enacted into law. Each House gives this unity to legislation in a different way. In the Senate it is accomplished partly through "caucuses" of the dominant party and the "steering committee" appointed by the caucus, and partly through private discussion among the most influential Senators. In this way the legislation that passes the Senate is made amply consistent and homogeneous.

Even a greater unifying force is exerted over legislation in the House than in the Senate. This force is the Speaker. At the very beginning of the session he maps out and determines a large part of the legislation of the Congress by means of his committee appointments. The Speaker appoints all the committees of the House, and each committee he can, and usually does, make up of men who are either in favor of the measures he advocates or will favor such measures as he suggests.\* Then during each session the Speaker can control the more important legislation through the power of his Committee on Rules. This committee was given the power it now holds by Mr. Reed in the Fifty-first Congress. It was strengthened by Speaker Crisp in the Fifty-second Congress, and is now an extremely powerful legislative weapon. Through its authority the Speaker selects the bills he thinks should pass, and has them voted on at any given day and hour he may name; and the minority is utterly powerless to prevent such a vote being taken. The less important legislation the Speaker dominates during the sessions of Congress chiefly by means of his control over "the floor," which he possesses

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\*In the Senate a similar unifying force is given to legislation through committee appointments, which are made at the beginning of each Congress by the Senate itself, but acting usually under the recommendations of the "steering committee" of the party in power.

by means of certain rules of the House. Of course, the Speaker is limited to the same extent as is the British Premier: he cannot force through legislation to which a majority of the House is opposed.

Besides the general unity given to legislation by the Speaker and the leaders in the Senate, additional cohesiveness is given to that particular part of legislation which most demands it—the great bills providing for the maintenance and regulation of the governmental machinery: the general appropriation bills. In both the Senate and the House these bills all come under the jurisdiction of a single committee. This committee thus overlooks the whole field of proposed legislation for the various parts of the government, and sees to it that such legislation is consistent and harmonious. It is true that in the United States the unity of the legislation of a Congress may be greatly marred by the House and the Senate being controlled by different political parties. But this always insures safe and conservative lawmaking, and never deprives us of legislation soberly and firmly demanded by the people; while there is nothing in our government to disturb the harmony of legislation, as there is in Great Britain in the anomalous House of Lords.

The great fault of our Federal legislature is one that as yet does not seem to be clearly perceived. It is that *Congress attempts to do too much*. The amount of business that must come before it is too great to allow our legislation to attain the most perfect character; and this fault, I believe, can be corrected. Nevertheless, it is not a fault of our legislative system. Given this great amount of business, our methods enable Congress to handle it most admirably and efficiently. The separation of the Executive and the Legislature, the lack of some one legislative leader, the lack of much deliberation and discussion—all these are faults based on incomplete theories of our government, and not on facts. A practical examination and study at first hand of our Congressional system will show, I believe, that it is the very best we could adopt to meet the actual conditions now existing. EWING COCKRELL.

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## SHOULD OUR MARINE BE SUBSIDIZED?

NOT since the civil war has there been such widespread interest in our marine as is manifested to-day. A considerable body of our people are clamoring for aid to this industry, especially through Congressional enactment. That the marine should be further protected is usually postulated on the assumption that our early marine was due to such measures. It is the purpose of the present article to investigate this claim closely and critically, as well as to consider the present condition of this industry.

In order to determine the effect of our past policies, and to show what forces operated to cause the growth and decline of our carrying trade, it is necessary to give a brief history of our merchant marine from the commencement of the government to the present time.

Previous to the Revolutionary war, the Americans were permitted as English colonists to export and import colonial products in American ships. By this means they had built up a large trade with the English colonies, especially with Canada and the West Indies. But the Americans, being a maritime people, desired greater privileges than were afforded by the rigid navigation laws of Great Britain; and as French, Dutch, and Spanish colonies offered an inviting field for commercial activity, infractions of the English laws became very common. The effort of the mother country to enforce the restrictions was one of the prime causes of the Revolution.

From 1783 to 1789, commerce was regulated by the several States. But these laws lacked uniformity, and commerce declined. The need of uniform laws was recognized, and therefore the regulation of commerce was delegated to Congress. The first question discussed when Congress convened in 1789 was, how to promote the American carrying trade. As early as 1783, Washington had declared to the world that if any nation or nations would give the United States reciprocity in shipping, the same privileges in American ports would be ex-

tended. Protection to shipbuilding was not considered, for ships could be built more cheaply in the United States than in any other country. Said the *Pennsylvania Packet*, a leading journal of that time, in giving a review of commerce and industry: "The cost of an oak ship in New England is about 24 Mexican dollars per ton fitted for sea, while a fir vessel costs in the ports of the Baltic 35 Mexican dollars per ton, though the American vessel is much safer and more durable." In the debates in Congress the American advantage in cheap construction was not disputed.

It is asked, Then why did our government discriminate by levying a duty of 10 per cent. on goods imported in foreign vessels? Because, with independence in 1783, the privileges the colonists had enjoyed in shipping were withdrawn. Our exports to British colonies had to be carried in British ships, thus excluding our vessels from this trade. Moreover, all the leading European nations maintained prohibitions and discriminations against foreign ships. It was to overcome those burdens and force reciprocity in shipping that the United States levied her discriminating duties. Said Representative Benjamin Goodhue in 1789: "There would be no occasion to lay additional duties on foreign ships if our own vessels were not subjected to charges in foreign ports over and above what the natives pay. It is the operation of this unequal burthen that makes it necessary for us to discriminate."

Differential tonnage taxes and the discriminating duties were passed in July, 1789. So far as those acts operated to overcome the disadvantages placed upon us by foreign nations, the discriminating-duty policy was beneficial; but it is erroneous to conclude that the steady increase in our tonnage and commerce was due in any great degree to those duties. A large part of our trade was with England, upon which we levied the discriminating duties; but England shortly afterward imposed a countervailing duty, thus neutralizing the effect of the measure as a method of retaliation. Henceforth our policy was to secure a repeal of the English navigation laws. By the treaty of 1815 both countries removed the duties on goods im-



ported in ships engaged in direct trade. This was done with the hope that England would allow our vessels to carry our exports to her colonies, but this she refused. Fifteen years later those restrictions were partially removed, but it was not until 1849 that American ships were granted equal privileges in all English ports. Similar treaties embodying the principles of reciprocity were negotiated by the United States with other nations, most of them being concluded before 1849. To-day, thirty-two such treaties exist.

Let us now consider the increase in our tonnage and commerce up to that time. The discriminating duties went into effect late in August, 1789. The tonnage credited for that year is given as 123,000, but that represents only the amount that entered during the remaining four months. The tonnage for 1790 was 340,000. In Pitkin's Statistics the amount of American tonnage in foreign trade in 1789 is given as about 330,000. These figures, therefore, effectually disprove the arguments of those who compare the tonnage for 1789 and 1790, and maintain that the apparent increase of 200,000 tons was the result of the discriminating-duty policy. Up to the close of the century, the marine, in common with other industries, enjoyed a healthy growth—due largely to the adoption of the Constitution, which delegated the regulation of commerce to Congress.

From 1793 to 1815, the Napoleonic wars continued in Europe with more or less intensity. The United States being an isolated and neutral Power, much of the carrying trade was thrown into the hands of the American shipowners. How important this was to the marine interests is shown by the fact that the amount of products of foreign origin reshipped from the United States in American vessels, from 1796 to 1808, exceeded in most cases the amount carried of domestic products.

The year 1815 saw the close not only of our own war but that in which European countries had been engaged for over twenty years. Those countries now reëntered the field of maritime competition, and in addition exported a large amount of manufactured goods to the United States. These forces,

coupled with the disorders of our depreciated currency, produced a brief period of commercial stagnation, which included our maritime interests. The decrease in tonnage of 1818 was due to a revision of the registry list whereby all vessels wrecked or captured were removed. That this did not decrease the efficiency of the tonnage is shown by the fact that the percentage of carrying actually increased.

During the next period, from 1820 to 1830, our commercial prosperity returned; and, being assisted by the partial removal of foreign shipping restrictions, the marine enjoyed an unparalleled growth.

The second treaty of reciprocity was concluded with Great Britain in 1830. Our vessels were now privileged to trade with the West Indies and other British colonies. The effect was most beneficial. Our commerce increased during this period more than 50 per cent., while our tonnage almost doubled. It is true that the percentage of carrying slightly decreased, but a large part of our tonnage now left the carriage of the exports and imports of the United States for the more lucrative carrying between foreign nations. The entries of American ships into foreign ports with cargo from foreign countries show that a considerable portion of our tonnage was thus employed.

The last period—that which followed the removal of all British and American restrictions in 1849—was the most prosperous one in the history of the marine. Our ships, now given complete reciprocity in the carrying trade, penetrated every port. From 1847 to 1861 our commerce more than doubled, while our tonnage increased 150 per cent.—and also increased greatly in efficiency. During this period the marine received no assistance except aid to a few mail steamers. That this did not benefit our foreign commerce or increase our tonnage is proved by the fact that those lines only carried mails and passengers, and that the aggregate tonnage of the Collins, Havre, and Bremen lines—the lines so subsidized—did not exceed 30,000 tons. Then, too, our exports and imports were carried almost entirely by wooden sailing-vessels, known as the cele-

brated American clippers. At this time those vessels were in greater demand than the ships of any other nation, and they received the most profitable carrying. Why the percentage of our carrying continually fell off is easily explained. In 1868 Franklin H. Morse, United States Consul-General at London, made an exhaustive investigation of the amount of American tonnage engaged in carrying between foreign ports during the '50's, and found that fully 63 per cent. was thus engaged. He further substantiated his conclusions by taking the year 1856 as a basis of estimate and showing that not more than 1,200,000 tons would have been required to carry all our outgoing exports, allowing that the vessels would have a return cargo. Such being the case, not more than 1,000,000 tons would have been required to carry the 66 per cent. of our exports and imports carried that year; therefore, the remaining 1,300,000 tons must have been engaged in carrying between foreign ports. The estimates of Mr. Morse are corroborated by the investigations of David A. Wells and by Joseph Nimmo, chief of the tonnage division in 1869.

In giving this brief review we have endeavored to show that the prosperity of the marine was due to the inherent advantages of cheap construction and operation; that the discriminating duties were merely acts of retaliation; and that their removal, giving us greater commercial privileges, was followed by an expansion of both tonnage and of commerce.

What, then, caused the subsequent decline of our marine? Between 1848 and 1855, it was demonstrated in England that for all practical purposes an iron steamship was superior to a wooden sailing-vessel, and ultimately cheaper. But up to 1855 the demand for the American clipper was so great both at home and abroad that our builders did not adopt the method of iron construction. When the foreign demand for wooden vessels ceased, the amount of American construction greatly decreased, as the figures prove. England, with cheaper iron and superior facilities for this class of construction, developed through years of experiment, had now so decided an advantage that the American builder could not compete; and, American registry

being refused to foreign-built vessels, our marine consequently began to decline in 1855. The civil war, with all its demoralizing consequences, beginning in 1861, only hastened the decline. With no protection from Confederate cruisers, a large portion of our tonnage was transferred to foreign flags. In four years the tonnage was reduced by 900,000 tons, 751,000 of which were sold abroad, mostly to England, while the remainder was destroyed.

During the period immediately succeeding the civil war, ship-building materials were higher in the United States than in Europe, and a heavy duty on iron made the construction of the iron steamship almost impossible in American yards. At this time, too, began the era of internal improvements, when the United States, isolating herself from the world, endeavored to become independent of other nations. The building of railways and manufactures and the development of Western lands absorbed millions of dollars at high rates of interest. Capital, therefore, turned from the sea, where it must operate at a disadvantage, to more promising fields. In a word, the decline of our marine was due to the invention of the iron steamship, the civil war, the high tariff on iron, and the development of the great Northwest.

But the favorable conditions preceding the civil war are with us once more. It now costs no more to construct and operate American vessels than those of any other country. Returns from capital invested on the sea have become equal to capital employed on land, as is evidenced by the amount of American capital invested in vessels sailing under foreign flags. According to Commissioner Chamberlain's last report, there are 315,000 tons so owned, and this does not include the enormous business done by Americans with vessels chartered from foreign owners. Capital has thoroughly exploited the Western country and is now seeking other investment. We can therefore confidently look forward to an era of great prosperity in the shipping industry.

But, granting for the moment that natural conditions are not favorable, although we have shown they are, before giving

subsidies to our marine we should first consider the failure of this policy in the past. The lines from New York to Havre and Bremen were established in 1846, while the most important one—the Collins line to Liverpool—began in 1850. In the eight years of its existence the Collins line was paid more than the entire value of its fleet by two and one-half millions of dollars; yet it failed utterly. The three lines mentioned were discontinued in 1858, and a considerable portion of this United States mail service was maintained without subsidy up to 1861 by the fleets of Cornelius Vanderbilt. Thus it was demonstrated that a company with sound business methods could continue in competition without governmental assistance. The Brazilian line, established in 1866, was discontinued ten years later; for, says the *New York Journal of Commerce*: "It was conceded by its friends in Congress that it failed to increase our commerce to the South American countries."

An examination of the figures giving our exports to Brazil will show that during the early period of the subsidy the exports remained almost stationary, scarcely reaching the amounts exported during the civil war. In 1873, the exports began to increase, and they continued to do so after the subsidy had been withdrawn. Again, the Pacific Mail Steamship line to China was heavily subsidized in 1867; but it failed, as did the Brazilian line, to increase our commerce, and was ultimately ruined by extravagance and mismanagement. Said President Hadley, in an article on subsidies: "Up to 1865 the Pacific Mail had been a sound concern. Its shares stood above par. After it was subsidized it fell into the hands of speculators and its shares dropped below 40." In 1872 this corporation tried to get an increase of its subsidy and expended \$900,000 in promiscuous bribery. The Congressional investigation that followed revealed a piece of legislative corruption scarcely paralleled in the history of the country. In every one of these instances Congress refused to renew the subsidy on the expiration of the contract, which would seem conclusive evidence that they had failed to meet the expectation of their promoters.

The Red "D" line to Venezuela was established under the

postal law of 1891, and the advocates of the measure claimed that it would prove a great stimulus to our commerce; but the figures show that our exports to Venezuela have actually fallen off from \$4,700,000 in 1891 to \$2,700,000 in 1897.

Such, in brief, is our experience with postal subsidies: no material increase in our commerce, no additions to our tonnage, and every attempt characterized by extravagance and corruption. In no instance could the system be considered successful and in almost every case it has proved an absolute failure. But even if the postal subsidy system had proved successful, and been free from inherent evils, and even if we should establish mail routes to the various foreign ports, the lines so established would add but a trifling percentage to our tonnage. Such a system would be entirely inadequate to rehabilitate our marine.

Recognizing this fact, the subsidists are advocating the passage of a measure familiarly known as the Hanna-Payne bill, which they claim would promote our commerce and effect a substantial increase in the marine. The limits of this article preclude a detailed discussion of the measure; but a bill with a purpose so evident as that of the Hanna-Payne bill ought not to commend itself to the serious consideration of the American people. Under the guise of patriotism, and feigning a deep solicitude for the marine, a coterie of shipbuilders and shipowners framed the bill solely in their own interests, and aided by a powerful lobby have been endeavoring to secure its passage through Congress. The advocates of the measure will not state definitely what amount would be required annually to meet the contracts; but a conservative estimate of the minority of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries places it at \$8,250,000, one-half of which would be paid to four companies that are already doing a most profitable business. Such a measure, framed in the interests of wealthy corporations, heavily discriminating against their weaker rivals—the “tramp” and sailing vessels—and giving no return for the subsidies received, would not foster our marine but would be a positive hindrance to its future prosperity.

But the subsidists claim that some such aid as that provided

in this bill is necessary because of the higher cost of operating American ships and because the cost of construction is higher in America. What are the facts? They are easily obtainable, and it is surprising that misstatements as to these matters are so common. If there is one belief more deeply rooted in shipping-protection discussions than any other it is that crews' wages are higher on American ships than elsewhere. It is evident that in the absence of statutory requirement an American ship may hire its crew as easily in Liverpool as in New York, as easily in Hamburg as in Philadelphia, as easily in Hong Kong as in San Francisco—if she plies between any of these ports. And the same is true of any vessel, foreign or American. Says Section 4,519 of the Revised Statutes: "Every master of a vessel in the foreign trade may engage any seaman at any port out of the United States to serve for one or more round trips from and to the port of departure or for a definite time whatever the destination." Not only is this true in theory but also in practise. Where do the American steamships, "New York," "St. Louis," and "St. Paul," hire their crews? As provided for by their postal contract with the government, they must hire American citizens to the extent of half their crews. We will speak of the remaining half of the crews provided for by this special agreement. Says Shipping Commissioner Dickey, of New York, an ardent protectionist: "These vessels hire most of their men in Southampton, England, as all other vessels are at liberty to do." Again, where are the men hired who are employed on board the ships of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company? Almost to a man they are secured in Hong Kong, and the great majority are Chinese. Steamships of all nations in the Asiatic trade employ Asiatics on the deck and in the hold, and in this respect the American and his competitors are on a perfect equality.

In order to settle once for all this much-mooted question of wages, let us consult the officials of the Sailor's Union of the Pacific, the Atlantic Seamen's Union, and the International Seamen's Union of America. We will quote their secretary, the editor of their organ, the *Coast Seamen's Journal*: "Wages are

equal on the vessels of all nationalities when shipping crews in any given port. In other words, it is the 'rule of the port' and not the flag of the ship that governs wages. The usual statistics on this subject are grossly misleading." Finally, says Mr. Chamberlain, the Commissioner of Navigation: "The difference between American and foreign rates of wages can be, and in fact is, overcome by shipping crews in foreign ports for the round trip." When we remember that Mr. Chamberlain is one of the strongest advocates of subsidies, this admission by him is significant and conclusive. As regards various other elements of operating expense, such as provisions, coal and oil, etc., it could be demonstrated, if space permitted, that American shipowners have positive and very considerable advantages over their competitors.

Let us briefly consider the cost of constructing the latest types of steamships in American yards. The entire cost of a ship is embraced under two heads—material and labor. Materials—such as iron and steel, fittings, parts, and equipment—are not only as cheap but cheaper in the United States than in any other country. So cheap is shipbuilding material that we export ship-plates to England. One-half the plates in the great "Oceanic" came from Pennsylvania.

Now, in regard to labor: It is largely skilled labor, well paid—better than similar labor in England. Some American builders claim they cannot compete because they pay higher wages. The higher efficiency of American labor is admitted on every hand. Says the editor of the *New York Journal of Commerce*: "Undoubtedly any difference in wages is more than made up in the greater value of the labor. That the American builder can compete needs no proof to one conversant with the facts." On this point we can quote the greatest American builder himself, Mr. Charles Cramp, who said before the Senate Committee on Labor: "For the Russian war-ships we are building we competed with Germany and France. We could deliver the ships in thirty months. The French wanted five years, and the Germans and Russians wanted more money and longer time. We have also built ships for the Japanese



government, and our bids were lower by 20 per cent. than those of Armstrong, the English builder. We have higher skilled labor, and this aided us in getting the contracts." Thus Mr. Cramp himself admits that this very labor, high-priced as it is, is an advantage. Higher authority could not be quoted. What must we conclude, then, as to the comparative cost of construction? It is clear that shipbuilding constitutes no exception to the general rule of American superiority in manufactures.

With this brief review of the situation we see that subsidies in the past have not succeeded in maintaining or rehabilitating our marine. We see also that such a policy exposes us to the ever-present dangers and evils of corruption. But a still more cogent argument is that the industry is in no pressing need of governmental aid. A fair and sober consideration will show that the American is in no respect at a disadvantage, and in many cases is at a positive advantage.

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## NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE PROBLEMS.

### I. THE EVILS OF TRUSTS AND FOOLISH REMEDIES.

TRUSTS—or, more accurately, industrial combinations—involve no new principle. It is true that in recent years these forms of combination have steadily increased, and it is this fact that lends color to the suggestion that they are a new force in economics. But they are really only a phase in the development from primitive to more complex methods of production. Just as in an earlier period most manufacturing was done in small shops, which finally merged themselves into factories, so the time came when greater economies could be secured by combinations of factories; and the so-called “Trust” arose in answer to the imperative necessity of the new conditions. The “capitalization” of manufacturing concerns was begun in Great Britain long before it was here, and now aggregates £400,000,000. Mr. Byron W. Holt, the well-known statistician of New York, puts the aggregate capitalization of Trusts in this country at \$5,832,000,000; but these figures represent a much larger amount of “water” than the total British capitalization.

I assume at the outset that no rational man desires to break up industrial combinations; that Trusts, by securing greater efficiencies in production, by the elimination of less direct methods of distribution, and by the destruction of purely wasteful methods of competition, are beneficent agencies. But it is still necessary to recognize the tremendous powers for evil which some of these combinations possess, to examine the sources of such evils, and to determine what means if any exist for their extirpation.

There is one view of Trusts out of which it is hopeless to expect that any rational theory will be evolved, and that is the one that perceives only the belligerent and predatory activities of trade. Men who take this narrow view are either despairingly content with things as they are or are given to urging as a remedy communal ownership—the annihilation of all individual activities.

The unconditional defenders of Trusts make certain special pleas, which are to be included among those "worst of falsehoods"—half truths. They point to the decline in price of "Trusted" commodities as an argument in their favor. That prices of commodities controlled by the Trusts have sometimes experienced a sharp or gradual decline in price is true, even where Trusts have secured as near an absolute monopoly of a certain product as possible. But commodities not controlled by Trusts have also declined in price to as great or even greater degree, and usually in both cases for the same reason, *viz.*, that combinations of capital have secured greater economies in production. But this is a reason in no way connected with the question of monopoly *per se*, and such pleas are so much dust thrown in the air to confuse the vision. Trusts are formed for various reasons, among which, not seldom, is the raising of prices. The promoters of Trusts seek monopoly with that end in view; and although it is true that there is a point beyond which the price of an absolutely monopolized commodity cannot be profitably increased, yet this view is seldom present to the minds of the Trust promoters.

In commenting upon the remedies offered for the evils of industrial combinations, I ought not to omit some reference to President Hadley's suggestion of a refusal of dinner invitations to Trust magnates. Though dinners seem to be playing an increasingly important part in the field of politics, we may dismiss this senile suggestion for what it is worth. It is not unnatural that our college presidents should treat the subject of monopoly gingerly, but it is a little curious to observe the exaggerations of such timidity. Here is the Rev. Washington Gladden, in the *Outlook*, who says (and he is not alone in the advocacy of this remedy): "The evil is not in combination; it is in over-capitalization." The real remedy would therefore be in legislation to prevent over-capitalization. In England, where consolidations have proceeded more quietly than here, there has been, it is true, no such ridiculous over-capitalization, nor indeed such speculation and consequent violent fluctuation of prices. For this reason we have not heard as much as we

might of "Trusts" in Great Britain. But this more orderly process has been due to the fact that there is no tariff—no purely protective tariff—in that country, and the tide of speculation has therefore not run so high. Shares charged with nine-tenths bubble have not, as here, sought for buyers in the open market. Being somewhere nearer their real value, they are rarely for sale at all; and thus the public has felt no great interest in them.

But what about the proposed law against over-capitalization? It is sometimes contended that the watering of stock compels high prices in order that dividends may be earned for inflated values; but this is getting the cart before the horse. Over-capitalization may injure the investors, it is true, but it is quite as often injurious to the promoters. It does not injure the public, though it helps to increase counters at the game in the stock market. This, however, is purely a gambler's consideration. Not many besides the gudgeons are fooled by over-capitalization. Indeed, shares in over-capitalized concerns are looked upon by the public with suspicion. When the second preferred stock of the American Tobacco Company was paying 12 per cent. it was selling for about 60 per cent. Nor can wages, as is sometimes contended, be reduced to pay dividends on watered stock; the rate of wages is not so determined.

The "remedy" advocated by Mr. Bryan—*viz.*, federal license, or regulation—may also be dismissed. It is a pleasure to testify to the democratic instincts of the Nebraska statesman; but his instincts are often truer than his judgments. Such a law as he suggests is undemocratic as well as worse than futile, for proof of which it is only necessary to refer to the operations of the Inter-State Commerce Law. Curiously enough, when we consider all that Mr. Bryan's proposition involves, both Messrs. Rockefeller and Archbold are in favor of the same "remedy." The former suggested, in answer to the inquiry of the Industrial Commission, "Federal legislation, under which corporations may be created and regulated, if that is possible." The vice-president of the Standard Oil Company, John D. Archbold, as if by collusion with his superior, wants "Fed-

eral corporations created at Washington, and thus fitted to do business without being hampered by the multitude of vexatious laws of the different States." This is one of the consequences involved in Mr. Bryan's thoughtless proposition—the loss to the States of the sovereign power to regulate, if they choose, the industries incorporated by the acts of their legislatures.

There are those who advocate the abolition of the law of incorporation. But the evils of industrial combinations would be no less were such industries carried on by partnerships rather than by corporations. The law authorizing three or more men to become a corporation does not create a monopoly, so long as any other like number of individuals may be incorporated to carry on a similar business. Only to the extent that corporations are endowed by law with privileges not available to other men are such combinations a menace.

I think, too, we may dismiss the proposition to abolish the "limited liability" of corporations as impracticable, and as bringing in its train more evils than it could possibly cure. Let us suppose an instance. John Jones, temporarily resident in England, hears that his uncle has died and left him stock in the Pennsylvania Railroad to the face value of \$100,000. He hastens across the ocean. During his passage Senator Sewell and his associates conclude to wreck the road. Mr. Jones on his arrival in America finds himself in debt to the tune of \$100,000, and his modest little competence liable for every penny of that debt. He sees the savings of years swept away, and himself and family, without any intent of wrongdoing on his part, paupers on the charity of the community. This is what might occur with the abolition of the limited liability law of corporations.

That the passing of new laws should suggest themselves as remedies for the evils of Trusts is natural enough among a people with whom legislation is a kind of national superstition. It seems to have occurred to but few that true individualism groans under the weight of those laws which if removed from the prostrate giant would enable him to rise and walk. And those who sneer at the *laissez faire* doctrine, knowing not

the real philosophy from the spurious one that has borrowed the name, would do well to consider what would follow the removal of those laws which the true *laissez faire* looks upon as so many obstructions in the path of progress.

We have sent the Trust forward armed with special privileges created by law, and we behold a Frankenstein that is fast swallowing our liberties. We now seek to curb its power by law, which involves an error of the same kind. There is enough anti-Trust legislation of a nature as drastic as can possibly be framed, which if rigidly interpreted in some States would mean the paralysis of every business within their borders. In some cases the anti-Trust laws have been made by the Trust magnates themselves; and when they do not own the lawmakers they own the attorney-general after the laws are made. The Sherman law is declared by Congressman Grosvenor to be all that is required—the only thing that is needed is some one to enforce it. But Attorney-General Griggs says it is inefficient, and so we are puzzled as to which authority to accept.

It may be laid down as a general proposition that State “interference” and governmental “regulation” in industrial matters can never be a right method of procedure. Wherever the necessity for such “interference” and “regulation” arises it is because certain functions, purely governmental or common, have not been retained by the State as its own but have been given out to individuals or corporations. The original error was the failure to preserve the distinction between private and public rights and functions; hence the present necessity, real or apparent, of State interference.

That there has arisen in the popular mind a confusion between private and governmental functions is due largely to the recklessness and prodigality with which the latter have been “farmed out.” But naturally there is no such confusion. There are services which it is essential to the very existence of the State itself that it should perform; there are rights which the State must itself retain, having in mind the protection of the liberty of the meanest of its citizens. And such occasions arise wherever individuals or corporations are engaged in “busi-

ness" from which other individuals or corporations are by reason of the nature of such interests precluded from entering.

In all the talk of "the power of capital," how small is the real apprehension of the true relation of actual capital to monopoly! With the returns to capital *per se* everywhere declining, how can there be a "power of capital" that exists in and of itself? Even though capital tend to mass and centralize itself, it may do so by reason of the very laws directed against it. Yet men observing this phenomenon speak of "the power of capital"—and the phrase becomes fixed in the mind as standing for an economic fact. But what is so called turns out on examination to be "the power of monopoly." And upon stricter inquiry it may even appear that this massed and centralized capital, though exercising pernicious powers, does not do so because of centralization but because of qualities conferred upon it by law. And this is the actual truth.

There is but one remedy for the evils of Trusts, and that is *the abolition of every special privilege upon which their power is based*. These special privileges are all included in our patent systems, our railroad and tariff systems, and lastly in land monopoly and our systems of taxation. To some extent they have been fostered and strengthened by anti-Trust laws. Undoubtedly the patent system tends to perpetuate monopolies—by the giving of patent rights to devices that should never receive them; by secret relations with the Patent Office; by extending terms to patentees for simple appliances to patents on the eve of expiring; by enabling wealthy combinations to buy out the rights of poor inventors in many inventions for small sums, and thus gaining the control of all improved devices in their special department of manufacture.

We have come to the stage where few dispute the influence of the tariff in fostering Trusts. Every Trust promoter is an advocate of protection. The schedule of the present Dingley tariff was determined by the Trust magnates themselves in the rooms of the Arlington Hotel in Washington, where *private* sessions were held. So clear was it to that far-seeing Republican leader, James G. Blaine, that the tariff was instrumental in

creating Trusts that he brought forward his policy of "reciprocity"—that charmingly elastic hypothesis necessary to reconcile the protectionist's love for the miraculous and absurd with the occasional sensations of a lucid interval.

Referring now to railroad and land monopoly as the basis of the power of Trusts: the strength of these combinations, it must be clear to the thoughtful, is not in the power of capital but in *the power of privilege*. It is in those industries in which the element of monopoly is the greatest that the progress of consolidation has been most rapid. This is particularly noticeable in the railroad business, and is largely the result of anti-Trust laws and the Inter-State Commerce Law, which made agreements between transportation companies unlawful. So, too, the most perfect industrial combinations have been effected by combinations with railroads; and when these are united with monopoly privileges in land they are irresistible. Thus the anthracite combinations have perfected their monopolies through the control of both railroads and mines. For this reason the companies early sought to unite the powers of mining and transportation. As long ago as 1820 the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company was formed, it being the first to reach the coal regions. Other mining companies sought railroad privileges from their collieries to tide-water. Then came the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western, absorbing the smaller railroads and the mining companies at the same time. The Standard Oil Company, unquestionable as is the genius of its organization, derives its chief power for evil through its secret relations with railroads and the exclusive franchise privilege of its pipe-lines. The industry of refining oil and its distribution alone, however great the skill in management, is not susceptible of such perfect combination. It could with difficulty secure a complete monopoly of the oil wells—it does not to-day own any very considerable part of the oil-bearing lands of the United States; and without its relations with railroads, even with its present ownership of oil lands, it could not succeed in maintaining its monopoly for long.

It is held by some Trust defenders that the Trust contains



within itself the seeds of its own dissolution; that it is constantly inviting destruction wherever it oversteps the bounds of prudence or reaches out for larger advantages. This is in a large measure true. There is, too, far less advantage in mere size of plant or amount of capital than most people superficially imagine. Neither is there a single weapon that a Trust can put into use that does not involve a tremendous danger to the combination itself.

Some years ago the Lead Trust issued a report in which it said: "There has been and always will be competition in each class of goods produced by this company. It does not aim to obtain a monopoly." So eager was the Trust to conceal its real purpose—for at that time it controlled practically all the lead works in the country! But the facts became known, nevertheless; the large profits the Trust was making could not be kept secret, and independent lead works sprang up at once. So, too, the Linseed Oil Trust complained that the publicity given to its affairs had resulted in the establishment of many new works. We know the histories of the Copper and Cordage Trusts. All along the road of monopoly lie what is left of these shattered combinations, which sought by hedging themselves with artificial laws to defy the natural law; and in the shadow lurks the mocking figure of competition pointing to the ruin that awaits all those who hold in light esteem the mighty laws of distribution.

But even if it were wholly true that the evils of Trusts contain within themselves their own remedies, the present process would still involve a ruinous war, indicating unnatural conditions. For the natural processes of the economic world are peaceful and beneficent; they do not furnish in their struggle for existence any analogy to the destruction that goes on in the animal world. Competition is not strife: it is a struggle for higher adaptation; and the only accompanying inconvenience is a temporary displacement of labor and capital. That competition results to-day in the death of the weaker—in untold misery and suffering—is due to the fact that unnatural conditions prevail; that orderly processes are interrupted; that the

worker with his capital receives from the hands of the law-making power predatory weapons, which in self-defense and for his own preservation he must use for others' destruction; that vantage-grounds that should be retained for common uses are held out as prizes to those who lie and cheat and steal and bribe the most successfully. When these vantage-grounds are all monopolized, the people fall back and the intrenched powers have them at their mercy. It is competition no longer; the special privileges and taxing powers are held by the few, to whom the many must now sue for employment, failing to obtain which they fall to cutting one another's throats.

There is no danger in combinations where the power of competition, even if not active, is still potential; and it is always potential where the laws have not granted to some men advantages over others. And the restoration of the law of equal freedom by the removal of all laws that give special advantages would leave nothing to the power of combinations save their organizing genius. And nothing that is beneficent in these combinations would be destroyed; nor would even the form they bear undergo any very radical change. But potential competition under the law of equal freedom would remove from them their multifarious powers for evil; for with the removal of all special privileges there is no law of monopoly, nor anything that gives to combinations of capital a capacity for the infliction of injury. We know the story of the traveler on his way to Taunton, who questioned of the farmer's boy how far it was to his destination—and the answer: "If you go on the way you're going it's twenty-five thousand miles, but if you turn back it's only two." All the socialistic plans that are proposed, all the suggestions for new laws and new restrictions, are the twenty-five-thousand-mile journey to the point; the true path is that which indicates the removal of all special privileges, and is a process of retracing our steps and undoing the mischief that has been done by legislation and the gift to individuals of public franchises and common properties.

"The true *laissez faire*," says Lloyd, in his wonderful indictment, "Wealth Against Commonwealth," "is to let the indi-

vidual do what the individual can do best, and to let the community do what the community can do best." Is it indeed so simple? But who shall decide what is *the best*? Is the efficiency in the conduct of the Post-office higher than that of the Standard Oil Company?

Here is the Economic Man, bound hand and foot, groaning and helpless. His powerful muscles press the yielding thongs; the great frame is in agony from the cords he cannot break. The social doctors gather around him. What he needs is to be fed; he needs supports for his body, cushions for his head, restoratives for his nerves, say they—each one eager to apply his particular remedy. But no one thinks of cutting the bonds. Yet the Economic Man must be free before he can rise. The powers over land and transportation, over invention, over tariffs—powers that, like figures on a chess-board, have been the sport of the clever, the unscrupulous, and the strong—must be recovered by the people. Methods are important, but far less so than the recognition of two clearly defined and separable principles—Freedom and Restriction: the latter more strongly and vociferously defended because possessing the support of both the friends and foes of monopoly.

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## II. PUERTO RICANS AND THE CONSTITUTION.

THE Puerto Rican tariff bill has been passed by a majority of eleven out of a vote of three hundred and thirty-three. The pretext for the bill as passed is the alleged necessity of raising money in this way for the expenses of government in Puerto Rico. But the pretense is somewhat transparent; for— independently of the probability that the expenses of an economical administration can be raised without difficulty by direct taxation, aided by a judicious use of the credit of the government—it is clear that the duty on imports into the United States from Puerto Rico will tend to diminish, rather than to

increase, the financial resources of the latter.\* Hence, in the debate on the bill but little attention was given to this aspect of the case—the opposition was based wholly on constitutional grounds, which will also involve equally the coming controversy as to the status of the Philippine Islands. The question, therefore, is one that cannot be settled by the recent enactment, but must ultimately be determined by the Supreme Court; and, as it is of far-reaching importance, it may be interesting to the readers of *THE ARENA* to refer briefly to the constitutional provisions governing the question and to consider how it ought to be, and in all probability will be, determined.

Not need the friends of the Administration be apprehensive of any embarrassment from the decision of the Court, whatever it may be; for it is gratifying to find that Mr. McKinley, with his usual good fortune or skill, has passed through the crisis without committing himself, and that upon the final settlement of the question he will be in a position to claim the credit of having been always in favor of the view adopted by the Court. Although it was claimed on the floor of the House by Mr. Cannon and others that the President was in favor of the bill, and this is generally assumed, yet his only recorded utterance is in favor of free trade between the island and other parts of the United States; and Mr. Cummings, of New York, was therefore quite right in refusing to vote for the bill except upon its amendment "in accordance with the advice of the President [in his message] for absolute free trade for Puerto Rico." The friends of the President may, therefore, be assured that, however the question may be determined by the Supreme Court, he himself, as heretofore, will be found to have been in the right, and that the apparent tergiversations of the Administration have resulted from influences that he could not control.

The question I propose to discuss, it will be observed, is not as to the propriety or impropriety of disregarding the Constitution, but as to what it says and means. This explanation is nec-

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\*Since this was written a bill has passed the House of Representatives, on the recommendation of the President, appropriating the duties on Puerto Rican goods under the existing law to the benefit of the inhabitants—which seems to be an admission of the proposition contended for in the text.

essary because the former seems to be the controlling question with the party in power, and apparently the argument for the affirmative (if it can be called such) carries most weight among its adherents. This is notably illustrated by the work of the late Professor Tiedeman on "The Unwritten Constitution of the United States," and also by the argument of Mr. Cannon, of Illinois, in the debate on the bill, which is reported to have met with frequent applause on the Republican side of the House. "He had grown," says the latter, "to distrust those who came, when great crises arose, talking of the constitutionality of measures instead of attempting to meet them." "He for one believed the Constitution was made for the people and the country, and not the people and the country for the Constitution." By this is obviously meant that the government, for the time being, is not bound by the Constitution—as is indeed expressly asserted by the author referred to, in the work cited. This proposition I do not purpose to discuss, but will leave its advocates undisturbed in their opinion,\* and address my observations exclusively to those who believe that the Constitution is entitled to respect and that the Administration should be governed by its clearly ascertained provisions. These may be very briefly enumerated:

In the Preamble to the Constitution it is declared to be ordained and established "for *the United States of America*." By Section 8, Article I., it is provided that "the Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises . . . ; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout *the United States*." By the Amendments to the Constitution, from I. to XI. inclusive, various provisions are enacted for the protection of citizens and others, and for otherwise limiting the powers of the government; and these provisions plainly extend to citizens in the Territories. Finally, in the Fourteenth Amendment it is expressly provided that "all persons born or naturalized in *the United States*, and subject

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\*It may be questioned, however, whether the term "traitor"—so freely applied to the opponents of the annexation of the Philippines—is not equally applicable to those who openly avow their contempt for the Constitution and their design to subvert it.

to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of *the United States* and of the State wherein they reside."

Under the above provisions, obviously, the only question that can be raised is as to the meaning of the term, "the United States"; and this seems plainly to turn upon another question, which has played a famous part in the constitutional history of our Union, namely, "whether the United States is, or is not, a State or a nation." If it is, it would seem to follow, as in the case of other States, not that all the inhabitants of its territory are citizens, but that all its territories are part of the United States, and that the Constitution throws around all its citizens in, or going into, such territories its protection; and this inference is confirmed by the constitutional provisions cited.

On the question of the character of the United States—whether a State or nation or otherwise—it was claimed by the extreme advocates of States' rights that the Constitution was a mere compact between the States, and the government created by it a mere agency of the States, and as such subordinate to them. On the other hand, it was contended that the Constitution of the United States was not a mere compact; that the government created by it was a State, or nation, vested with all the powers given to it by the Constitution, either expressed or implied: and this has come to be the settled construction. For, though the Constitution is undoubtedly a compact between the States that should be held sacred, yet for a long time it has been uniformly held to be also a Constitution creating a State or nation, with all the ordinary powers of a State, within the general scope of the powers delegated to it. Assuming this to be the true doctrine, and certainly in view of our history it can hardly be disputed, the meaning of the provisions cited is too clear to be misunderstood. The Constitution is established for the whole of "the United States of America;" "all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the whole of the United States;" and, finally, all persons born or naturalized in any part of the United States, whether State or Territory, and subject to the jurisdiction

thereof, "are citizens of the United States" and of every State wherein they shall come to reside.

"The usage of the world," says Chief Justice Marshall, "is, if a nation be not entirely subdued, to consider the holding of conquered territory as a mere military occupation until its fate shall be determined at the treaty of peace. If it be ceded by the treaty, the acquisition is confirmed and the ceded territory becomes a part of the nation to which it is annexed." It seems, therefore, unless the settled construction of the Constitution be abandoned, that the status of the Puerto Ricans is very clearly determined, and that to impose duties either upon importations into their own territory or their exports to other parts of the United States is unconstitutional; also, that all persons born or naturalized in that island and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States and will be citizens of any State wherein they may come to reside. Nor can it be doubted that the same principles will apply to the Philippine Islands—unless Congress should determine otherwise, which it can do only by repudiating the cession. Hence we seem to be reduced to the dilemma either of holding that the treaty with Spain for their acquisition was unconstitutional (which is my own opinion), or of preparing ourselves to receive all individuals of the various nationalities in the Philippine Islands as citizens of the United States and of every State into which they may come to reside; and there is not much doubt among lawyers that this will be the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Nor is this to be regretted. Our true policy toward Puerto Rico is very plain. It is to establish for it at once an ordinary territorial government, which can at once provide for a constitutional convention; and on presentation of its Constitution the island should at once be admitted as a State. The propriety of this method is well illustrated by the proceedings for the admission of California, to which I will briefly advert.

In that State, June 3, 1849, General Riley, the military governor, issued a proclamation calling a convention to form a State Constitution. On the 12th of October of the same year,

after the Constitution was formed, it was submitted by the same officer to the people for ratification; and, upon its ratification, another proclamation was issued by him on the 20th of December, 1849, resigning his powers as Governor of California to the government formed under the Constitution, which immediately took charge thereof. And after this had been done, on the 9th of September, 1850, the State was admitted into the Union. This would have been the readiest way to have solved the Puerto Rican question, if our government had been willing to take the responsibility; but the matter, as it now stands, had better be left to the territorial legislature to be created by act of Congress. As to the capacity of the Puerto Ricans for self-government, it cannot be extolled any more than our own; but under our Constitution, which will guarantee to them a republican form of government and the protection of their personal rights, it is reasonably sufficient and infinitely better than foreign domination.

As to the Filipinos, the problem is different; for in the first place they are not willing to come into the Union—hence can only be governed despotically.\* Our responsibility, perhaps, extends to giving them the opportunity to form a government or governments for themselves, and possibly to some degree of superintendence and protection after the governments are formed; but beyond this, unless we determine to subvert our Constitution and to change fundamentally the character of our Republic, neither our duties nor our powers extend. The Philippines should be regarded, therefore, in the same category as Cuba—except, perhaps, that we should be careful not to be so slow in turning the government over to the people.

The question now presented to the people of the United States—whether we have regard to the rights and interests of the Puerto Ricans and Filipinos or to our own—is of fundamental importance. With regard to the former, it cannot be

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\*The arguments of the Administration party on this point render it necessary to explain that the character of a government—whether despotic or otherwise—depends, not upon the character of its administration but on the nature of the powers vested in it. If these are absolute, *i. e.*, unlimited by a practically enforceable responsibility to the governed, the government is despotic.



doubted, whatever may be their capacity or incapacity for self-government, that they will be better off if left to themselves (with such assistance as we can constitutionally render them) than if subject to foreign domination. Under our rule, indeed, their business interests may be developed and exploited, and thereby some incidental advantages may accrue to them; but it remains true, as in the days of Homer, that when a man becomes a slave he loses most of his virtues—and this is equally true of peoples. But this aspect of the case need not be considered. The motive so freely avowed—that we are induced to annex the Philippines by consideration for their good—is a revolting hypocritical pretense, designed to affect the opinions of men of charitable hearts and weak heads: a number that, unfortunately, seems to include many of the clergy, whose voices ought to be raised against this iniquity. Like all practical men, therefore, including those who advocate the annexation of the islands, we may leave out of view the interests, wishes, and rights of the Filipinos, and consider the matter solely as affecting ourselves.

In this aspect it may be argued with some plausibility that our commerce will be largely increased, and thereby great pecuniary returns be obtained; though if we set off against this the expense of subduing and governing the islands, including the large increase in our army and navy that would be rendered necessary, the balance will be found very heavily against us—and with the peculiarity, as to the distribution of the expenses and the profits, that the former will fall wholly upon the people of the United States, while the latter will accrue to a limited class that are already wealthier than the interest of the nation requires or permits. Moreover, the argument is based upon the fundamentally erroneous notion that the interests of capital are identical with those of the people, and that the paramount function of the government is to develop business and commerce. That this is the function of the government to a certain extent is undoubted, but, when other and more important functions are subordinated to it, it is the beginning of a deadly disease, which, unless cured, must inevitably end in the de-

struction of the State. The time has come, therefore, when governments must cease to be regarded as mere agencies of usurers and traders.

But in the present case another consideration, even more important, presents itself. The proposed policy (if not subversive of our Constitution, as a large part and perhaps a majority of the people believe) is a radical innovation in our system, and must necessarily work a fundamental change in the nature of our institutions. For the first time in our history we propose to rule subject peoples without admitting them to participation in our government; in other words, to rule them despotically. What this means is well known to those even slightly familiar with the history of the Roman Republic, whose rule over foreign dependencies was precisely of the character that we propose, and which, from causes equally operative now, resulted in the subversion of the Republic and the establishment of an absolute monarchy. Against this the precedent of the British Empire may be plausibly cited—and it must be admitted that the government of the dependencies of Great Britain presents an example of honest and efficient administration such as has never heretofore been rivaled. But, admitting for the sake of the argument that our own administration will be equally honest and efficient (about which, in view of the character of some American politicians, we may be permitted to be skeptical), yet the British rule itself illustrates clearly the fundamental principle that where the interests of the subject race come in conflict with those of the governing race, or of an influential class thereof, the former are invariably sacrificed, and hence that the domination of race over race is the worst form of despotism. Of this a striking illustration has been given by the financial policy of Great Britain in India, by which, according to the opinion of some of the most eminent economists of the empire, including Sir Robert Giffen and many of his way of thinking, the interests of the people have been deliberately and ruthlessly sacrificed to those of the manufacturing classes in England and of the office-holders in India. And another instance was presented by the

abandonment of Gordon and the Soudan, which resulted from an over-tender regard for the interests of foreign bondholders, and which ultimately imposed upon Great Britain two great wars and a serious difficulty with France, and upon Egypt another war and the destruction of its army, besides a large part of the whole expenses. We stand, therefore, at the parting of the ways; and the permanency of free institutions is staked upon the choice of the American people.

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## OLD AGE PENSIONS.

**T**HE nineteenth century has witnessed many new developments in the popular mind as to the duties and functions of civilized society; and among these none have been more progressive than those dealing with its proper attitude toward its more helpless members. A backward glance of a hundred years discloses a condition of society in which the care of the helpless was either left entirely to individual charity or treated by society at large, through its governments, as an unreasonable burden. America, indeed, like all new countries, enjoyed to a large extent immunity from such burdens, and her governments were hardly called upon to deal with such problems; but in all the more populous countries of Europe the problems of the helpless poor were already demanding attention, and were either disregarded by the State or grudgingly acknowledged and most inadequately dealt with. The nineteenth century has seen a growing improvement in this respect. Little by little it has dawned upon society that in self-defense, if for no more worthy reason, the problem must be dealt with by the public if the community desired to escape consequences more serious in many ways than the expense involved in the attempt.

It would be too much to say that the efforts made have been satisfactory: it would perhaps be an exaggeration to say that in any one of the more densely populated countries they have even kept pace with the difficulty and complexity of the problem; but it may be said that the public conscience has very largely acknowledged the responsibility and that many attempts have been made to meet it. It is not easy to overestimate the importance of the step thus gained. It was something when governments and parliaments began to acknowledge that for purely selfish reasons society must interfere in some respects for the relief and protection of the helpless; but it was far more when the conviction grew, and began to be acted upon, that such relief and protection were a leading part of the duty of every

civilized society. It is true indeed that the conviction is even now a confused one, and that very few communities appear as yet to have reached a clear idea as to the principles that underlie the obligation of the State to interfere. It is still largely, perhaps generally, accepted that society is bound to see that children are fed and educated; that they are protected from becoming victims of the avarice either of parents or employers; and that they are allowed the opportunity of growing up without either being physically starved, intellectually stunted, or morally degraded—not so much for their sakes as for its own. To prevent children from becoming a danger to society; to make it as unlikely as possible that they shall swell the criminal classes; to render it likely that they shall go to reenforce the ranks of profitable workers—such has been the purpose of much of the legislation of the last half century; and so far as it went it has done good. That it has not done more good has perhaps been due to the fact that its reasonings were confused and its ideals inadequate.

The social problem is a complex one. It has to deal with all sorts, and therefore with all conditions of men and women. There are the classes of the helpless and of those who, if we may use the expression, are too helpful—that is, too ready and able to help themselves; also, those who seem unable to get a sufficient share of the elements of human well-being, and those who are always in danger of getting a share too large either for their own good or for that of their neighbors. Society has not troubled itself much about the latter class up to this time, though the time is manifestly drawing nearer when it will attempt to do so; all its efforts have been directed to dealing with the other—and it must be admitted the much larger class—which is always in danger of going under in the struggle for existence. This class falls naturally into three subdivisions: the class of the helpless young, of the helpless sick, and of the helpless aged—in other words, of those who, although helpless at present, are sure if looked after to be of future value to society; of those who, though helpless for the time, may on their restoration to health become once more of value; and

finally of those from whom nothing in the way of active service is reasonably to be looked for hereafter. The last century, and especially the latter half of it, has seen many attempts to provide for the first of these classes. Their protection from ill-treatment, their education, their protection from overwork or premature labor, have all been made the subject of legislation more or less effective. Something, though less, has been done to make some provision for sickness, in the case at least of those whose recovery appeared probable, although for the most part this has been left to be dealt with by private or corporate charity. Hospitals have thus been multiplied, and in some countries something has been done by governments to provide a system of outdoor relief for the sick and their families. For the last class it may be said that least of all has been done. Private or corporate charity may interfere indeed, and in some countries that is supplemented, as a last resort, by the dismal institution of the workhouse or by rations doled out with a niggardly hand; but on the whole society has ignored its responsibility and has left the helpless aged either to the care of younger relatives or to public charity.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the result springs naturally from the principle of selfish advantage already referred to as lying at the root of society's dealings with the whole problem of its helpless classes. The children form the class from whom most may be expected of usefulness in the future, if they start in life relieved of too heavy a burden, and from whom most is to be feared if they are not to some extent protected on the threshold of life; it has been to the children, therefore, that attention has been given, not so much for the children's sake as for that of the society that they may either benefit or embarrass hereafter. The sick have received some attention also, so long as their condition held out hope of restoration, though for the incurable society had little care. The aged helpless have manifestly been looked upon as encumbrances and nothing more. If society could cast that burden on those related to them in blood, if not in affection, it was ready to do so, or, if this could not be done, then it would treat them as

beggars to whom some one must throw a crust so long as they lagged superfluous on life's stage. There are few more hopeful signs of the times from a social point of view than the awakening that has during the last few years been gradually taking place on this subject, and its most hopeful feature is that it foreshadows the application of a better and clearer principle to the dealings of society with all classes of its helpless members.

The earlier movements in the direction of providing, by the action of the State, for the aged originated in Germany, where the evil was a great and increasing one. The idea of providing for the aged by means of a pension on the German plan, however, though it fortunately served to direct opinion to the question, cannot be said to have offered any real solution of the problem; and it is exceedingly doubtful how far it is applicable to the conditions of people less accustomed and less willing to submit to a paternal interference with their individual management of their own affairs. It is indeed rather a scheme for the prevention of helpless and resourceless old age than one to provide for it where it arises. Under its provisions each man during his youth, and while his strength lasts, is compelled to make provision for the time when he will no longer be either young or strong; so that it is in effect a system of compulsory insurance. That it has worked advantageously is asserted by German authorities, and from one point of view it may well have proved a success. If men can be compelled to contribute a share of their earnings to a fund to insure them a pension when they can earn wages no longer, it may at least relieve society at large of a burden. On the other hand, it may do so merely by laying that burden on shoulders already too heavily weighted. It is not contended that in Germany, or indeed in any civilized country, the wages paid to labor are such as to afford superfluity. As a rule they are the least, if not something less than the least, on which men can live with any degree of comfort and decency; and any tax upon them, no matter how excellent its object may be, can only reduce the present means of living below the comfort and decency level. Such a plan

may save society—or, rather, that portion of society which has superfluous means—from a burden and an anxiety; but it can only do so at the cost of the far greater class from which it has gained, and continues to gain, its wealth and luxury as the result of the workers' efforts.

There is also the objection that while by such legislation a distinct step is taken in the direction of making the mass of the people mere automatons, controlled indeed but not habituated to self-control, there will still remain a large class to whom it does not apply. In spite of any system of the sort there will still be a class—and to all appearance a rapidly increasing class—who will not, for one cause or another, qualify themselves to enjoy a pension under any system of insurance. Want of work, starvation wages, industrial troubles, and sickness will affect the case of the men, and the case of the women will be even worse: and the insurance pension system can have no means of providing adequately for them. Once more it is the principle that is defective. The idea of a system of insurance for old age is not new, nor was it "made in Germany." It has existed here and in England ever since the newer forms of life insurance were introduced, and has been made use of by millions of persons that have bargained for payment of insurance either at death or on the attainment of a certain age. The only novelty is the introduction of the doubtful element of compulsion: an element fortunately, perhaps, unsuited to the instincts of the Anglo-Saxon race. So long as the thing is voluntary, at any rate, it is entitled to general encouragement, not as a provision for the helpless aged but as a means of reducing the class to smaller proportions. Society does well to encourage by all reasonable means everything that makes for the human development that goes only with self-control and reasonable prudence, but it is not in this way that society need hope to shake off its burdens or discharge its proper liabilities.

The question involves so many practical difficulties that it is hardly surprising to find it avoided, or at best approached with very cautious steps, by the statesmen of the old and highly-organized communities. The subject has been mooted and a



good deal discussed in England, but so far with no practical result. In this country, while it has been discussed by a few persons, it has not approached by any means so near to a practical illustration as it appears to have done in Great Britain. It has been largely discussed in nearly all the colonies of Australia, and more than one proposal has there been made in the local parliaments for its settlement, though as yet without result. It remained for the parliament of New Zealand to take the first step to test by actual experiment a plan to meet the difficulty. In this, as in the case of many of her experiments in government, it may be said that New Zealand has special advantages; but, while this may be true, it is still more correct to say that her advantage consists mainly in seeing more clearly than many other communities evils that require to be met and the principles really applicable to dealing with them.

The preamble to the "old age pension act" of 1898 of the New Zealand Parliament, which is now before me, states the position of the colony in the matter clearly. It runs as follows: "*Whereas*, it is equitable that deserving persons who during the prime of life have helped to bear the public burdens of the colony by the payment of taxes, and to open up its resources by their labor and skill, should receive from the colony a pension in their old age." Here, it will be remarked, there is no question of charity, and no note of complaint as for a burden submitted to but unwillingly borne. It is not because the community cannot permit the aged among its members to die of starvation, or to be tempted to crime, that it proposes to grant these pensions, but as a matter of justice and right. It is because these persons have an equitable claim on the community in which they have lived and worked, which it would be dishonest to deny and unjust to ignore. It is because the persons who are to receive the pensions have deserved well of the country; because in the past, while they had the power, they helped to bear the burden of its taxes, by which all, especially the rich and successful, have profited; because their labor and skill thrown into the common stock helped to develop the resources of the country, and so to benefit, to an extent practi-

cally incalculable, those who succeed them: it is for these reasons, and such as these, that the people of New Zealand propose to make their old age comfortable and their position honorable.

This legislative experiment of the people of New Zealand is noteworthy not only because of its novelty in the history of social legislation, but still more because it proceeds upon a new principle and recognizes a new code of social ethics not hitherto acknowledged in the legislation of civilization. The new note struck is one of gratitude on the part of society to those who have served it well. It is no longer a question, as it has been in all the legislation for the helpless in the past, as to how society can protect itself at once most cheaply and effectively, but how it can best recognize the services that each respectable and honest citizen has rendered to his fellows by the mere fact of his brotherhood. This principle is more important than even the special application of it to the case of helpless old age. It may be found that the particular application needs many amendments, but so long as the principle is maintained the amendments may be trusted to come. The substitution of the rights of its members for the collective selfishness of the community at large, of gratitude for past services for a grudging impatience that there is no longer anything to be made out of those who in the past have borne the burden of the country's taxes and by their industry developed its wealth, and of the recognition of social obligation instead of that of social self-interest, furnish a new motive for legislation the wider application of which may yet be the means of solving many problems.

The act passed by the New Zealand Parliament, and already in full operation in that colony, bears the usual New Zealand mark of bold yet cautious experiment. It is professedly on trial, because it is only to continue in force until one month after the close of the next session but one of the parliament. The object of such a provision was no doubt twofold: on the one hand to disarm the opposition sure to be made to the introduction of so novel a plan, by holding out the hope to those who doubted the wisdom of the experiment that when it expired

public opinion would be easily influenced to refuse its indorsement by the passage of a new act, and on the other to challenge public attention and criticism in the mean time, by which its advantages might be recognized and its defects pointed out. The history of the enactment of the new law fully justified the wisdom of the plan, as it was made clear that many of those in both chambers of the legislature who voted for the measure did so largely on the ground that it was only an experiment, and if unsuccessful that it would be a very short-lived one. That the second object of placing the short-time limit to its operation in its present form will be fully achieved, nobody who knows the eager attention given by the people of New Zealand to the operation of their statutes can doubt. In securing its enactment the government explained very frankly what they admitted to be its purely experimental features, and it is important to observe that nowhere among these was there any mention of the principle indicated by the preamble to the bill. No member of either chamber in discussing the question, either in favor of the proposals it made or in opposition to them, had a word to say against the grounds on which it proceeded. New Zealand began by admitting that it was not of charity but of justice that provision should be made for the aged poor; and whatever becomes of this particular act—however much it may be amended in future—she has taken her stand on that principle and may be depended upon to maintain it.

There are other principles embodied, at least by implication, in the act as it stands that are both important and interesting as an indication of the direction in which the amendment of the law when it comes eighteen months hence will proceed. It has been made a subject of hostile and even of contemptuous criticism that after all the proposed pension is but a pittance of the most inadequate character to secure comfort to those who receive it. It has been said that to give the aged poor a pension amounting only to ninety dollars, payable in monthly instalments, is a ridiculous matter to make a fuss about and a curious comment on the acknowledgment of obligation on the part of the community at large. These criticisms, so far as they

are sincere, probably arise from failure to comprehend the conditions to which the act is to be applied and to some extent ignorance of the act itself. What the old age pensions act proposes in the first instance to do is to deal with actual conditions, not to provide a type of ideal legislation on the subject in the abstract. It proceeds on the assumption that the sum of five dollars a week is necessary and sufficient to provide for such an amount of modest comfort in New Zealand as the community considers fairly due to each deserving person, male or female, who has spent a considerable part of his or her life in the country. To those who know the colony, the manner of life, and the cost of living, this amount will commend itself as a fair if not liberal one. It has been taken for granted, and this also is fully justified by experience, that there are very few persons indeed in the colony who have lived respectably in it for twenty-five years who are now wholly destitute or without some small provision for their old age. The exhaustive and very frequent census returns provided for in New Zealand no doubt enabled the government to form an excellent guess as to the average of such provisions, and the proposal was consequently made to supplement this probable income by an amount that would bring it up to the standard of the weekly five dollars fixed upon as desirable. The application of the principle to the community in which the cost of living in comfort was either less or greater than in New Zealand would of course be easy; and it would be equally simple to deal with a community in which average savings were, for any reason, less extensive.

It may be taken for granted that local criticism of the law will very largely concentrate itself upon this feature. The sum of \$170 is taken by the New Zealand statute as the probable average income of each person; and the pension provided for is to be reduced by \$5 for every complete sum of \$5 by which the income of an applicant exceeds the \$170. It is also reducible by another \$5 for every \$75 worth of accumulated property held by the applicant yielding no actual income. In this way, it will be seen, the act is careful to limit the guaranteed income to the desired total of \$260 per annum. What

it is evident it does not provide for is the other class of cases, of which it is practically certain that some at least will exist, in which the applicants have not the supposed provision of \$170 nor any accumulated property to fall back upon. The failure of the statute in such cases to give the relief intended to aged persons, who may of course be more deserving than those who have effected savings, will undoubtedly call for and receive attention. This, it is evident, will be a comparatively easy matter where, as in New Zealand, the two principles are already agreed upon that the community is justly responsible for such an amount as is necessary and that the amount is not less than \$5 a week for each aged person. To formulate a scheme by which the limit of the pension may be extended from \$90 to any sum up to \$260, according to the circumstances of each case, is all that will be required. The practical common sense of the people of New Zealand may be trusted to deal with this matter at once fairly and logically. They will readily see that there is no special duty cast on either men or women to save property that shall yield \$170 a year more than any smaller sum, and that in fact saving anything may under certain circumstances be in the nature of a vice rather than a virtue.

At this point the authorities may find themselves met by the question of expense. It is by no means unlikely that such an extension of the law's operation as would insure to every deserving aged person in New Zealand the full income of \$260 a year might involve an expenditure of twice as much money annually as would be needed merely to supplement income to the extent provided for at present. Should this prove to be the case, experience justifies the assertion that it will not be found to stand in the way of carrying out the scheme to the full extent that justice demands. With all its experiments—perhaps it would be more correct to say, in consequence of its experiments—in legislation New Zealand is to-day so prosperous a country that a well-known Australian statesman returning from a recent visit of investigation to the colony bore witness to the fact by emphatically declaring it the most prosperous and progressive of the Australasian group. Such a testimony

means much, for at present the people of these colonies are *per capita* by far the wealthiest communities known. In the case of New Zealand, too, the annual surplus of revenue is large; and if it were not sufficient it would be increased in a way that would be levied in strict proportion to wealth—a method strangely unfamiliar, in reality if not in appearance, to the methods of taxation in this country.

So far the calculations made by the government when they introduced the measure have, it seems, been fully borne out by the number of applications for pensions made up to this time. The number was estimated at from six to seven thousand for the colony, and it would appear that for the first year it will not reach six thousand by several hundreds. The number is a small one out of a total population of 800,000 whites and 50,000 natives—for the provisions of the act apply equally to both races—amounting to less than three-quarters per cent. of the population; and this percentage may, under existing conditions, be expected to diminish rather than increase. Should it, however, amount even to one per cent. in New Zealand, or any other country following the general scheme of her legislation, and should even the whole \$5 a week be secured to every applicant, it may be questioned whether any more really profitable investment of the public funds could be made. In New Zealand this year the cost of old age pensions will, it is calculated, amount to about \$500,000, an amount that might be doubled if the system were so extended as to assure to all the full income that the law itself assumes to be equitable. Can any one doubt that the result in the added sense of security and of self-respect extended to the least prosperous classes of society would far more than justify the expenditure? The substitution of hope for despair, which the certainty of an adequate provision for old age would effect for a considerable class of the community as it approached the confines of that period of life, would of itself be no trifling moral gain; and when to the mere fact of the provision is added the condition that it bears with it no stamp of inferiority or mendicancy, but is treated as a matter of right, as much as the pension of the veteran of other

but not more truly honorable campaigns, it cannot but add a new confidence in the future to industrial workers at every stage of their career.

It may indeed be argued that the application of such a principle will discourage thrift, and only make the workers of modern society a little less careful than now to provide for the future. Before society can indulge in such an argument with even a shadow of justice, it will be in order for its wealthy classes to show that the present division of the products of industry is even approximately fair, and that it leaves a margin that can be reasonably applied to such purposes. So long as realized wealth takes, as it now takes, the lion's share of all that industry produces—so long as it casts, as it now casts, either directly or indirectly, the main burdens of taxation on the shoulders of industrial labor—such would-be friendly anxiety about the moral deterioration likely to follow from removing from the career of industry the specter of want or mendicancy in old age is open to at least the suspicion of self-seeking hypocrisy. When a new estimate of the comparative rights and value of human exertion and accumulated products of past effort shall have been agreed upon—when the workers shall no longer be practically compelled to spend their best years in laboring for the lowest decent living wage—it will be time enough to discuss the moral benefits of thrift in their case. Until then it is worth while for society—even that part of it which may be called upon, as indeed it ought to be, most largely to contribute to the cost—to consider whether it is not, as the parliament of New Zealand says it is, equitable, and because it is equitable therefore sound policy, to provide for the old age of that class which the present industrial system renders practically unable to provide for itself.

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## JESUIT EDUCATORS AND MODERN COLLEGES.

PERHAPS no more perplexing problem has ever been presented to the educators of any time than that which is to-day attempting to establish the boundary-line of the elective system of Harvard, Yale, and other leading universities. Those that a few years ago indorsed electivism almost unqualifiedly are now standing in considerable apprehension of a not far distant time when the method shall have overreached itself. They perceive that if the elective system, now so popular with the professors of our universities, creep back into the colleges and high schools, its introduction in these places will render impossible the liberal education that is the *sine qua non* of future specialization of marked value.

But there are other earnest champions of the elective system, who do not anticipate danger from this or from any other source. Much has been written and published in the most ably edited periodicals of the day on both sides of the question: notably and especially by the upholders of electivism. Professor G. H. Palmer, of Harvard University, a number of years ago contributed two learned articles to the *Andover Review*, in which he attempted to set aside or prove false every argument of the advocates of the *prescribed* system of education. In one place he said, in substance: "The same people who deny that a young man between the ages of nineteen and twenty-three is fitted to select a course of studies that shall give him the education of his life are yet willing to admit that this same young man is competent to choose a wife." It would seem at first glance that this statement is open to the impeachment of being called an *ignoratio elenchi*; for the graduates of the Boston Latin School, from which many of Harvard's students are matriculated, are for the most part only seventeen, and the bulk of Harvard candidates for the freshman class are nearer seventeen than nineteen. The average young freshman, who is allowed such extensive liberty in the choice of his studies by



the elective system, is not at all of an age when he would choose a wife.

But if the theorem be honored by serious treatment, is it true? Would not the cautious guide who doubts the ability of the callow youth of nineteen to twenty-three, in the matter of education, hold in his own hands the power to veto the choice of a wife—if such a thing be possible? But if this or the reverse be true, nothing is proved thereby. The lottery of marriage is one of those things that laugh at wisdom: witness Socrates, and many of the wisest and best. Marshal your forces in any way you please; let your system be elective or prescribed—and matrimony can never become an exact science. But with education—how different! To use an illustration, say that a boy at his various ages may be likened to a quantity of iron ore, from which one set of men must extract the base materials, another set carry it still a grade farther, while a third set will transform it into the finest steel—and still another fashion this steel into working tools. Not one of the handlers of the material is free from responsibility. If the first man does his work wrong, the labors of the second will be increased, to say the least, and at the same time his possibilities may be restricted. Each man must follow a prescribed formula. Any haphazardness would be disastrous. Exactly in this way, the advocates of the prescribed system of education maintain that up to a certain age the boy's course of studies must not be left to him alone to choose.

Between Columbia University and the colleges under the management of the Jesuit Fathers, the most cordial and satisfactory relations exist. Columbia accepts a certificate from St. Francis Xavier College for its face value. The young man who wishes to take a university course is admitted upon his diploma and without further examination. The reverse of this prevails at Harvard, where the graduate of St. Francis Xavier is only admitted after passing an examination—although the faculty of Harvard admit the graduates of Manhattan College without examination. That this ruling is in any way remotely connected with the fact that President Charles W. Eliot, of Harvard, is

most liberally elective in his views on education, while the method of the schools and colleges managed by the Jesuits is prescribed, no one would be justified in asserting. But, in a recent article in the *Atlantic Monthly*, President Eliot makes one assertion that seems open to criticism. In connection with his statement that "there are those who say that there should be no election of studies in secondary schools," the writer includes the Moslem countries. Later on he says: "Another instance of uniform prescribed education may be found in the curriculum of the Jesuit colleges, which has remained almost unchanged for four hundred years."

The Jesuit method of study was fixed in 1599, and was modeled after the system at that time existing in Germany, which was no doubt the best of its day. It must be remembered that in those days almost every treasure of literature and learning was in the Latin or the Greek tongue: in consequence of which the class work of the Jesuit schools was virtually confined to a study of those languages, to which the students devoted twenty-five hours a week. To-day, forty-seven per cent. of the student's time is given to modern studies—proportioned during four years to the study of English, mathematics, modern languages, and natural sciences. Three hours a week (exclusive of laboratory work) are assigned, during the Sophomore and Junior years, to natural sciences, and eight hours a week during the Senior year. By this it will be seen that, while the method is prescribed, the matter studied has progressed with the age.

The professors of the Jesuit colleges keep up with the times. One of the most distinguished astronomers and mathematicians of the present day is Father Hagen, of the Georgetown University. When the Yerkes Observatory, in Chicago, was opened, only three scientists were invited to speak. These were Father Hagen; Mr. Astor, president of the Astronomical Society; and Professor Pickering, of Harvard. Father Hagen has recently completed a "Synopsis Mathematica," which has for twelve years been in course of issuance by a German publisher of scientific works. The publisher does not expect to

make any money out of the venture, there being so limited a demand—he does it for the benefit of science. By the rules of the order, no Jesuit can issue a book that has not been passed upon by appointed judges; but when Father Hagen's "Synopsis Mathematica" was completed, there was not a Jesuit in America who was competent to review it, so it had to be sent to Germany.

According to Messieurs André and Rayet, of the Observatory of Paris, one hundred and thirty observatories have been erected throughout the world during the latter part of the last century; and of these, thirty-two were founded by the Jesuits.

The United States Government has recognized the value of the scientific discoveries on the subject of typhoons made by the Jesuit Fathers who have so long had charge of the Manila Observatory. The most noted among these scientific priests is Father Algué. The typhoon is the great destroyer that is peculiar to those latitudes. The Jesuits had discovered the signs of its coming far enough ahead of the actual arrival of the typhoon to advise the endangered seaports in China and Japan three hours before the storm arrived at Manila, thus saving thousands of lives and millions of dollars' worth of property. Our government has shown its appreciation of these scientists by subsidizing the observatory of the Jesuits and paying the Fathers for their continued services.

The best dictionaries of the Japanese and Chinese languages now in existence were made by the Jesuit, Rodrigues, early in the seventeenth century. There is a brief but interesting bit of history connected with the making of the Chinese dictionary. The work on this book was done by three Jesuit priests, one of whom had an ear for music that was tuned to an almost infinite perfection. The pitch and tone of a Chinese word modified its meaning to an alarming and curious extent. This musical Jesuit invented a system of signs by which these tones were captured and reduced to a written language—thus giving to students a nicety of distinction as to the meaning of a word that made much easier an otherwise arduous task. These dictionaries were also translated into Portuguese and Latin by the Jesuits.

The Rev. Father Francis Barnum, S. J., late missionary to Alaska, and present librarian of Georgetown University and curator of the Coleman Museum and Ryder Annex, has compiled a book on the grammatical fundamentals of the Innuït language, as spoken by the Eskimos of the western coast of Alaska.

It was a Jesuit missionary in South America who first made known to the world the medicinal properties of Peruvian bark. The priest first cured his own fever with it and afterward rescued almost from death's door the Countess of Chinchon—for whom the priest named the product "Cinchona-bark;" but for many years it was known to the trade as "Jesuit bark."

The Jesuit, Clavius, helped revise the Julian calendar and formed the Gregorian calendar now in use.

The most famous commentator on Virgil that the world has ever known was La Cerda, the Jesuit. Connington, who wrote the commentary on Virgil in "*Bibliotheca Classica*," and who is one of the most famous translators of Virgil, draws entirely from La Cerda.

These great men and thousands of others have been produced by the prescribed method of education followed by the Jesuits. In fact the ages sparkle with the names of their graduates. There were Bossuet, Corneille, Molière, Tasso, Fontenelle, Didérot, Voltaire, and Bourdaloue—himself a Jesuit. And on a broader platform even than those stand Descartes, Buffon, Justus Lipsius, Muratori, Calderon, Vico (the jurisconsult and founder of the philosophic school of history); Richelieu, Tilly, Malesherbes, Don John of Austria, Luxembourg, Esterhazy, Choiseul, St. Francis de Sales, Lambertin (afterward the most learned of Popes, under the name of Benedict XIV.), and the present Pontiff, Leo XIII., also most erudite.

The difference between the prescribed method of the Jesuits, and many other most excellent non-sectarian colleges, and the elective system of Harvard, Yale, and others, seems to hinge on the age at which the student is deemed competent to elect for himself. According to President Seth Low's definition of the distinction between a college and a university, "a college

is conceived of as a place of liberal culture, a university as a place for specialization based upon liberal culture." The Jesuit Fathers do not believe that a boy at the student age in an institution that only confers upon him the degree of A. B. is fitted to fill out the studies he should take in order to lay the foundation upon which all his future as a specialist is to be built—the course of studies that will make him a thinker and a reasoner. No one assumes for a moment that liberal culture alone will enable a man to get on in the world; it is for a much greater purpose than that. Even if the college graduate takes to keeping a corner grocery, or "rounding up" cattle on a Western ranch, his mental horizon has been broadened—he has a fund of knowledge that poverty cannot rob him of. But if he be built of the right fiber, if that solid foundation prescribed for him by the learned and the experienced be without a weak spot, when the time comes for him to "specialize" he will not find himself possessed of ten pounds of force of which only seven pounds are available. But disciplined and trained as his mental powers have been, each will obey his call like a willing worker. In substantiation of this, those who would prescribe the method of education, until the student shall become a graduated Bachelor of Arts, insist that "a tree shall be known by its fruit."

In England the elective system does not exist, and England is the mother of English literature—notwithstanding the fact that she can claim but a small proportion of the English-speaking people, and that the Americans are the greatest readers (of trash) in the world. In Germany the elective system exists to a certain extent, but is not introduced until after the grade that corresponds to our college has been passed. Thus, by a rigid prescribed system of liberal culture and molding in his immature years, the Germans lay the foundations in the youth for a great thinker; and from their universities go forth men who, then and later specializing, stand foremost in all matters of science.

Coming down to our own country, before the elective system was thought of, Harvard graduated James Russell Lowell,

Oliver Wendell Holmes, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Wendell Phillips, George Bancroft (the historian), Edward Everett, Edward Everett Hale, John Hancock, Samuel Adams, General Joseph Warren, and William Wetmore Story. And Yale graduated John C. Calhoun and Nathan Hale. Williams College can point with pride to William Cullen Bryant and David Dudley Field. Dartmouth College has Thaddeus Stevens and grand old Rufus Choate, the most brilliant scholar, jurist, advocate, and statesman that the United States ever knew. Other men had some of these accomplishments developed to a marked degree, but no man other than Choate had all of them. To Dartmouth also belong Salmon Portland Chase, William Wirt, Erastus Hopkins, Daniel Webster, and David Everett (the poet). To Washington University belongs James G. Blaine; William Bourke Cockran to St. Francis Xavier (and to Maynooth, Ireland, for LL.D.); while those immortal men of letters, Henry W. Longfellow and Nathaniel Hawthorne, had their education prescribed for them at Bowdoin.

Matthew Arnold, in his "High Schools and Universities in France," thus testifies of the Jesuit College of Vaugirard: "I could not help feeling that the Vaugirard school was, of all the schools I saw in France, the one in which I would soonest have been a schoolboy."

RUTH EVERETT.

*New York.*

## AMERICA AS A FIELD FOR FICTION.

PATRIOTIC Americans have long looked forward to the Great American Novel; for there are few or none who claim this title for anything that we now possess. The abundance of clever fiction and the exquisite workmanship displayed upon it seem, however, to warrant the expectation of greater things; but there are, on the other hand, disadvantages peculiar to the American novelist, which, when taken into account, may render us less hopeful.

A prosperous democracy is the worst conceivable field for a story-teller, unless there is a long and picturesque past upon which he can draw—and this we have not. The history that alone we claim as ours begins when the picturesque period of the world is over. The actors in our drama are a series of grave gentlemen in somber coats and trousers, whom we picture as eternally sitting around tables: great, good, glorious, but not captivating to the imagination; excellent men, as Dickens's *Flora* would say, but not romantic. The frivolous cannot avoid a feeling of rawness and newness about it all that makes it almost prosaic. The wild passions of the human heart have played no part in it, and the feminine element is lacking. The fondness with which we cling to Pocahontas, the only woman who figures in our national story, shows our instinctive craving for a touch of poetry and romance in our annals.

The Englishman, on the contrary, could have no better training for fiction than the study of his own national history. No more stirring tales of passion or of prowess can be found in the pages of romance than between the covers of the school-boy's dog-eared text-book. He is continually reminded by the scenes in which he lives of a long and thrilling past. And these things, coming to him through the channels of his daily life, enter into his very blood. It may be said that the most stirring part of this history is *our* common heritage, but it is a heritage

that we have renounced. Cœur de Lion is little more to us than Saladin; and the slight preponderance of sympathy with him springs from race, not nationality. The Black Prince, Henry V., Elizabeth, Raleigh, and Sir Philip Sidney are to us interesting foreigners with whom we have no part nor lot.

Contrast with these—taken at random from a great number—the most romantic figures of our history. But who are they? I hardly know to which we could apply such an epithet at all. John Smith is a striking personality, and Nathaniel Bacon rather an interesting young man; but one glances around the portrait gallery of our worthies almost in vain. But some one will say, chillingly, that they were something better than romantic. Of course they were, immeasurably better; but to the novelist a Perkin Warbeck is worth more than a Washington. Even Arnold and Aaron Burr are more romantic figures than the Father of his Country. It was well for the memory of poor young André that he strayed into our story. I cannot but think that he is more to us than to his own countrymen—enemy though he was. The carelessness of Charles Lamb's incidental allusion to him in one of his letters jars upon an American almost like a profanation. For, noble as our history is, it has an austere nobility; and we cling with almost pathetic eagerness to every scrap and shred of romance. It may not be too much to say that the mere difference between a school United States history and a school history of England accounts for not a little of the difference between English and American fiction. Theirs is a record of deeds: ours largely a record of opinions. Theirs is a great and varied portrait gallery: ours a transcript of public measures. It is not strange that it is easier for an English writer to conceive of the heroic and romantic as natural than for us—and the great novel must be in no small degree heroic and romantic. It must deal with the larger and deeper experiences of life, no matter what period or what station of society it may portray. Whatever his theme, it is well for a novelist to have had his imagination nourished and his blood stirred by the romance and heroism of real life. We cannot but think significant in this connection



the fact that a school of Southern literature has begun to develop since the close of the interstate war.

With no picturesque past, still less have we a picturesque présent. It cannot be denied that there is a touch of the crude and commonplace about our society. Democracy is not a school in which good manners flourish, and our national manners are not good. The push and self-assertion engendered by the plastic conditions of American life; the lack of deference upon the one hand and of the easy consciousness of inviolable prestige upon the other—these are almost enough in themselves to account for our shortcomings in this particular. Besides, the ranks of the more prosperous are continually recruited from beneath; and so there is no well-defined class to become the repository of mellow traditions of good breeding. The parvenu holds sway more largely here, and more decidedly affects the tone of society, than in any other country. This is the natural result of our system of dividing an estate among all the children alike, rather than having it descend in bulk to one. The number of fortunes enormous enough to give great wealth to each of a number of heirs is proportionately too small to be considered. As a rule, taking the country over, the rich men of each generation make their own money; and money must stay long in a family to lose its rankness. That American money does not, as a rule, lose its rankness is a sad but indisputable fact.

It is unfortunate for the novelist that the question of money enters so largely into our social life; for it is death to poetry and romance. Palliate it as we will, the differences in what is otherwise the "dead level of democracy" are to a very great extent a mere matter of dollars. And diversity of conditions is an important item in the novelist's stock in trade. Somebody has wisely said that, after all, there are only two or three real stories in the world. Of these, that of the king and the beggar-maid, with its variants, is perhaps the most beloved. But what can we make of it? We have our American versions; but there is an inevitable element of snobbishness, if not of vulgarity, in them all. The wealthy young stock-

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broker and the shop-girl; the lawyer and the typewriter—we may use these and kindred contrasts: but the story has something of a hollow ring. The reader knows that it is an even chance that the stock-broker is no better born than the shop-girl, or the lawyer than the typewriter. He is conscious that the distinctions of rank are wholly factitious; and the attempt to erect a substantial social barrier between them, though solely for the purpose of having it overleaped, strikes him unpleasantly.

The American novelist must sigh with gentle envy of his British brother when he thinks of the variations of the story possible to him: of the venerable and moss-grown traditions of society; of the really formidable barriers of rank and station that his lovers may set at naught; and of the delicious variety of devices generally by which he can make the course of true love rough.

A dead level, in society as in Nature, is comfortable but not romantic. In the very nature of things, indeed, comfort and romance are antagonistic. The easy and prosperous lives of the mass of the American people afford little basis for romantic fiction. Even that useful "property," the stern parent, is not indigenous to American soil, and appears in our stories with something of a forced and exotic look. It is unavoidable almost that the "five o'clock tea" style of novel should obtain among us. The national pulse is quiet, and the depths of emotion unsounded within us. It is true, the newspapers give us horrors and brutalities enough; but we recognize these things as abnormal or exceptional—and we cannot, besides, use horrors and brutalities for the delectation of the fastidious reader.

Owing to the sameness of conditions, there is a monotony of pattern among the "nice people" of any given section. One must be minute and analytical in the extreme to bring out the subtle differences of type. Many of us are induced by our admiration of Mr. Howells's exquisite work to feel that this method is the best, irrespective of circumstances. But we may admire him no less when, taking into account the restric-

tions under which he labors, we see that his way is less the result of volition or of temperament than of environment.

To many the flood of bad grammar and garbled English that overspreads the pages of much of our literature is disagreeable and regrettable. It seems a deliberate forsaking of the pure and beautiful in language for that which is base and low. But, if we consider the material at the command of our writers, we are forced to see its cause, if not its justification, in a craving for the picturesque and the distinctive. For the frank display of individuality, one must go to the lower orders; and many who are not dialect-lovers submit to the necessity of recording bad English for the sake of the genuine human interest that invests such subjects. Not many, it may be hoped, write jargon for the sake of jargon—though sometimes one is inclined to think that such there be. It may be said that our civilization embraces so great a variety of types that there is no reason to complain of monotony—if the novelist will only widen his field; but many of these types are to him practically valueless.

The very size and diversity of our country are drawbacks to the development of fiction. A compact and homogeneous nation, with a distinct literary center, has an immeasurable advantage over one like ours. There is no author in a position to write as an *American*. The field is too vast and varied. He must be consciously sectional, to the detriment of the higher possibilities of his art. We must be continually explaining ourselves to one another; we must carefully make our stories Eastern, Western, or Southern—to the neglect, not infrequently, of making them human.

The whole point of view of our writers is affected by our want of homogeneity, and affected most injuriously. Local peculiarities assume an undue importance, which leads to narrowness and superficiality and renders inadequate the portrayal of that which is broad and universal in human life. Heterogeneous as our civilization is, scarcely one of the really picturesque types upon the stage of American life is fitted to assume any considerable part in an extended story. The

cowboy and the mountaineer alone, it seems to me, can be so utilized. Negroes, Indians, and Chinamen may pass across the back of the stage, or stand decoratively about; but as real actors in the drama, they are not to be thought of. To the novelist they are but accessories—stage furniture: and as such they have their uses; but their intimate life histories are not for us. Whatever of romance is among them must be brought to light by themselves, and for themselves. We cannot take any lively interest in a hero or heroine with whom we cannot to a certain extent identify ourselves for the time being, and our imaginations can only with difficulty overleap the barriers of race.

In the short story, this material can be employed to more advantage; for there the point of view is objective rather than subjective. Yet even in these the *dramatis personæ* are with good reason almost invariably white, whatever may be the dialect used. The so-called "negro stories," for example, are, almost without exception, tales of white people told by a faithful servant: whose part alone it is to lend a certain quaintness of style, the negro point of view being assumed only sufficiently to produce illusion.

Cooper's use of the Indian may be urged; but the Indian of Cooper's day and the Indian of our day are altogether different beings, so far as the purposes of literature are concerned. With him were associated, then, in the minds of the public, a dignity and picturesqueness with which a novelist now would strive in vain to reinvest him.

We may put aside, then, in reckoning the types available for the American novelist, all of the colored races. For these he may only employ so sparingly and in such subordinate positions that their value to him is practically nothing. But it may be said that these objections do not apply to the white foreigners who have settled among us and who present most diversified and interesting types. There are, however, kindred though less weighty objections to these. The very fact that they *are* foreigners precludes that intimate knowledge of their habits of thought and feeling which is necessary to their

successful delineation. And after all the American novelist, as a rule, does not care to draw foreigners; his work is with his own countrymen. The Northern, Southern, or Western man must continue to occupy his pen until the *American* shall have appeared upon the scene; for that he has already appeared, not even Mr. James himself can convince us.

The two extremes represented by Mr. Howells and the dialect writers appear—notwithstanding the recent sporadic development of the novel of adventure—to be the logical outcome of our conditions; though, *a priori*, one would have imagined that Cooper would have left intellectual descendants, and that a school typified by Hawthorne might have flourished upon our soil—showing, in extreme spirituality, recoil from materialism.

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*Richmond, Va.*

## THE HIGHER EDUCATION OF WOMEN.

### I. EDUCATION AND MARRIAGE.

THE higher education of women does not especially adapt them for marriage, as society is now constituted. Many persons of education, seeing bright, college-bred girls settle down into commonplace housekeepers or discontented wives, unfit for domestic duties and unable to use in intellectual work the powers developed by their education, question whether women, if educated at all, should not be trained with reference to a career radically different from men's. Education does tend to unfit women for domestic life—if giving them the means of self-support and other objects in life than love and marriage unfits them. It also—a graver objection—weakens the instinct that leads them to accept the career of wife and mother.

The portion of her vitality that a woman spends in thought, it is said, she takes from that wealth treasured up in her frame to be expended in maternity. The reproductive nature is weakened; her heart is turned away from its first love. She does not want to marry, or does not want children. If she marries, it is late; she has spent in study five or ten years of her youthful prime that Nature would have given to maternity. If she bears children, she cannot have so many as if she had married earlier; and if she lives longer on account of marrying later, she probably will not have so many children as in the other case she might have borne in the same number of years of married life. It is against public policy to discourage marriage, to lessen the matrimonial chances of women, or to place any obstacle in the way of efficient wifehood and motherhood.

Yet the above complaints are founded on the idea that women are useful to the race chiefly (if not solely) for keeping up its numerical standard. This idea has made of the education question a poser for posterity; for it is as true of the race as of the individual that intellectual activity diminishes reproductive ac-

tivity. Then, if the education of women is a mistake, that of men is a mistake, civilization is a greater one, and evolution a greater still. Should we wish to block evolution by keeping up a numerical standard at the expense of intellectual advance? Nature herself has shown no such folly. As brain tells more and more in the struggle for existence, numbers tell less and less. Differentiation and improvement of type are Nature's answer to the charge of failing numbers. Had the ape as many offspring as the fish, the world might soon have been populated with apes; but that was not Nature's way. She kept on improving the *type*, and felt no horror at the numerical decrease. When man finally appeared upon the scene, he came provided with qualities and faculties that enabled him to possess the earth without first overrunning it. Civilization has brought it to pass that the interests of the race no longer demand the sacrifice of individual interests, for the rearing of a large family is no longer all-important. Mankind is dominant on account of intellectual qualities, not of numbers. When we become wiser, as a race, women will not have to furnish children to be slain in war or to perish by famine and disease, and a much smaller total of births will serve to keep the planet populated. If it were still the prime object of humanity to increase and multiply, no greater mistake could be made than the development of intellect in women, since it diminishes their desire for conjugal life and renders them economically more or less independent of marriage. But it is not. Training makes up for lack of the brute strength that civilization tends to diminish. And the education of women tends to improve the type.

But, says the reactionist, make woman independent of man's protection and support and she will refuse to marry; and what will become of the type if the women do not marry? Make women independent, and they will no doubt refuse to marry for protection and support; yet some will marry, as some do now, for love. Some, refusing to marry, will find careers for which they are better adapted. When some of the men of the world refused to hunt, to herd, and to till the ground, and began to buy their food with things they could produce more easily,

it was a distinct advance. Progress means differentiation. The career of wife and mother, indeed, seems especially marked out by Nature, but not all women are equally well adapted for it. It is safe to say that during the world's history many women who married and became mothers would have chosen a different career if one had been open. At the same time many women of strong natural affections, capable of making good wives and mothers, remained unmarried because other women married their possible mates. Make women independent, and the first class will refuse to marry; but how about the second? It is a mistake to lump together these two classes, which still exist and always will—the first, those who find that marriage interferes with the pursuit of a career; the second, those who hold that the whole value of education for women lies in its making them more agreeable companions for men, or more capable nurses and teachers for their children.

This is a case of differentiation on the part of Nature, not to be disregarded but rather to be made the most of. The woman who wants to be a man, the woman who would rather study than sew, and write books than rear boys (one hesitates to catalogue her as merely "woman," so far does she diverge from the conventional type), is just as truly a woman as the one who finds her proper place in the universe by the fireside of some man. The latter, the domestic woman, the higher education will never change in the sense of making her less domestic. Her Greek studies, like Harriet Shelley's, will be undertaken with the one object of making herself more interesting to Bysshe. They will not divert her from her family cares—her babies, her bonnets, and her jealousies. But, though not essentially changed, she will be improved by education. Guided by her feminine tastes, she will study things pertinent to her especial career—the development and care of the human body, the household arts and economies, psychology, etc. If the intellectual woman, on finding herself independent, refuses to marry, the domestic woman will have things all her own way. She will be better fitted for marriage, her range of choice will be larger, and she will be more likely to marry happily.



The number of marrying women being reduced, the woman who does marry will be sought more surely and earlier, and if she becomes a widow will be sought again. Her career as a wife will be longer than now; and, since she is naturally more prolific than her intellectual sister, she may well be trusted to find for herself the solution of that problem for posterity—what will become of the race if the women of intellect refuse to marry?

But any solution of this problem that leaves out of the reckoning the essential *womanhood* of the intellectual woman—solves it for the rest of the world but not for her—is but half a solution after all. A woman may sacrifice domestic life for the sake of a career: she may forego it willingly, because her nature craves another sort of life; but it is nevertheless a sacrifice. Every normal human being wants love, a home, a friend. Hardly any *man* would for a moment consider giving up for domestic life the work he is fitted to do in the world; neither would he forego forever home and children for the sake of his work. Men are accustomed to having both; women, as a rule, must give up one or the other. The woman who can have all she wants, unless her *all* is the career of wife and mother, is almost as rare as the man who, like Herbert Spencer, deliberately resigns himself to celibacy. The solution thus far vainly sought is one that will allow the woman of intellect full freedom for the development and use of her mind, and yet not deprive her of love and maternity. That these things are in general incompatible, as society is now constituted, must be regretfully admitted.

Is it possible so to reorganize society that the burdens of domesticity shall rest less heavily upon the mother? Oh, yes; let the husband stay home and take care of the babies! But that would only put the man where the woman is now; moreover, taking care of the babies is just what the woman in question—the woman who craves both the intellectual and the domestic life—wants and needs. To realize her ideal she must be a good mother, whatever else she may be.

Women have not yet reached the point of refusing to marry,

and they will try, for some time to come as they do now, to compromise the matter between their growing love of freedom and self-dependence and work that has a commercial value and the gratification of their affections. What sort of a compromise is it? The brainy woman of to-day, when she marries an intellectual man, expects to remain the creature of predominant intellect she was on leaving college. The man she marries probably expects the same. But in the lonely treadmill of domestic cares she finds no such stimulus for the mind as business or professional work constantly provides for men. She ceases to grow, and soon falls to wishing she were a man—that she might have a legitimate career in which her whole mind should be engaged. She envies men their serious work, toilsome and fraught with anxieties as it is. She does not find a substitute for *work* in the aimless self-culture of the women's clubs. If she helps her husband in his office, or teaches her children instead of sending them to school, she indeed utilizes her education, but without regard to the economy of the process or the excellence of the product. One would rather see a woman teaching her children than constructing easy-chairs of apple-barrels and bedroom tables of old tomato-cans; but, wherever fathers pay taxes for the support of excellent public schools, it is a waste of time and energy on the part of the mothers to do at home what, in nine cases out of ten, would be far better done by specialists in the schoolroom. Indeed, nearly everything done from time immemorial by women in the home, and so associated with the function of maternity, is now being done more economically and on the whole better by specialists—showing at what cost to the community women have kept up, amid the conditions of modern life, the domestic ideal and traditions of long ago. In one city we have free kindergartens and in another manual training-schools. Cooking and sewing are taught the girls in the admirable summer schools of Cambridge, better and more systematically, without doubt, than they could be taught in most homes. In New York one hears of house-cleaning thoroughly and swiftly done by experts; while everywhere laundries and bakeries show how economically and how well wash-

ing and cooking may be performed by specialists. If more of it were done, it would have to be better done. Now, could the energies of women, so wastefully confined to the work that can be and therefore is done within the four walls of the home, be freed from traditional restrictions and allowed to develop naturally, there need be no such complaints as we hear to-day from women of education—on the one hand, that the life of the wife and mother leaves no time for intellectual pursuits, and on the other that by taking away from woman the work she can do in the home you take away the only work consistent with motherhood.

The problem of woman's education, then, is its own solution. Here are bright, college-bred girls asking what they shall do with their trained minds if they marry. Here are women with domestic tastes and aptitudes needing a broader field for their executive ability than they can find in a single home—perhaps also needing the means of a living. The domestic work, which the first class can do only at a sacrifice, the second class with special training could do economically and well. The same freedom of choice of a career that men have, when the question is between college and business, would soon sift out from among women those fitted by nature to be specialists in domestic economy; and the perfection of their art would be followed by a revolution that would make home life for a woman almost as slight an impediment to her intellectual work as it is to a man's. There is no danger that *all* women would rush into the learned professions, disdaining marriage and motherhood; for the majority, if free to choose, would take the middle path—home life simplified by specialization—while as many would find their proper sphere in specialized domestic work as would devote themselves to an intellectual career alone.

What stands in the way of such a plan for utilizing woman's education is an ideal. In men's minds, and women's too, the ideal home is the home of their childhood, where the mother, if she was not bending over the kitchen fire with a big iron spoon in her hand, tasting gravies whose delectable odors made them

anxious to graduate into her place, was darning innumerable stockings or "sprinkling clothes against to-morrow's i'nin," like Huldy's mother in "The Courtin'." To think that any woman could do better work, or do that work better, is an insult to the memory of that excellent dame. And the pinnacle of artificial sanctity on which our preachers and educators pose the function of maternity is no less borrowed from the past, when the necessities of the case made entire self-abnegation the condition of motherhood. Conditions have changed; but it remains to reconstruct the hardest thing in the world to reconstruct—an ideal. The model of womanhood upon which the lives of our mothers were formed—one of the features of Christian civilization, and one whose adoption as an ideal marked a wonderful advance and reform—requires a passionate devotion that makes the sacrifice of individual life almost a matter of course. Motherhood was sacrifice before sacrifice became holy; and it is so still, when sacrifice is no longer necessary. The ideal is retained when the conditions that created it have become obsolete. It is enshrined in women's hearts, which find happiness in self-renunciation—though what their children gain by such sacrifices it would often be hard to say. It is absurd to pretend that, in this age of the world, women need to expend upon their families the entire devotion of their minds. The multifarious activities of society are all the product of women's surplus energy. The modern mother is the priestess of an obsolete religion. She has inherited the faith in self-abnegation without the circumstances that make it necessary or even useful. The idea that she ought to consecrate her whole being to motherhood keeps her from utilizing for anything else what time and energy she has. She is still "handicapped by the dangers and duties of maternity," but not to the extent that women were in earlier ages, when numbers were a prime necessity and when the man, being occupied in the protection of the home, threw more of the burdens of its support upon the woman. Absorbing and confining as maternity must be during the children's infancy, the mother wrongs herself who makes entire self-abnegation her ideal even then.

Women *do* work—the kind of work they know how to do and care for. As at present organized, the work of the home requires an amount of individual effort absurdly disproportionate to the result. The same may be said of the social, charitable, and church work with which many domestic women occupy their leisure. Nearly all mothers have some interest disconnected with the immediate duties of maternity, and it is not likely to be complained of as interfering with maternal efficiency unless she earns money by it. Why not let her occupation be productive, if she chooses to have it so? Why not make her work more valuable to the world by allowing her to use her mind and education in it?

The last century has seen several changes affecting the condition of woman—changes that should be considered as we look at her prospects for the coming one. Education has become general. The average age at marriage is greater. The average family is smaller. The average duration of active life is increased. The sphere of women's activities is enlarged. A woman may, then, postpone marriage in order to complete her education, with a reasonable prospect of marrying afterward if she wants to. If she marries, fewer children will suffice to preserve the numerical integrity of the race; if she does not marry, preferring another career, she may have the same consolation. Freedom of choice between domestic and other work and free competition will raise the standard of value of women's labor or activity in all fields. The woman who wants both domestic life and intellectual life may have them by separating the essentials of the home from the non-essentials. Education, always less an end than a means, is not only the means of preparing the man or woman for good work in a chosen career, but is the touchstone by which the qualities of the mind must be tested. And to give the widest scope to individuality, the mind and character should be developed by education before specialization begins.

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## II. WOMAN IN JOURNALISM.

THE conduct of women's clubs, the publicity given to social events as well as to women's industries, and the part that the sex assumes in all walks of life, have created a demand for bright, active, alert, energetic women in the newspaper field. In fact, no modern newspaper is deemed up-to-date should it not give space to fashions, household matters, art, book reviews—yes, and even “beauty” matters. These columns are invariably edited by women, who are specialists in their way, and who handle such subjects with more intelligence than men because of their familiarity with all things feminine and their more painstaking ability.

A liberal education, not necessarily a classical one, although the latter is considerable of an aid, should be considered a necessary foundation for a woman proposing to make journalism a profession. This should be followed by a certain preliminary training in a newspaper office, where every phase of the getting out of a paper is readily comprehended. The country newspaper office furnishes an excellent training-school for the beginner in journalism.

That preparation for the field of journalism is fraught with hard work, special training, and a sacrifice of many social advantages, is a fact realized by many, who have plodded energetically through the ranks of reporter, correspondent, special writer and proof-reader, to the editorial chair. Be it known, however, that journalism is a field into which the so-called “new” woman may not lay claim to the honor of first introducing her sex. Long ere woman had crowded into the other professions, many of her sex were engaged as special writers for various publications. True, at this period her work was alluded to with bated breath, not so much because people were shocked at her aspirations but simply because Mrs. Grundy looked upon the literary woman as a curiosity—somebody possessing a gift superior to the ordinary run of mortals; so she was dubbed “queer,” “eccentric,” and even a “crank.” Perhaps

she herself was somewhat to blame; for slovenliness, unkemptness, and untidy habits generally went hand-in-hand with literary aspirations. At this point, therefore, credit must be given to the "new" woman. She insists that the literary woman shall be neatly if not fashionably attired; that ink-begrimed digits and frowzy hair shall not go hand-in-hand with brain-work.

A woman entering the journalistic field is measured according to merit. There must be no shirking of duty. She must be able to endure fatigue and disappointment without a murmur, and rebuffs without retaliation; and even abuse must be met with a calm equanimity born of perfect self-control. She must be endowed with a keen sense of honor in order that she may overcome the temptation to allow personal motives or pique to influence her pen—whereby she may gratify a cherished revenge on one or more of her sex by the production of a garbled statement or a distortion of facts. Should she allow herself to fall into this temptation, she degrades the profession that her presence should elevate.

If, in her aspirations to be facetious, a newspaper woman makes sport of the humble toilers of her sex—by referring, for instance, to a household servant as "she of the kitchen," or "her highness of the dish-cloth," when reporting a meeting on household economics in which the members of this special organization have been for months earnestly and conscientiously struggling with the problem of domestic service—she commits a breach of womanly propriety, and not only lowers herself but deals a blow to the liberality of modern journalism. Again, should she be assigned to report a club meeting, and for the sake of sensationalism writes: "There was much excitement, accompanied with the usual number of 'says' and 'the horrid thing,'" etc., intimating that dissension—owing to the *sex* of those comprising the membership of the organization—was manifest, when but a vigorous although friendly debate was in progress, then is she guilty not only of an indignity toward her sex but of gross misrepresentation of facts.

Much has been whispered—yea, spoken aloud—of the

"jealousy" evinced by the man journalist toward his sister in the profession. It would be but natural that he should feel some resentment at the apparent usurpation of a field in which he has so long held exclusive sway. But do not men in other professions feel the same regarding their respective domains? And is it not a question whether woman's entrance into these various professions has not given cause for righteous complaint, or for what women are pleased to dub "jealousy" and "discourtesy" on the part of the men? "We can get the work as well done—and more *cheaply*, too—by women," contributes a whole volume of thought in the study of social economics.

Men will concede that women are more painstaking and more conscientious than men in like position; yet for some reason, best known to themselves, they offer them less remuneration. There is no doubt that a man is quicker of perception as to the needs of a first-class newspaper or periodical, and that he seizes news with a view to making the most of it. But, alas! are not the majority of male reporters veritable "fakers"? And are women altogether guiltless in this respect? The latter delight in adorning their writings with frills, while the former tell the same story with a "directness" of phraseology—intermixed with business terms, colloquialisms, and perhaps slang—that would not be commendable in a woman journalist.

Another feature and happier thought connected with woman in journalism is the fact that she may accomplish much good by means of her work. All kinds of reforms pertaining to humanity at large may find voice through the medium of her pen—should she wield it wisely and discreetly, yet with force enough to command consideration. She may write in defense of the weak and suffering; in support of all measures pertaining to the betterment of city government; in protesting against shams, frauds, and viciousness of every form. But her writings should bear no trace of partizanship: they should fearlessly support the side upon which honor and truth are arrayed; and, beyond and above all, let there be no suggestion of evil in anything that comes from her pen.

Through the broad liberality of the press, woman to-day



stands shoulder to shoulder with man, and in every way she must prove herself his "better half." The lamented David Swing once said: "There is no estimating the power of the modern newspaper for good. Some moral evil follows the press, but in the aggregate the moral results of the thousands of dailies and weeklies are such as to make the Church and literature wonder upon which of the three foreheads the crown of usefulness should rest." And shall not woman add to this "usefulness" of the press? Is she not proving herself a power in the field of journalism? Who will gainsay? Certainly not he that reads the literature of the land contained in our best daily and weekly—yes, and in our monthly publications!

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